Marco Polo *Was* in China

Monies, Markets, and Finance in East Asia, 1600–1900

Edited by

Hans Ulrich Vogel

VOLUME 2

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/mmf

Marco Polo *Was* in China

New Evidence from Currencies, Salts and Revenues

By

Hans Ulrich Vogel

BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2013

Cover illustration: Detail from Tranquillo Cremona (1837–1878), *Marco Polo davanti al Gran Khan dei Tartari*, 1863. For the complete picture see Fig. 34 in this book. The illustration was provided by Photoservice Electa/anelli by courtesy of Ministro per i Beni e le Attività Culturali and Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Vogel, Hans Ulrich.
Marco Polo was in China : new evidence from currencies, salts and revenues / by Hans Ulrich Vogel.
p. cm. — (Monies, markets, and finance in East Asia, 1600–1900, ISSN 2210–2876 ; v. 2)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-90-04-23193-1 (hbk. : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-90-04-23698-1 (e-book)
1. Money—China—History 2. Taxation—China—History. 3. Salt—Taxation—China—History. 4. Polo, Marco, 1254–1324 I. Title.

HG1282.V64 2013
332.4'51—dc23

2012035046

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual "Brill" typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see www.brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2210-2876
ISBN 978-90-04-23193-1 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-23698-1 (e-book)

Copyright 2013 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Global Oriental, Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers and Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

This book is dedicated

to

my wife

Beatriz Puente-Ballesteros
medical doctor and historian of intercivilisational encounters in medicine between Jesuits, Chinese and Manchus
for her love, encouragement and support

and
in memory of

Herbert Franke (1914–2011)
the great German sinologist and specialist on Yuan economic, social, political and cultural history

CONTENTS

List of Figures, Maps and Tables xi
Preface from Mark Elvin xvii
Préface de Philippe Ménard xxi
Preface from the Author xxiii
Acknowledgments xxvii
Transliteration and Conventions xxxi

I. Introduction 1
1. Structure and Contents of this Book 2
2. Approaches and Methods 8
3. Cons and Pros for Marco Polo's Stay in China 11
3.1. Authorship of the Book 14
3.2. Complexities of Manuscript Transmission 17
3.3. Nature, Style, Intentions and Receptions of the Book 22
3.4. Itinerary and Data 36
3.5. Persian Rendering of Chinese Place Names 39
3.6. Aspects of Chinese and Mongol Civilization and Culture 43
3.7. "Latins" at Khubilai's Court 67
3.8. Participation in the Xiangyang Siege 67
3.9. Governorship in Yangzhou 68
3.10. Missions of the Polos 69
3.11. The Polos and Chinese Sources 74
3.12. Return from China 80
3.13. Golden Tablets of Authority 84

II. Paper Money in Yuan China 89
1. Marco Polo on Yuan Paper Money (1275–1291) 106
2. Other Western, Persian and Arabic Mediaeval Authors on Yuan Paper Money 109
3. The Short-lived Issue of Yuan-style Paper Money in Persia in 1294 113

4. Chinese Sources on Paper Money during the Yuan Period (1271–1368) 118
4.1. Aspects of Production 120
4.2. Aspects of Circulation 159
5. Yuan Paper Money: Comparing Marco Polo's Account and Chinese Sources 212

III. Cowry Monies Circulating in Yunnan and Southeast Asia 227
1. Marco Polo on Cowry Currencies (1275–1291) 230
2. Chinese Sources on Yunnan Cowry Currencies during the Yuan Period (1271–1368) 234
2.1. Exchange Rates 236
2.2. Denominations 238
2.3. Cowry Imports 239
2.4. Cowry Currency in Private Transactions 258
2.5. Cowry Money in Public Revenue and Finance 262
3. Yunnan Cowry Currencies: Comparing Marco Polo's Account and Chinese Sources 267

IV. Salt Production and Salt Monies in Yunnan and *Tebet* 271
1. Marco Polo on Salt Production in Yunnan (1275–1291) ... 272
2. Marco Polo on Salt Currencies in *Tebet* and Caindu (1275–1291) 285
3. Chinese Sources on Salt Currencies (Late Eighth to Mid-Twentieth Centuries) 297
3.1. Nanzhao Kingdom (Late Eighth Century) 298
3.2. Yuan Period (Early Fourteenth Century) 299
3.3. Ming Period (Mid-Fifteenth Century) 299
3.4. Qing Period (Eighteenth to Nineteenth Centuries) 301
3.5. Republican Period (Mid-1930s) 307
3.6. People's Republic of China (1950s) 307
4. Salt Forms Produced by Yunnan Saltworks (Early Eighteenth Century) 309
4.1. Dry-boiled Salt Forms 311
4.2. Salt Forms Made by Hand or Moulds 312
5. Salt Currencies: Comparing Marco Polo's Perceptions and Chinese Sources 315
5.1. Weight of Salt Currencies 315
5.2. Value of Salt Currencies 317

5.3. Salt Prices in Caindu and Other Regions of China 318
5.4. Circulation and Monetary Functions of Salt Currencies 324
5.5. Salt Monies, Governments and Markets 328

V. Production, Revenue and Trade of Salt in Changlu and Lianghuai 331
1. Marco Polo on Salt Production Techniques in Changlu 332
2. Marco Polo on the Salt Production and Distribution Zone of Lianghuai 339
3. Did Marco Polo Hold an Office in Yangzhou? 348

VI. Tax Revenue of Hangzhou and Its Territory 365
1. Marco Polo's Millions: The Salt Tax Revenue 366
2. Total Annual Revenue as Reported by the Venetian 379
3. Commercial Taxes in *Le devisament dou monde* 391
4. Marco Polo on Levies in Overseas Trade in Quanzhou 394

VII. Administrative-Geographical Divisions in Yuan China 399

VIII. Conclusions 419

Appendices
Appendix 1: Compilation of Passages on the Production and Use of Paper Money in the Yuan Empire from Selected Manuscript and Print Versions of Marco Polo's Account 429
Appendix 2: Compilation of Passages on the Production and Use of Chinese Paper Money and Salt Revenue in the Accounts of Other Western, Persian and Arabic Authors 439
Appendix 3: Coins of Venice 471
Appendix 4: The Weight Measures *libbra* and *saggio* of Venice 474
Appendix 5: The Weight of the *miskal* 475
Appendix 6: Relationship between the Persian System of *balish*, *sum* and *miskal*, the Chinese System of *ding, liang* and *qian*, and Marco Polo's *saggi* and *grossi* 477
Appendix 7: Compilation of Passages on Chinese Salt Money, Salt Production and Salt Revenue from the Most Important Manuscript and Print Versions of Marco Polo's Account 491
Appendix 8: Tables 3 and 27 529

Bibliography
1. Marco Polo Editions 547
2. Other Primary Sources 554
3. Secondary Literature 562

Index 629

LIST OF FIGURES, MAPS AND TABLES

Figures

1. The Great Khan carried by elephants, as illustrated in Glazemaker's Dutch version (1664) of Marco Polo's book 54
2. The story of the Polos escorting Princess Kökechin to Persia from 1291 to 1295, as depicted by Withold Gordon in 1926 83
3. Front side of an early Zhongtong 10 *wen* paper note discovered 1982 in the Wanbu Huayanjing 万部华严经塔 or White Pagoda 白塔 in Huhehot, Inner Mongolia 97
4. Front side of a Zhiyuan 1 *guan* paper note excavated in 1983/1984 in Heicheng 黑城 (Khara Khoto), Inner Mongolia 103
5. Front and reverse side of a late Zhongtong 500 *wen* paper note discovered 1965 in Xianyang City 咸阳市, Shaanxi Province 104
6. Chinese seals in a letter of the Persian Ilkhan Arghun (ca. 1258–1291) to Philip IV of France (1268–1314)—called "the Fair"—from the year 1289 117
7. Production of paper money in the Great Khan's empire, French mediaeval illustration of the early sixteenth century 125
8. Legend areas on the front side of Yuan paper notes 132
9. Phags-pa inscriptions on Yuan paper notes after 1269 135
10. Legend in area F on Zhongtong paper notes before 1269 138
11. Legend in area F on Zhongtong paper notes from 1269 onwards 139
12. Legend in area F on Zhiyuan paper notes issued from 1287 onwards 139
13. Explanation of the seals on the early Zhongtong 10 *wen* paper note found in 1982 in the White Pagoda of Huhehot 147
14. Split-edge seal on an early Zhongtong 500 *wen* note found in 1988 in a Yuan tomb in Huarong 华容 in Hunan 150
15. Explanation of the seals on Zhiyuan 2 *guan* paper notes excavated in 1983 and 1984 in Heicheng (Khara Khoto) in Inner Mongolia 153

16. Merchants bringing precious goods to the Great Khan in exchange for paper money, French mediaeval illustration of ca. 1412 172
17. Printing plate made of clay for counterfeiting Zhiyuan 1 *guan* paper notes found in Shandong in the 1910s 175
18. Bronze seal of the Storehouse for Burning [Worn-out] Notes of the Jiangxi 江西 Branch Secretariat, 1293 177
19. Seals used for marking worn-out paper notes of Jiangdong Circuit 江東道, Zhejiang, 1288 178
20. Cowries found in Yunnan, Tang to Ming Periods 228
21. Hoisting of brine at the deep-drilled wells of Zigong 自貢 (Ziliujing 自流井 and Gongjing 貢井), Sichuan, ca. 1880 281
22. The Langjing 琅井 saltworks in Chuxiong Prefecture 楚雄府, Yunnan Province, about 1712 283
23. Salt production at the Big Well (Dajing 大井) of the Yunlongjing 雲龍井 salt works in Yunlong Department 雲龍州, Yunnan, about 1707 284
24. Mouth of an inclined salt well in the saltworks of Ho-boung Village, near Pu'er 普洱, Yunnan Province, late 1860s 285
25. A bar of salt used as currency in Ethiopia 287
26. The Alou-Houjing 阿陋猴井 saltworks in Yunnan, early eighteenth century 310
27. A salt boiling house (*zaofang* 灶房) at the Langjing 琅井 saltworks in Chuxiong Prefecture 楚雄府, Yunnan, about 1707 311
28. Inside of a boiling house in the saltworks of Ho-boung Village, near Pu'er 普洱, Yunnan Province, late 1860s 312
29. Shape of a *gui* jade and thus the form of salt produced at the Yunlongjing saltworks, Yunlong Department of Dali Prefecture 314
30. Carrying the ashes and pouring them into the leaching basin, Xiasha saltworks 下沙場 of Huating District 華亭縣 in Zhexi 浙西, about 1334 335
31. Straining and removing salt from the large iron pan, Xiasha saltworks of Huating District in Zhexi, about 1334 336
32. The salt production process in Changlu, French illustration of the early sixteenth century 337
33. Production of salt by basin solar evaporation at the Salt Lake of Xiezhou 解州, Shanxi, twelfth to thirteenth centuries 338

34. Tranquillo Cremona's (1837–1878) *Marco Polo davanti al Gran Khan dei Tartari*, 1863 352
35. The collection of large revenues in Kinsay, French mediaeval illustration of about 1412 366
36. Venetian *grosso*, *piccolo* and *ducato* of the thirteenth century 473
37. A Yuan sliding weight of 2 *jin* for a 55-*jin*-steelyard, 1304 481
38. Silver ingot of 1 *ding* or 50 *liang* from the Mongol era 485

Maps

1. Places in China with paper money as mentioned by Marco Polo, 1275–1291, compared with relevant references to paper money institutions in Chinese sources, ca. 1303 208
2. The Southwest Silk Road during the late thirteenth to nineteenth centuries 240
3. Production of gold, silver, copper and tin in Yunnan, ca. first century BC to fourteenth century AD 247
4. Places with cowry and cowry currencies, Yunnan, late thirteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries 254
5. Salt production places in Yunnan, eighth to fourteenth centuries 277
6. Saltworks in Yunnan, seventeenth to early twentieth century . 278
7. Sources of salt in Ming China, 1368–1644 279
8. Locations with mentioning of salt money or salt barter in Southwest China, late eighth to mid-twentieth centuries 302

Tables

1. Denominations of main Yuan paper currencies in Chinese sources as well as the denominations mentioned by Marco Polo 98
2. Coverage of paper money topics by Marco Polo and other mediaeval Western, Persian and Arabic authors 119
3. Measures of surviving specimens of Yuan paper notes or paper money printing plates 529
4. Number of Yuan Stabilisation Storehouses and Circulation Storehouses by region, ca. 1303 186

5. Uses of silver, copper cash, paper money and paper money denominations in North China as mentioned on Yuan stele inscriptions, organised by period and social classes 194
6. Uses of silver, copper cash, paper money and paper money denominations in Jiangnan as mentioned on Yuan stele inscriptions, organised by period and social classes 197
7. Places in China with paper money as mentioned by Marco Polo, 1275–1291, compared with relevant references to paper money institutions in Chinese sources, ca. 1303 199
8. Amounts of issued paper money and estimates of the total and per capita values of paper money in circulation in Mongol China, 1260–1324, according to Peng Xinwei's approach 218
9. Amounts of issued paper money and estimates of the total and per capita values of paper money in circulation in Mongol China, 1260–1324, according to Wu Qi's parameters 221
10. Hypothetical estimates for the mean annual inflation rate of prices expressed in Yuan paper money, 1260–1287 224
11. Chinese and East Asian regions with cowry currency mentioned by Marco Polo 232
12. Yunnan salt production places mentioned for the Tang and Nanzhao periods, eighth to ninth centuries 274
13. Yunnan salt production places mentioned for the Yuan dynasty 275
14. Production and taxation of the Yunnan saltworks, second half of the seventeenth century 276
15. Liangzhe 兩浙 annual salt production quotas, general official price per *yin* of salt, and Liangzhe total salt revenue as well as amount of salt received per 1 g of gold at government saltworks, 1261–1343 320
16. Annual salt production quotas (in *yin*) especially of Lianghuai 兩淮 and Liangzhe 兩浙, 1277–1330 332
17. The salt production quotas of Huaidong Route 淮東路 based on the *Zhongxing huiyao* 中興會要 (State Regulations of the First Two [Southern Song] Reign-periods), about 1127–1162 345
18. The administrative organisation of the Salt Distribution Commission (*yanyunsi* 鹽運司) of Lianghuai 兩淮 in the early Yuan period up to 1294 348
19. Administrative structure of the Pacification Commission of Huaidong Circuit 淮東道 in the 1280s and 1290s 355

20. Approximate average salt revenues of Kinsay in gold and paper money according to the exchange rates of 1282–1286 and from 1287 onwards 375
21. Lowest possible salt revenues of Kinsay in gold and paper money according to the exchange rates of 1282–1286 and from 1287 onwards 375
22. Highest possible salt revenues of Kinsay in gold and paper money according to the exchange rates of 1282–1286 and from 1287 onwards 375
23. The revenue of Kinsay, except salt, in selected Marco Polo versions 381
24. Approximate average revenues of Kinsay (except salt) in gold and paper money according to the exchange rates of 1282–1286 and from 1287 onwards 382
25. Highest possible revenues of Kinsay (except salt) in gold and paper money according to the exchange rates of 1282–1286 and from 1287 onwards 382
26. Lowest possible revenues of Kinsay (except salt) in gold and paper money according to the exchange rates of 1282–1286 and from 1287 onwards 382
27. Preserved data of annual revenues of various tax categories in monies, metals and kinds and expenditures in paper money in Mongol China, 1263–1329 542
28. Share of Jiangzhe 江浙 in various tax items in 1328 385
29. Annual salt production and salt tax revenues of the Yuan dynasty, about 1285–1330 386
30. Estimate of the Jiangzhe and empire-wide paper money tax revenue on the basis of the lower *saggi* figures mentioned by Marco Polo 387
31. Estimate of the Jiangzhe and empire-wide paper money tax revenue on the basis of the higher *saggi* figures mentioned by Marco Polo 388
32. Average weight of a Venician groat (*grosso*), 1205–1311 472
33. Average weight of a Venetian ducat (*ducato*), 1343–1400 473
34. Weights of Venetian weight measures according to various sources 474
35. System of imperial monetary units-of-account in the Mongol empire 477
36. Weights of weight measures of the Yuan period, 1295–1306 479
37. Weights of silver ingots of the Yuan period 481

PREFACE FROM MARK ELVIN

Authenticity of evidence has become the bedrock of distinctively modern history. The event that best symbolizes this aspect of modernity, though I suspect not necessarily its first appearance, is probably the well-known *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione declamatio* written in 1440 by the great Italian humanist Lorenzo Valla. Several of the key words in his title have multiple connotations, most likely deliberately, but perhaps the translation that best conveys its tone at the time would be *A notification of protest concerning the erroneously trusted but forged Gift of Constantine*.[1] In his polemic Valla showed that it was extremely implausible that the celebrated alleged donation of temporal power over most of western Europe, and many other privileges for the Catholic Church, to Pope Sylvester by the Emperor Constantine, was authentic. In addition to a rhetoric that at times more resembled the outburst of a human Vesuvius than civilized scholarly discourse as we now understand it, he nonetheless used the dexterity of a master to mobilize historical philology, historical plausibility, and the need to respect the consistent pattern conveyed by the majority of well-regarded close-to-contemporary late-imperial sources, and indeed even the evidence of physical objects, such as the total absence of coins asserting or implying papal secular suzerainty over the western half of the old empire, to reveal that the donation was virtually certainly a forgery made in the eighth century.[2] Above all, though, the *Declamatio* was an innovation in *methodology*. It was the first master-class that showed how such a demolition could be done.

Yet for all the difficulty of his enterprise—and, we should add, the personal danger he risked in such a seemingly sacrilegious assault—Valla still had a relatively simple task in the intellectual sense. The present volume by Professor Hans Ulrich Vogel of the University of Tübingen, with its cautious erudite sobriety, massive detail and informational density, and its multilingual and multicultural *maîtrise*, undertakes the even more demanding *positive inverse*. That is to say it demonstrates by specific

---

[1] On the term declamation see Jan Frederik Niermeyer and C. van de Kieft, revised by J. Burgers, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, Brill: Leiden, 2002, p. 404.

[2] See Christopher Coleman, *The Treatise of Lorenzo Valla on the Donation of Constantine: Text and Translation into English*, Yale University Press: New Haven CT, 1922.

example after specific example the ultimately overwhelming probability of the broad authenticity of the greatest of all works joining premodern European and Chinese history, Marco Polo's late medieval *Le devisament dou monde*[3] on his travels in East Asia, and above all China, in the later years of the thirteenth century. It is a work with often significantly differing versions: the coverage given by the manuscripts is not always the same; there are some critical divergences in terms used—for example did Marco exert at least a measure of political authority for a time in the city of Yangzhou (*seignora*) or merely sojourn (*séjourna*) there a while; and there are at least a few apparent gaps in descriptions, though most of these turn out to be easily explicable. Care is manifestly needed, and those who have in the past, and even recently, raised fundamental doubts of various sorts about the book, though mistaken, were not always being casual or foolish.

Vogel uses, where appropriate, all the analytical techniques deployed by Valla, while sparing us the rhetoric, but his core method is to compare, item by item, what is in the main Polo manuscripts with the contents of the most authoritative *Chinese* official and privately authored texts dealing with the same matters, the majority of them put into the public domain some years after Polo had dictated his text in Europe, and so broadly independent as far as can be told. Polo did not, in any case, read Chinese. In many cases the precision of fit is to all intents and purposes perfect, rarely anything but good. In some of those items to do with statistics, Vogel is at times obliged to be circumspect, and restricts himself to showing that in nearly every case the general *magnitude* is the same. In a handful of exceptionally complex cases, notably those involving multiple translations of long-extinct units of value and weight, at least the *ranges* of estimated maximum and minimum magnitudes virtually all overlap. In other words, differences are usually more sensibly seen as discrepancies than exaggerations either up or down. A further major feature is that Vogel shows how accurately Polo, in the broad majority of cases, described physical objects, such as Mongol-dynasty printed paper money notes, that have often only quite recently been discovered by archaeologists. While great respect is owed to some shrewd pioneering observations by Igor de Rachewiltz, the doyen of Western Mongolists, in the journal *Zentralasiatische Studien* (above all, issue 26 in 1997), notably on Marco's startlingly accurate knowledge of the matrimonial diplomatic policy of the

[3] The Franco-Italian form of the title.

Mongol rulers, no study other than the present one else drives home so remorselessly the point that, when the available material, which is gathered and presented in these pages, is evaluated *as a whole*, it is incontestable that most of the Venetian traveler's knowledge must either have been first-hand or come to him from informants personally very close to Chinese events and Chinese realities. The case as a whole has now been closed.

Speaking personally, as an economic and environmental historian of China, the key service that this work does for those of us who have worked or are still working in these two fields, is to strengthen our confidence that Polo's book is, in essence, authentic, and, when used with care, in broad terms to be trusted as a serious, though obviously not always final, witness. The second, and only marginally less important, service is that it puts at our disposal an unprecedented wealth of detail, much of it new, about the currencies circulating in the Mongol economy and fiscal system, the production of salt in this period and its prices and areas of sale, and in addition gives us a picture of the revenues of the Mongol state analyzed to a new sharpness of resolution.

Written with clarity and great care, it is a well of information from which serious students of the past who care profoundly about reconstructing both the broader expanses of mediaeval Chinese history, and the significant minutiae that sustain their reconstructions, right, will—necessarily—be drawing on with grateful appreciation for a long time to come.

And, I would add, it is a new master-class in historical method that, if I am permitted for a moment to engage in an exercise of the imagination, would surely have impressed even Valla himself had he been still with us to see it.

Mark Elvin
St. Antony's College
Oxford

PRÉFACE DE PHILIPPE MÉNARD

M. Hans Ulrich Vogel, Professeur à l'université de Tübingen, s'est déjà signalé à l'attention des médiévistes par beaucoup d'articles sur l'économie et les monnaies de la Chine impériale, et aussi par un important travail *Salt Production Techniques in Ancient China* (Leiden, Brill, 1992). Le présent ouvrage *Marco Polo* Was *in China: New Evidence from Currencies, Salts and Revenues*, apporte des éléments d'information nouveaux et considérables pour l'interprétation du livre de Marco Polo. Il est excellent pour les médiévistes qu'un sinologue confirmé reprenne l'examen du *Devisement du monde* et nous apporte une masse de faits et de réflexions sur ce texte célèbre. En 2006 Stephen G. Haw, qui connaît la langue chinoise, a publié une étude *Marco Polo's China*, portant surtout sur les régions traversées, les produits du sol et les animaux évoqués par le voyageur. Mais il utilise deux traductions (celle de Cordier et celle de Hambis), sans se reporter aux versions originales, et ses remarques s'avèrent brèves. Elles ne concernent nullement les problèmes financiers. Il faut féliciter M. Vogel d'avoir pris la peine d'examiner les versions authentiques du texte de Marco Polo.

Dans cet ouvrage d'environ 600 pages M. Vogel enrichit singulièrement notre connaissance des réalités économiques à l'époque de Marco Polo. On n'avait jamais exploré dans plusieurs versions du *Devisement du monde* avec autant de soin et de science les références faites à la monnaie de papier, mais aussi au sel et aux coquillages nommés porcelaine, qui servent également de monnaie d'échange dans certains endroits reculés de la province du Yunnan et dans des régions limitrophes. Le voyageur vénitien fournit des précisions remarquables sur la production et la circulation de ces diverses monnaies. Il a été surpris et admiratif en assistant à la fabrication du papier monnaie à partir de l'écorce de murier. M. Vogel démontre que tous les détails donnés dans le texte sont parfaitement vrais.

Le présent livre nous offre, dans une vaste section intitulée "Paper Money in Yuan China," une très large étude sur l'emploi du papier monnaie entre 1275 et 1291, c'est-à-dire à l'époque de Marco Polo. Les billets de banque constituaient une invention chinoise plus ancienne, déjà attestée à l'époque Song, mais l'empereur Khoubilai Khan l'a encore perfectionnée en édictant une prohibition absolue de l'usage de toute monnaie métallique. Les marchands étrangers devaient s'y plier. L'empereur détenait seul l'or et l'argent.

Ce livre est enrichi d'appendices nombreux et utiles: publication des pages de Marco Polo concernant le papier monnaie, compilation des passages relatifs aux questions monétaires chez divers écrivains occidentaux (les textes de Jordan Catala de Severac et d'Odoric de Pordenone sont justement mentionnés), répertoire des monnaies propres à Venise, équivalences entre les systèmes monétaires persan et chinois, informations sur le sel et les coquillages employés comme monnaie. De nombreuses illustrations, presque toujours peu connues, voire inconnues, complètent les analyses. Elles constituent un apport nouveau et considérable. L'examen des revenus perçus par le Grand Khan et mentionnés de manière assez détaillée par Marco Polo montre que le voyageur vénitien est parfaitement informé. Il a peut-être été inspecteur et contrôleur (c'était une idée de Luciano Petech), ayant eu entre les mains des documents officiels sur les redevances payées au Khan pour le commerce du sel, des épices et de la soie. Nul ne peut inventer des chiffres pour étayer ses dires, sans avoir eu, au préalable, les comptes financiers sous les yeux. Il faut avoir eu connaissance des relevés établis par l'administration concernant les grandes villes du sud de la Chine (notamment Hangzhou) pour pouvoir en donner un aperçu.

L'ouvrage de M. Vogel n'est pas seulement utile aux spécialistes de Marco Polo. Il apporte beaucoup aux historiens de la Chine et de l'Orient en général. Il permet de mieux connaître certaines transactions commerciales. Il donne des informations de première main sur la production du sel, produit de première nécessité dans les civilisations anciennes, à l'intérieur de la province du Yunnan et sur la monnaie de sel au Tibet. L'auteur ne se contente pas de procéder à un examen approfondi des questions monétaires évoquées dans le *Devisement du monde*. Il a opéré aussi des dépouillements considérables à travers plusieurs versions du texte de Marco Polo et il publie, en outre, une bibliographie très importante, qui inclut non seulement les recherches faites dans les grandes langues de l'Europe, mais aussi les travaux réalisés par des érudits chinois et japonais. Il est important de savoir qu'au plan monétaire le texte de Marco Polo est en parfait accord avec les sources conservées et les documents officiels chinois. Comme l'auteur le déclare justement, à n'en pas douter, Marco Polo est bien allé en Chine.

Philippe Ménard
Université de Paris-Sorbonne
Paris

PREFACE FROM THE AUTHOR

> Le père Martini qui donne le détail de ce fourni à chaque province au Trésor Royal faire monter ces revenus à de plus grandes sommes. Les exagérations ont autre fois attire a M. Polo le surnom de le mesme Marco Millioni.[1]

Because this book deals with currencies, salts and revenues and thus, as we will see, with huge amounts of money, it is appropriate to start with a remark on the origin of Marco Polo's (1254–1324) nickname "il Milione." Several explanations have been offered for it. In the early nineteenth century Giovanni Battista Baldelli Boni (1766–1831) derived it from the name of the province of Emilia and hence from "Emilione," a nickname that served to distinguish Marco Polo from many other Marcos among his relatives.[2] Boleslaw Szceśniak thought that the nickname belonged to one of the uncles of the traveller Marco Polo, namely Marco Polo *lo grando* of Soldachia, and was transferred from this Marco to his son Nicolo *lo grando*. Moreover, he held that the nickname was attributed wrongly by Jacopo d'Acqui and others to Marco Polo the traveller.[3] In a recent article Marco Pozza could, however, show that the nickname "Milion" was indeed used for Marco Polo the traveller, namely in a list of the confraternity of Santa Maria della Misericordia already in August 1, 1319. While indeed both Marco Polo *lo grando* as well as his son Nicolo *lo grando* carried this sobriquet, the mentioning of "Marco Polo Milion" in the confraternity list of 1319 could only refer to Marco Polo himself, because his uncle, Marco Polo *lo grando*, had already died in 1305 or 1306.[4]

---

[1] Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Nouvelles Acquisitions (NAF), 7482, *Collection Renaudot Sinica* (unknown author(s) of Jesuit testimonies from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries), Fol. 91v. I am indebted to Beatriz Puente-Ballesteros for bringing this passage to my attention.

[2] Cf. Boleslaw Szceśniak, "Marco Polo's Surname 'Milione' According to Newly Discovered Documents," *T'oung Pao*, 48.4/5 (1960), pp. 447–449; Folker E. Reichert, *Begegnungen mit China: Die Entdeckung Ostasiens im Mittelalter*, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke Verlag, 1992, p. 143.

[3] Szcesniak (1960), p. 452, and also Igor de Rachewiltz, "Marco Polo Went to China," *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 27 (1977), p. 69.

[4] See Marco Pozza, "*Marco Polo Milion*: An Unknown Source Concerning Marco Polo," *Mediaeval Studies*, 68 (2006): 285–301, especially pp. 288–289. The paper of Marco Pozza was pointed out to me again by Beatriz Puente-Ballesteros.

Apart from these more sober explanations, there exists a probably parallel tradition of a more denigrating nature, which relates "Milione" to the aspects of wealth and money. For instance, Fra Jacopo d'Acqui, an obscure author of the chronicle *Imago mundi*, thought that it arose because the Polos that had travelled to the East (Matteo, Niccolò, Marco) were millionaires. Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485–1577) explained it as coming from the incredibly huge revenues of the Great Khan which were so vividly described by Marco Polo.[5] As is made clear by the anonymous quotation above, "Milione" was indeed used as a not very flattering surname for Marco Polo, because he was believed to have exaggerated the amounts of revenues levied and collected by Khubilai (1215–1294), the Great Khan.[6]

In this book dealing with the specific topics of currencies, salts and revenues I will show, among other things, that Marco Polo did not earn this denigrating sobriquet. As a matter of fact, one important issue to be clarified in this work was indeed Marco Polo's indications of the Great Khan's revenues derived from the territory of Hangzhou (Kinsay). By making use of data derived both from textual sources and physical relics and by conversions carried out between different currencies I am able to demonstrate that Marco Polo's figures make sense and are not the product of fantasy prone to exaggerate the revenue of the Great Khan and to blow it up to "millions."

This book is the result of some side-line research started a few years ago. While originally planned to be published as a paper dealing "only" with the aspects of salt administration, salt production, salt money and salt revenue as mentioned in *Le devisament dou monde*,[7] its content grew in volume over the years when it became more and more clear that for a more complete and more convincing picture, other currencies—cowries and Yuan paper money—and other types of revenue had to be taken into

---

[5] See Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni e viaggi*, ed. by Marica Milanesi, Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1980, vol. 3, p. 30: "E perché nel continuo raccontare ch'egli faceva piú e piú volte della grandezza del gran Cane [...] riferiva tutte a milioni, lo cognominarono messer Marco Millioni."

[6] See also Marina Münkler, *Erfahrung des Fremden: Die Beschreibung Ostasiens in den Augenzeugenberichten des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2000, pp. 123–124.

[7] *Le devisament dou monde* is the name of the Franco-Italian manuscript, usually abbreviated as F. It is considered to be the oldest and in many respect most complete version of Marco Polo's account. Because the arguments brought forward for this conclusions are convincing to me, I basically refer in this book to the Franco-Italian manuscript, if not otherwise indicated.

account. Fuelled by a growing fascination for, and feverish enthusiasm about, the topic, the original outlay of the investigation was considerably expanded, thanks to a one-month research stay in Beijing in August 2009 and by dedicating part of my sabbatical in Leuven in 2010 to the expansion and completion of this book. To achieve this was, no doubt, facilitated by my long-standing research work in the history of monies, finance, salt and metrology in imperial China. Experience gathered in these fields over many years allowed me to take a fresh look at Marco Polo passages related to the complex topics of Yuan monetary and fiscal history. The result is presented in this book, which is intended not only to be a contribution to Marco Polo research and thus, more generally, intercivilisational encounters in a historical perspective, but which hopefully will also stimulate further critical investigations that will incorporate both data provided by textual sources and physical relics and research achievements obtained in Japan, China and the West. The fruitfulness of such a comprehensive approach based on a solid mastery in working with primary sources and secondary literature of different origins and cultural backgrounds will no doubt yield novel and surprising results even in a field as time-honoured as Marco Polo research.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

> Letters from the Fathers who were living at the Royal Court of Mogor, to their brethren in India, made mention of the famous Empire, which the Saracens called Cathay. This name was formerly known in Europe from the writings of Marco Polo, the Venetian, but through several centuries it was forgotten to such an extent that scarcely anyone now believed in the existence of such a place. [...][1]

The first results of my research were presented in a number of workshops, conferences or public lectures. In chronological order these were: Workshop I.4 of the DFG Research Group 596 "Monies, Markets and Finance in China and East Asia, 1600–1900: Local, Regional, National and International Dimensions," Department of Chinese and Korean Studies, University of Tübingen, May 19–20, 2006; University of Science and Technology of China, Hefei, April 9, 2007; Workshop "Visit Monetary History of a Quarter of Human Beings and Revisit what Monies actually are," Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, University of Tokyo, Sanjo Hall, May 21–22, 2007; "Lange Nacht der Tübinger Asien- und Orientwissenschaften," Institute of Asian and Oriental Studies, University of Tübingen, October 26, 2007; Symposium zum 50-jährigen Bestehen der Deutschen China-Gesellschaft im Jahr 2007, Industrie- und Handelskammer Karlsruhe, November 10, 2007; Panel 142 "Chinese Monetary History and the Perils of Conventional Monetary Theory," 2008 Annual Meeting of the Association of Asian Studies, April 3–6, Atlanta, Georgia; Linden-Museum Stuttgart, Juli 9, 2008; Ostasiatisches Seminar, Universität Zürich, Dezember 4, 2008; "Von der Lust des Forschens und Lehrens zwischen China und Europa," Symposium in honour of the last teaching term of Prof. Dr. Rudolf G. Wagner, Karl Jaspers Center, University of Heidelberg; Lecture for the German-Chinese Friendship Association Tübingen, December 6, 2010, Salzstadel Tübingen. I am indebted to the participants and discussants of these meetings for their constructive and helpful comments which have been taken into consideration in this book as far as possible. I would also like to thank my students

[1] Louis J. Gallagher, *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583–1610*, translated from the Latin by Louis J. Gallagher, S.J., with a foreword by Richard J. Cushing, D.D., L.L.D., Archbishop of Boston, New York: Random House, 1953, p. 499.

in their active and productive participation in the Marco Polo seminar in the winter term 2010/11 and in the Yuan seminar in the summer term 2011 at the Department of Chinese and Korean Studies, Tübingen University.

Special thanks go to a number of institutions for their financial support of this research work. First of all, the German Research Foundation has to be mentioned, which, within the framework of their generous support of the Research Group 596 "Monies, Markets and Finance in China and East Asia, 1600–1900: Local, Regional, National and International Dimensions," also granted a special sabbatical research semester to me which I partly used for expediting my Marco Polo research and for working on the book manuscript during my stay in Leuven from March to October 2010. I am especially grateful to Professor Nicolas Standaert at the Catholic University of Leuven for having me provided with office space and facilities which allowed me to push ahead with my work efficiently, freed from any of the usual, numerous obligations and chores in administration and teaching. For a one-month research stay in Beijing in the summer of 2009, where I had access to important Chinese primary sources and secondary literature, I gratefully acknowledge the financial support of both the Max-Planck Society, Munich, and the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Beijing. Brill Publishers, in the persons of Alfred Hoffstädt, Patricia Radder and Rachel L. Crofut, were a constant source of encouragement, especially in the process of editing and typesetting the manuscript, while for the index I likewise could rely on the professional help of Anne Holmes and Rod Rudnick (Nobleboro, Maine). Moreover, the Baden-Württembergische China-Gesellschaft (Baden-Württemberg Association for the Advancement of Cooperation with the People's Republic of China) and the Universitätsbund Tübingen—Vereinigung der Freunde der Universität Tübingen (University Band—Association of the Friends of the University of Tübingen) kindly supported me to cover the major part of the costs for the index.

A number of friends, colleagues and collaborators have supplied me with important additional material or gave me invaluable advice for further reading. These were Peter M. Kuhfus, Achim Mittag, Alexander Jost, Chen Hailian, Cao Jin, Ulrich Theobald (Department of Chinese and Korean Studies, Tübingen University), Matthias Niedenführ (European Centre for Chinese Studies at Peking University) as well as Beatriz Puente-Ballesteros, Ad Dudink and Noel Golvers (Sinologie, Faculteit Letteren, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven). Alexander Jost also checked for me, as far as possible, a number of entries on Yuan paper money written by Persian and Arabic authors and supplied me with the original texts that are

included in this book. Two of our department's student helpers, Johann Wong and Patric Dujardin, and our librarian, Thomas Gaiser, were very supportive in providing me relentlessly with copies of articles and books not available in our Tübingen institute or university library. At my home institution I could also count on two other graduate students, Katharina Markgraf and Ailika Schinköthe, in supporting me by carrying out editorial work on the manuscript as well as providing me with illustrations of good quality and the relevant copyrights. Stefan Dieball and Hans-Joachim Rosner, from the Tübingen Department of Geography, dressed up a number of beautiful and instructive maps for this volume. For the revision of the English of chapter IV, Nanny Kim (Institute of Chinese Studies, University of Heidelberg) assisted me in the beginning, a task, which for all the other chapters as well as the final manuscript, was then taken over by Anthony Green (Christchurch, New Zealand). Special thanks go to Kuroda Akinobu (Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, University of Tokyo), Arturo Giraldez (School of International Studies, University of the Pacific), Peter Bernholz (Center of Economics and Business, University of Basel), Morris Rossabi (Weatherhead East Asia Institute, Columbia University), Philippe Ménard (Université de Paris-Sorbonne), and Mark Elvin (St. Antony's College, Oxford, and Australian National University) who read and commented extensively on the manuscript, thus offering me important suggestions and proposals for further reflections and elaborations. Both Professor Elvin and Professor Ménard were also willing to contribute a preface to this volume in which they elucidate the continued importance of Marco Polo research from their own disciplinary perspectives. Where feasible and possible, I did my best to take all the suggestions offered by the above-mentioned colleagues into account during the final stage of the manuscript revision.

For Chinese the Pinyin system was adopted, and for Japanese the Hepburn transliteration. For Persian and Mongolian terms I basically followed the convention of Morris Rossabi in his *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), adopting for the former the Royal Asiatic Society system and for the latter Antoine Mostaert's scheme as modified by Francis W. Cleaves and adapted by Morris Rossabi. The adaptation by Professor Rossabi refers to the following deviations: č is ch, š is sh, γ is gh, q is kh, and ǰ is j. For the transliteration of the Arabic—with the exception of quotations or quotation-like passages—I have largely followed the system of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, but omitted diacritical points and length indicators. Thus I have replaced ǧ by j, ġ by gh, ḫ by kh, and ṯ with th. With regard to the transliteration of the texts in different Marco Polo manuscript versions I did my best to keep as close as possible to the diacritical conventions and pecularities of the relevant editons that I have used.

For the English rendering of Chinese official titles and names of administrative units I followed Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1985), basically because of his comprehensive approach in dealing with this difficult issue all over China's long history. It goes without saying that I also consulted the standard reference work for the Yuan period in this respect, namely, David M. Farquhar's *The Government of China under Mongolian Rule: A Reference Guide* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner (Münchener Ostasiatische Studien; 53), 1990). In the translation of designations of Yuan paper notes and monetary institutions I adopted, however, my own logic and terminology in order to do justice to the fine variations in terminological change from one monetary reform to the next.

As to place names and personal names mentioned in Marco Polo's account, I mostly use the transcriptions as indicated in Henry Yule, *The Travels of Marco Polo: The Complete Yule-Cordier Edition* (1903, repr. New York: Dover Publications, 1993), because they are quite widespread, at least in the Anglo-Saxon literature. In more specific contexts, however, I may indicate proper names as rendered in the Franco-Italian manuscript, or add these in parentheses. For technical terms I refer to the Franco-Italian version, as transcribed in Gabriella Ronchi, *Marco Polo, Milione. Le*

divisament dou monde: Il Milione nelle redazioni toscana e franco-italiana, with a preface of Cesare Segre (2nd ed. Milano: Mondadori (I meridiani), 1988). A convenient reference work for the different renderings in the most imporant Marco Polo manuscripts is Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, vol. 1, 1959; vol. 2, 1963; vol. 3, 1973).

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

> While the symbolic geography of Mandeville is devotional, the symbolic geography of Marco Polo is mercantile: consequently, materials and men flow both ways, up and down the rivers and canals.[1]

In this book I will discuss thoroughly Marco Polo's description of currencies, salts and revenues in Yuan China (1271–1368). Before giving a short introduction into the contents and themes of the individual chapters and the approaches I have adopted in investigating them, one important trait that is implicit in this work has to be underlined: Many of Marco Polo's descriptions are in excellent agreement with what is reported in Chinese sources—sources which, as for example the "History of the Yuan" (*Yuanshi* 元史), were compiled only after the Venetian had left China or even long after his death.[2] This is even more true for historical relics, such as

---

[1] Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "Currents and Currency in Marco Polo's *Devisement dou monde* and *The Book of John Mandeville*," in Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Amilcare Iannucci, with the assistance of John Tulk (eds.), *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2008, p. 123.

[2] The *Yuanshi* was compiled in 1369/70 and printed in 1370 under the newly established Ming Dynastie. See Herbert Franke, *Geld und Wirtschaft unter der Mongolen-Herrschaft: Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Yüan-Zeit*, Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1949, p. 17; Rolf Trauzettel, "Die chinesischen Quellen," in Michael Weiers (ed.), *Die Mongolen: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986, p. 11; and especially Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Memorial for Presenting the *Yüan shih*," *Asia Major*, third series, 1 (1988): 59–69. Large parts of the monographic chapters of he *Yuanshi*, including those on money and salt, were based on the *Jingshi dadian* 經世大典 (Statecraft Encyclopedia), the compilation of which was completed in 1331, but which was never printed. Only about five percent of the *Jingshi dadian* text survived in the *Guochao wenlei* (Categorized Documents of the Dynasty) compiled by Su Tianjue 蘇天爵 in 1342 and the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 (Great Encyclopedia of the Yongle Reign-period) completed in 1408. See Franke (1949), pp. 25–34. The *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang* 大元聖政國朝典章 (State Codex of the Sacred Government of the Great Yuan), another important source for Yuan economic, fiscal, and legal policies, was compiled after 1322. Cf. Erich Haenisch, "Steuergerechtsame der chinesischen Klöster unter der Mongolenherrschaft . . .," *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig . . .*, Leipzig: Hirzel, 1940, p. 8. The first European to have used this compilation was Pjotr Iwanowitsch Kafarow (1817–1878), a Russian archimandrite and sinologist, also known under his monastic name Palladius. Cf. Franke (1949), pp. 11–12. Another relevant collection of documents from the period 1270–1332, the [*Da Yuan*] *tongzhi tiaoge* [大元]通制條格

Yuan paper notes, which were discovered and intensively used in historical research only since the last decades of our own time, or in the case of modern research undertaken by Chinese, Japanese and Western historians who, centuries after Marco Polo, have brought to light many findings that are perfectly compatible with the descriptions given in *Le divisament dou monde*.

Marco Polo's account is also unique in the sense that it represents, in my view, an attempt at an overall depiction of the monetary conditions in Mongol China. It makes clear that in the Chinese empire of the Mongols paper money did by no means circulate in the same intensity in the different regions, nor was it current everywhere, but that there were areas, such as present-day Yunnan and southern Sichuan, in which gold, silver, cowries, and salt monies were predominantly current. No other Western, Persian or Arabic writer of whom we so far have knowledge was as precise, reliable and comprehensive as the Venetian in the treatment of the topics which I will discuss here. Therefore it seems indeed strange to me to assume that Marco Polo, of all other mediaeval authors reporting on the Far East, would have been just the one not to have been in China, while all the other, often much less precise writers are credited with having gone there. In other words, much more speaks for it that the Venetian really had been in the Great Khan's empire than against it. In view of this overall evaluation at which I arrived during my investigations, I eventually decided to choose the label "Marco Polo *Was* in China" for the title of this monograph.

1. Structure and Contents of this Book

> *I. Ci comancent le lobrique de cest livre qui est appelé le divis*[*a*]*ment dou monde*
> Seignors enperaor et rois, dux et marquois, cuens, chevaliers et b[o]rgio[i]s, et toutes gens que volés savoir les

(Regulations of the [Book of the] Comprehensive Rules [of the Great Yuan]), was compiled after 1332. It appears that the German sinologist Erich Haenisch was the first European to have made use of it. See Franke (1949), p. 12. On primary and secondary sources for the Yuan in general see Frederick W. Mote, "A Note on Traditional Sources for Yüan History," in Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6, *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1994a), pp. 689–726, who for the [*Da Yuan*] *tongzhi tiaoge* gives, however, 1321 as the date of compilation (p. 718) instead of 1332.

> deverses jenerasions des homes et les deversités des deverses region dou monde, si prennés cestui livre et le feites lire. Et qui trovererés toutes les grandismes mervoilles et les grant diversités de la grande Harminie et de Persie et des Tartars e ‹de› Indie, et de maintes autres provinces, sicom notre livre voç contera por ordre apertemant, sicome meisser Marc Pol, sajes et noble citaiens de Venece, raconte por ce que a seç iaus meisme il le voit. Mes auques hi n'i a qu'il ne vit pas, mes il l'entendi da homes citables et de verité; et por ce metreron les chouse veue por veue et l'entendue por entandue, por ce que notre livre soit droit et vertables sanç nulle ma‹n›songe.[3]

This book starts with the introduction, in which the reader finds, in the first sub-chapter, a laying out of its structure and contents and, in the second sub-chapter, a short description of the methods and approaches that have guided me during my research. Moreover, this first introductory chapter contains a rather lengthy third sub-chapter in which I have attempted, for the reader's convenience, to list all the major cons and pros adduced in the debate as to whether the Venetian was in China or not. Although not aiming at being exhaustive, it was designed to provide extensive information on the state of the field as far as I became aware of it, including such topics as authorship, manuscript transmission, nature,

---

[3] See Gabriella Ronchi, *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde: Il Milione nelle redazioni toscana e franco-italiana*, with a preface of Cesare Segre, 2nd ed. Milano: Mondadori (I meridiani), 1988, p. 305. The prologue to the Franco-Italian version of Marco Polo's book reads in Henry Yule's translation as follows: "Great Princes, Emperors and Kings, Dukes and Marquises, Counts, Knights and Burgesses! and people of all degrees who desire to get knowledge of the various races of mankind and of the diversities of the sundry regions of the World, take this Book and cause it to be read to you. For ye shall find therein all kinds of wonderful things, and the divers histories of the Great Hermania, and of Persia, and of the Land of the Tartars and of India, and of many another country of which our book doth speak, particularly and in regular succession, according to the description of Messer Marco Polo, a wise and noble citizen of Venice, as he saw them with his own eyes. Some things indeed there be therein which he beheld not; but these he heard from men of credit and veracity. And we shall set down things seen as seen, and things heard as heard only, so that no jot of falsehood may mar the truth of our Book, [...]." See Henry Yule, *The Travels of Marco Polo: The Complete Yule-Cordier Edition*, 1903, repr. New York: Dover Publications, 1993, vol. 1, p. 1. On the prologues in different Marco Polo manuscripts see now Philippe Ménard, "Réflexions sur le prologue des différentes versions du *Devisement du Monde* de Marco Polo," in Monique Léonard, Xavier Leroux and François Roudaut (eds.), *Le lent brassement des livres, des rites et de la vie: Mélanges offerts à James Dauphiné*, Paris: Champion, 2009c, pp. 97–113.

style, intentions and receptions of the book,[4] itinerary and data, Persian rendering of Chinese place names, aspects of Mongol and Chinese civilisation and culture, "Latins" at Khubilai's court, the Xiangyang siege, governorship of Yangzhou, the missions of the Polos, the Polos and Chinese sources, their return to Europe, as well as the golden tablets of authority.

After this introduction, in the second chapter I investigate the Venetian traveller's account of paper money used in wide parts of the Chinese territories under the control of the Mongols. Because a number of Chinese, Japanese and Western scholars have already undertaken substantial and comprehensive research on the famous Yuan paper money, this chapter focuses on the relevant details provided by Marco Polo's account and elucidates them in the light of textual sources and historical relics. After a discourse analysis of the Marco Polo text(s), I first compare his topical elements with those transmitted by other Western, Persian and Arabic mediaeval authors. In a second step, the information contained in *Le divisament dou monde* is juxtaposed with data provided by Chinese sources—not only historiographical works, but especially the many specimens of Yuan paper notes that have survived into our present time. All this will show that Marco Polo's is by far the most complete and accurate account among all the occidental and oriental mediaeval writers, as it deals with such diverse topics as the production, size, colour and denominations of paper notes, the institutions involved in their production, distribution and demonetarization, coercive monetary laws and regulations, the use of paper money in private and governmental transactions, as well as the payment of paper notes against delivery of gold, silver, pearls and gems (thus accumulating in the ruler's treasury) and, *vice versa* and in exceptional cases, the supply of these precious materials against payment of paper notes.

In the third chapter, concentrating on Marco Polo's passages on cowry money circulating in Yunnan as well as in regions of Southeast Asia, basically the same approach is applied as in the second chapter—namely, to take into account, as comprehensively as possible, all primary sources and secondary literature dealing with the topic of cowry currency during the Yuan period. A wide number of themes are discussed, such as denominations and exchange rates, cowry imports, and the use of cowry in both private sectors and public finance. In this chapter, too, the veracity and

[4] Here and there I will speak of "Marco Polo's book." The reader may be assured that this is mostly for convenience's sake and that I am well aware of the great variety of manuscripts and the complexities of their transmission.

uniqueness of Marco Polo's account will be one of the conspicuous conclusions resulting from this investigation.

One of the main thrusts of this book and thus perhaps the most innovative aspect for Marco Polo research is to be found in the fourth, fifth and sixth chapters dealing mainly with the administration, production, transportation, consumption and use of salt in China during the Yuan period. In the fourth chapter, I will start with a critical discussion of relevant passages in Frances Wood's book in which she claimed that Marco Polo did not go to China.[5] This will be then followed by an investigation of the references to salt production in Yunnan and the use of salt currency in

[5] See Frances Wood, *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* London: Secker & Warburg, 1995. Doubts about the veracity of the Venetian's report have a long history. In the second half of the fourteenth century, when contacts with the Far East were basically cut off, Marco Polo's account was increasingly disbelieved. See, e.g., the case of the Florentine patrician Amelio Bonaguisi *podestà* in the village of Cerreto Guidi, who in 1392 did not give faith to it. The first public denunciation of the book as fiction was pronounced in *Astley's Voyages* published 1747 in London, where doubts were raised as to whether Marco Polo had really been in Tartary and in China (John Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999, pp. 133, 174–175). Before Wood, other scholars, especially Karl Dietrich Hüllmann in the nineteenth century and Hans O. H. Stange, Fr. Streicher, Herbert Franke, John W. Haeger, Craig Clunas, and Rolf Trauzettel in the twentieth century, had already expressed doubts of various degrees as to whether Marco Polo had been in China (Hüllmann, Stange, Streicher, Clunas) or had ever gone beyond Beijing (Haeger). Cf. Dietmar Henze, *Enzyklopädie der Entdecker und Erforscher der Erde*, Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 2000, vol. 4, pp. 353, 365–368, 375, on Hüllmann, Streicher, and Stange; Herbert Franke, "Sino-Western Contacts under the Mongol Empire," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Hong Kong Branch)*, 6 (1966): 53–54, reprinted in his *China under Mongol Rule*, Aldershot: Variorum, 1994; John W. Haeger, "Marco Polo in China? Problems with Internal Evidence," *Bulletin of Sung and Yüan Studies*, 14 (1978): 22–30 (being of the opinion that the Polos only stayed near Khubilai in Dadu and Shangdu, but did not visit other places before their passage to Quanzhou in order to depart by sea for Persia); Craig Clunas, in the China Supplement of the *Times*, April 14, 1982; Rolf Trauzettel, "Die Yüan-Dynastie," in Weiers (ed.) (1986a), p. 233 (suspecting that Marco Polo went not beyond Karakorum and obtained his knowledge about China mainly from merchants who had been there). Among all these authors the cautious and open-ended statement of the late Herbert Franke is one that has especially to be singled out: "[…] All this [Marco Polo's boasting of having been governor of Yangzhou, his boasted claim of having taken part in the siege of Xiangyang, his questionable assertion of the Polos having been the first Europeans at Khubilai Khan's court, and his blanks in mentioning tea and the Chinese script] has cast some doubt on the contention that the Polo family spent a long time in China. But however that may be, until definite proof has been adduced that the Polo book is a world description, where the chapters on China are taken from some other, perhaps Persian, source (some expressions he uses are Persian), we must give him the benefit of the doubt and assume that he was there after all. […]" In other words, the words of this eminent sinologist and Mongolist do not warrant to be adduced for rejecting the veracity of Marco Polo's stay in China.

this province and in *Tebet*,[6] both in Marco Polo's account as well as in Chinese sources. This fourth chapter, like the previous third chapter on cowry currency, will make clear that while Marco Polo is the only one among the Western, Persian and Arabic mediaeval authors mentioning salt money in Yunnan and *Tebet*, a number of Chinese sources from before and after the Yuan period do exist corroborating Polo's observations. Together with Marco Polo's report, these Chinese sources provide invaluable insights into Yunnan and *Tebet*'s particularities of salt production as well as their monetary conditions and customary practices. These particularities comprise the kinds and forms of solid salt used as monetary substitute, the characteristics of the monetary functions of salt currencies vis-à-vis other small and large monies, and the role of governmental and private actors in the production, standardization and distribution of salt monies. By analysing and comparing the information obtained, both from Marco Polo and Chinese sources, it can be demonstrated that these two types of source materials of basically different origin do complement and corroborate each other surprisingly well. Apart from being a specific contribution to Marco Polo research, the elucidation of the history of salt money in Yunnan, *Tebet* and other parts of Southwest China provides, moreover, interesting material for the study of the history of small currencies and monetary substitutes. Hence, as far as possible, examples of the adoption of salt currency in other parts of the world have been integrated into this investigation in order to throw some light on the systemic and functional characteristics of salt and other types of monetary substitutes from a more global point of view.

Marco Polo not only mentioned the salt and salt currency of Yunnan and *Tebet*, but also presented a detailed description of the salt production in Changlu in southeastern Hebei and made more general remarks on the production, taxation and trade of salt in the famous Lianghuai salt zone. This is the topic of the fifth chapter in which I show that his information on Changlu and Lianghuai is perfectly in agreement with what we know from Chinese sources about the salt industry and administration in the maritime regions of China during and around the Yuan period. The Venetian's account, however, is not only accurate in details concerning salt production, taxation and trade, but also in a more general sense, because

---

[6] In Marco Polo's report *Tebet, Thebeth* etc. rather referred to eastern Tibet or what today is western Sichuan than to present-day Tibet. See Stephen G. Haw, *Marco Polo's China: A Venetian in the Realm of Khubilai Khan*, London and New York: Routledge, 2006, pp. 98–99. Hence I opted to mark the difference by name and by using italic script.

his many references to the "white gold" adequately reflect the tremendous importance of salt production and, especially, salt revenue in China under the Mongols. Apart from this revealing topic, in this chapter I will also shortly deal with the contention that Marco Polo held an office in Yangzhou and will weigh the pros and cons for this assumption.

This is then followed by the sixth chapter, which not only discusses the figures given by the Venetian for the salt revenue of the Hangzhou (Kinsay)[7] region, but also his indications about the total annual revenue levied in the Hangzhou territory. It is quite surprising to see that these figures are not outrageously exaggerated or inflated when being interpreted on the background of the data we can cull from Chinese sources. Therefore, in the light of the result of this investigation it is quite undeserved that Marco Polo was nicknamed "il Milione," one reason for this being, as had been mentioned in my preface, the millions of *saggi* of gold indicated by him as annual government salt revenue collected in Hangzhou's jurisdiction. Moreover, in this chapter I will also shortly discuss the Venetian's correct specifications on commercial taxes in general and on levies raised for overseas trade activities in Quanzhou.

In the seventh chapter, I will highlight another aspect of the preciseness of Marco Polo's report. During my research on monies, salts and revenues I became increasingly aware of the Venetian's many correct statements regarding the administrative-geographic structures of the Yuan empire. In many instances the relevant descriptions and observations contained in *Le devisament dou monde* are amazingly correct and precise, a fact which so far has not yet been appreciated to its full extent. This eventually prompted me to add this special chapter in support of the assertion that the Polos indeed had been in the Far East.

This book, moreover, contains a number of appendices which discuss some special, but fundamental, technical topics, such as the coins of Venice, different weight and measures current in Venice, Persia, and China, or which contain passages on Yuan paper money, salt currency, salt production and salt revenue from a variety of Marco Polo manuscripts, including the most important ones.

---

[7] I have to admit that I am perhaps not totally consistent in the transcription of place names and personal names as they were used in different renderings of Marco Polo's account. In a more general context, I mostly use the transcriptions of Yule (1903) because they are quite widespread in the literature. In more specific contexts I indicate the proper names as rendered in the Franco-Italian manuscript, or add them in parentheses.

Finally, apart from the index, this work ends with a Marco Polo bibliography, divided into "Marco Polo Editions," "Other Primary Sources," and "Secondary Literature." In the section dealing with Marco Polo editions I have added some comments that will help the reader to identify the special characteristics and descent of a given Marco Polo manuscript or printed version. In "Other Primary Sources" I collected these works in Western, Chinese or Japanese languages that are important for a proper contextualisation of Marco Polo's book or which were relevant for my research on Mongol China and intercivilisational encounters during that period. The long bibliography on secondary literature is noteworthy in several respects. First of all, I have made an attempt to include all important Marco Polo research that has been carried out in the West, China and Japan from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century. Moreover, I have endeavoured to be as exhaustive as possible in the fields of Yuan cowry and salt currencies as well as salt production and administration under the Mongols. I was, however, selective with regard to research carried out on Yuan paper money, as publications—especially Chinese ones, though of widely different quality, are extremely numerous in this field.

2. Approaches and Methods

> *LX. Ci devise de la provence de* [*G*]*hin*[*g*]*hintalas*
> [. . .] Et en ceste montagnes meisme se trouve une voine de la quel se fait la salamandre; et sachiés que salamandre ne est pas beste come ue‹n› dit, mes est tes choses com je dirai desout. [. . .][8]

My investigation undertaken for this work is characterized by four specific approaches. First, I wanted to make a new contribution to Marco Polo research by taking a fresh, systematic and critical look at both Chinese historigraphical records and surviving physical relics relevant for the main topics explored in this book. The relevance of these different types of primary sources, i.e. records and relics, for Marco Polo research cannot be underestimated. As for historiographical records, it has to be highlighted

[8] See Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 376. In the rendering of Yule (1903), vol. 1, pp. 212–213, this passage in the Franco-Italian manuscript reads as follows: "*Chapter XLLL. Of the Province of Chingintalas.* [. . .] And you most know that in the same mountain there is a vein of a substance from which Salamander [asbestos] is made. For the real truth is that the Salamander is no beast, as they allege in our part of the world, but is a substance found in the earth; and I will tell you about it. [. . .]"

time and again that many, if not most, of these texts were written or compiled long after Marco Polo's departure or death and thus could not have served him, either in a direct or an indirect way, as a literary blueprint. But also the role of historical relics is of great importance as most of them had been discovered only during recent decades and thus have not yet been taken systematically into account in Marco Polo research. For instance, surviving specimens of Yuan paper notes allow us now to carry out a very close comparison between these surviving relics and the indications made in Marco Polo's account. Thus, it is especially the combination of textual research and investigation of physical relics (Yuan paper notes, silver ingots, and weights) that constitutes one of the main thrusts of my approach.

A second characteristic aim of this book is my endeavour to give more weight to recent—but also less recent yet nonetheless hardly known—Chinese and Japanese research achievements both in Marco Polo research and in the history of the Yuan monetary system and salt administration. One example of the potential provided by such work comes from the contributions to the international Marco Polo conference held in Tianjin, August 17–20, 2000. Interestingly, during this convention almost all Marco Polo researchers of the Chinese Mainland maintained that the Venetian went to China, while admitting at the same time that his account contains inaccuracies and errors. In their view, Polo's book provides extremely important information not recorded in other sources, especially on political incidents, military events, customs and habits, regional and local particularities, as well as social and economic conditions of the early Yuan period. Moreover, many of the Chinese scholars stressed the conformity between Polo's report and Chinese (and sometimes also Persian) sources in a number of instances.[9]

---

[9] See Qiu Shusen 邱樹森 and Fang Jun 方駿, "Conference Report—New Findings in Marco Polo Studies: A Brief Report on the International Conference on Marco Polo and 13th Century China," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, 31 (2001): 356–362. Earlier important collections of proceedings of Marco Polo conferences in China are Yu Shixiong 余士雄 (ed.), *Make Boluo jieshao yu yanjiu* 马可·波罗介绍与研究 (Introduction and Investigation of Marco Polo), Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1983, as well as Lu Guojun 陆国俊, Chi Mingwei 赤名玮 and Sun Chengmu 孙成木 (chief eds.), *Zhongxi wenhua jiaoliu xianqu—Make Boluo: Jinian Make Boluo li Hua hui guo 700 zhounian (1291–1991)* 中西文化交流先驱—马可·波罗: 纪念马可·波罗离华回国700周年 (1291–1991) (Marco Polo, a Pioneer in the Cultural Exchange between East and West: Commemorating the 700th Year of Marco Polo's Departure from China and Return to his Country (1291–1991)), Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1995. For a recent overview of Chinese Marco Polo research since the 1870s see Gu Weimin, "Le ricerche su Marco Polo in Cina, dal 1874 al 1995," in Frederico

The third guideline to be adopted consisted not only in including, as much as possible, the results of recent general Western and Eastern Marco Polo studies, but more particularly also the newest research on the different Marco Polo manuscript versions mainly undertaken by Western scholars. My consultation of relevant works as they have been published in English, Italian,[10] French, German and Spanish was prompted by the increasingly growing awareness that rather than searching for an *Urtext* or "the original text,"[11] the considerable variety of Marco Polo *texts*, i.e. in the plural, as handed down in a hundred and thirty-five manuscripts[12] has to be taken into account. In other words, when dealing with my topic concerning monies, salts and revenue I wanted to make sure that my interpretations will not be jeopardized by referring to a modern composite version only or by a random selection of manuscript editions. Although I will speak here and there of "Marco Polo's book,"[13] this does by no means imply that I am unaware of the not inconsiderable varieties between the different manuscript strands. Yet, because in this publication I was not primarily concerned with the fine-tuned and impressive investigations into graphical, phonetical, morphological, morphosyntactical and syntactical varieties between different manuscripts undertaken by researchers of Romance languages and literature, but have instead concentrated on a

---

Masini et al. (eds.) (2006), pp. 317–348. See in this context also the remark of Zhang Xilong who believes that, for instance, the work of the Chinese historian Yang Zhijiu 杨志玖 deserves much wider circulation and better appreciation in the field of Marco Polo scholarship. See Zhang Xilong, "Marco Polo, Chinese Cultural Identity and an Alternative Model of East-West Encounter," in Akbari and Iannucci (2008), pp. 281ff. This certainly also holds true for a number of other Chinese and Japanese scholars, such as Fang Guoyu 方国瑜 or Maeda Naonori 前田直典, to mention only two of them.

[10] For a convenient and helpful overview of Italian Marco Polo research see Francesco Surdich, "La più recente storiografia poliana," in *Storiografia e storia: Studi in onore di Eugenio Duprè Theseider*, vol. 1, Roma: Bulzoni, 1974, pp. 105–121, and id., "Trent'anni di studi italiani su Marco Polo: Un bilancio," in Cosimo Palagiano et al. (eds.) (2007), pp. 161–193.

[11] For a critical stance in this respect see, e.g., Philippe Ménard, "Introduction," in Marie-Luce Chênerie, Michèle Guéret-Laferté et Philippe Ménard, *Départ des voyageurs et traversée de la Perse*, in Philippe Ménard (ed.), *Marco Polo: Le devisement du monde*, Genève: Librairie Droz S. A., 2001, p. 12, and—even more pronounced—Anja Overbeck, *Literarische Skripta in Ostfrankreich: Edition und sprachliche Analyse einer französischen Handschrift des Reiseberichts von Marco Polo (Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Cod. Holm. M 304)*, Trier: Kliomedia (Trierer Historische Forschungen; 51), 2003, pp. 22, 89–95.

[12] On this figure see the documentation in Consuelo Wager Dutschke, "Francesco Pipino and the Manuscripts of Marco Polo's 'Travels'," PhD diss., University of Los Angeles, 1993, UMI.

[13] For the fact that the author and compiler called their account a "book" (*livre*) see Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, "Lingue e stili nel 'Milione'," in Renzo Zorzi (ed.), *L'epopea delle scoperte*, Firenze: Olschki, 1994, p. 61.

comparison between Marco Polo's account on the one hand and Chinese records and relics on the other, I therefore limited myself to the target of obtaining an overall but nonetheless systematic insight into Marco Polo manuscript research. This not only guided me in paying due attention to the problems related to different manuscript versions and their transmissions, but also allowed me to find my own answer to the question of which manuscript versions are more reliable and pristine with regard to the topics discussed in this book.

Eventually, in the process of finalizing this manuscript I made myself more familiar with the state of the field in Yuan history in general and Khubilai's period in particular. The reason for this was that I felt the necessity for a better understanding, in a hermeneutical way, of Marco Polo's account when set against the background of the conditions in China during his time. One aim was to find further indications useful for an evaluation of the degree of reliability or unsoundness of his report; the other objective was to explore in a preliminary way in which direction further research focussing on the juxtaposition between the information provided by the Venetian and data contained in Chinese and other sources might fruitfully be pursued.

3. Cons and Pros for Marco Polo's Stay in China

> And after one moon the royal flags faced in the direction of X(ū)rāsān [i.e. Khurasan] and into the city of Abh(a)r came Xwāǰ(a)h [i.e. Coja] and the party of *īlčīān* ("messengers") whom Arγūn [i.e. Arghun] Xān had sent to the servitude of Qā'ān [i.e. Khubilai Khan] in order that they bring one of the kinswomen of the Great B(u)l(u)γān [i.e. the great queen Bolgana] and seat her in her place. And they had brought Kūkāǰīn Xātūn [i.e. Kökechin] with other *t(a)ngsūq-hā* ("marvelous things") of X(i)tā'i [i.e. Catai] and Čīn which would be worthy of kings. Γāzān [i.e. Ghazan] Xān halted there and took Kūkāǰīn Xātūn. And after the completion of the act of *z(a)fāf* [i.e. consummation] from those *t(a)ngsūq-hā* he sent a share [i.e. *b(a)bri* emended to *b(a)hrī*] with a few other things to the presence of K(a)īxātū [i.e. Gaykhatu] and departed to the side of D(a)māw(a)nd.[14]

[14] Rashid al-Din's famous report on the hand-over of Princess Kökechin by Coja to Ghazan Khan in 1293, as translated and emended by Francis Woodman Cleaves, "A Chinese

As will be elucidated in the eighth and concluding chapter of this book, one important result of this investigation is that it provides further ammunition for the group of those scholars that are of the opinion that Marco Polo did indeed go to China. As is well-known, the publication of Frances Wood's book—now some ten years ago—has aroused considerable reaction in the scholarly world. Wood's final conclusion was that on the available evidence Marco could have gained the information compiled in his book partly from his father and uncle who are credited by her to really have been in the East, and partly from the knowledge of furthest Asia collected by the family's commercial houses in the Crimea and Constantinople, with the additional help of Persian guidebooks and maps available to him, and without having set himself foot much beyond those trading posts. While some scholars concurred with her doubts, many others strongly opposed her arguments and interpretations. For the reader's guidance, I will present here a summary of the relevant controversies and discussions prompted by Frances Wood's doubts. Thereby I will base myself mainly on the critical reviews of her book by Igor de Rachewiltz,[15] but also by adding insights from many other scholars in East and West.[16]

Source Bearing on Marco Polo's Departure from China and a Persian Source on his Arrival in Persia," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 36 (1976): 195–197. Marco Polo claimed in his book that he was part of this embassy sent by Khubilai to escort the Mongol princess to the court of the Ilkhan Arghun in Persia.

[15] See Igor de Rachewiltz, "Marco Polo Went to China," *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 27 (1997): 34–92; id., "Marco Polo Went to China: Additions and Corrections," *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 28 (1998): 177; id., "Wood's *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* A Critical Appraisal," http://rspas.anu.edu.au/eah/Marcopolo.html.

[16] For detailed and balanced accounts recently published in the West in reaction to Wood's hypothesis see Stephen G. Haw, *Marco Polo's China: A Venetian in the Realm of Khubilai Khan*, London and New York: Routledge, 2006; Peter Jackson, "Marco Polo and his 'Travels'," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 61.1 (1998): 82–101; Jean-Pierre Voiret, "China, 'objektiv' gesehen: Marco Polo als Berichterstatter," *Asiatische Studien*, 51.3 (1997): 805–821; Joergen Jensen, "The World's Most Diligent Observer," *Asiatische Studien*, 51.3 (1997), pp. 719–729; David O. Morgan, "Marco Polo in China—or not," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, third series, 6.2 (1996): 221–225.

Frances Wood's book was also discussed and criticized in China. See, e.g., Yang Zhijiu 杨志玖, "Zailun Make Boluo shu de zhenwei wenti" 再论马可波罗书的真伪问题 (Again Discussing the Authenticity of Marco Polo's Book), *Lishi yanjiu* 历史研究 (Historical Research), 2 (1994): 72–78; Huang Shijian, "The Early Dissemination of Tea in Northern Asia and the Western Region—Why Marco Polo Never Mentioned Tea," transl. by Lu Yunzhong, rev. by Yang Zhi and Bruce Doar, *Social Sciences in China*, 15.4 (1994): 167–175; Yang Zhijiu, "Make Boluo daoguo Zhongguo—Dui 'Make Boluo daoguo Zhongguo ma?' de huida" 马可波罗到过中国—对《马可波罗到过中国吗？》的回答 (Marco Polo Went to China: An Answer to *Did Marco Polo Go to China?*), *Lishi yanjiu* 历史研究 (Historical Research), 3 (1997): 107–122; Yang Zhijiu, "Marco Polo Did Come to China: A Reply to *Did Marco Polo Go to China?*" *Social Sciences in China*, 19.3 (1998a): 98–123; Huang Shi-

Thirteen major fields of controversy can be distinguished, namely authorship of the book, complexities of manuscript transmission, the book's nature and style, itinerary and data, Persian rendering of Chinese place names, aspects of Chinese and Mongolian civilization and culture, "Latins"

---

jian and Gong Yingyan, "Marco Polo and the Great Wall—Also on *Did Marco Polo Go to China?*" transl. by Deng Ying and Liu Xiangnan, *Social Sciences in China*, 20.3 (1999): 117–134. Moreover, the articles and arguments of Yang Zhijiu, one of the most prominent critics of Wood's thesis, were collected in a book. See Yang Zhijiu, *Make Boluo zai Zhongguo* 马可波罗在中国 (Marco Polo was in China), Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 1999.

The most recent Chinese contribution to the Wood debate is Peng Hai 彭海, *Make Boluo lai Hua shishi* 马可波罗来华史实 (The Historical Truth of Marco Polo's Stay in China), Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2010. As far as possible I took many of the findings of Peng Hai's refreshing and detailed study into account, though I do not share them in all instances. I think that the arguments adduced by him for proving that the father and uncle of Marco Polo participated in the Xiangyang siege are not convincing. Moreover, I have not found the time yet to probe more deeply into his claim that Marco Polo is indeed mentioned in Yuan sources. Certainly, his arguments deserve discussion, but also careful checking and considerate reflections for which a special article is a more appropriate format than this book. Apart from these two critical items, however, Peng Hai's book is a treasure-trove for Marco Polo research related to China, and it is especially strong in dealing with the question of what was the administrative function of the Venetian in Yangzhou, if at all, even though also here one is not unconditionally inclined to consent to all the statements proffered by this Chinese Marco Polo researcher. One weak point of this book is, moreover, that editing was carried out very poorly, not only in the case of the flawed English quotations which are sometimes almost impossible to decode, but also with regard to many misprints in the Chinese text.

On the history of the images and literary *topoi* of China and Asia and the *mirabilia* tradition related to them from antiquity to the early modern period in Europe and the history of reception of Marco Polo's book in Europe see especially Folker Reichert, "Columbus und Marco Polo—Asien in Amerika: Zur Literaturgeschichte der Entdeckungen," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, 5 (1988): 1–63; Enrico Abramo Vicentini, "I generi in Marco Polo: Il testo e sua storia," PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1991, UMI; Reichert (1992); Dutschke (1993); John Critchley, *Marco Polo's Book*, Aldershot, Hampshire, and Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, 1992; Larner (1999); Nicole Steidl, *Marco Polos "Heydnische Chronik": Die mitteldeutsche Bearbeitung des "Divisament dou monde" nach der Admonter Handschrift Cod. 504*, Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2010, pp. 107–222.

For a detailed and informed account of Marco Polo's report see Leonardo Olschki, *Marco Polo's Asia: An Introduction to his "Description of the World," Called "Il Milione,"* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960. An informative exhibition catalogue is *Marco Polo: Ausstellung in der SKA-Galerie "Le Point" Zürich*, Zürich: Schweizerische Kreditanstalt, 1995. For a bibliography covering works in Western languages, Russian, Chinese, Japanese and Korean up to the 1980s see Watanabe Hiroshi 渡邊宏, *Marco Polo Bibliography* マルコ・ポーロ *1477–1983*, Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1986.

Evidence of the ongoing fascination with Marco Polo research is a number of recent scholarly publications on various facets of his report. I limit myself to mention here the most recent Western publications, such as the collected articles in Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Amilcare Iannucci, with the assistance of John Tulk (eds.), *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2008, and the three-volumes proceedings of the conference on the occasion of the 750th anniversary of Marco Polo's birth, i.e., Frederico Masini, Franco Salvatori, and Sandro

at Khubilai's court, participation in the Xiangyang siege, governorship of Yangzhou, missions of the Polos, the Polos and Chinese sources, return from China, and the golden tablets of authority. When discussing these topics, I will first introduce the critique of those who have doubted that the Venetian was in China, followed by the arguments of those supporting the view of his having been there.

3.1. *Authorship of the Book*

Critique: The role of Rustichello da Pisa (Rusticiaus de Pise), known as the author of the Arthurian novel *Meliadus*, in editing Marco's work is ambiguous. It is difficult to say what, in the book, is Marco's own contribution and what are the later additions of Rustichello or other editors.

Responses: In his monograph on Marco Polo's book John Critchley states that Rustichello's influence in the Franco-Italian version (F) is negligible. It is only visible in the book's *incipit*, with an opening address similar than that in his Arthurian novel *Meliadus*—the welcoming of the returning Polos by the Great Khan—which resembles King Arthur's dispatching of men to welcome the great Tristan, and in the description of battles scences influenced by the Arthurian style in contemporary romances.[17] Having tested the text by computer analysis he comes to the conclusion that the book is rather homogeneous in the sense that there is no variation over the book in respect to the richness of its vocabulary—that is, the number of different roots (lemmata) used in one passage compared to another. Based on all this as well as on other considerations and reflections he is

---

Schipani (eds.), *Marco Polo 750 Anni: Il viaggio. Il libro. Il diritto; Congresso Internationale, Roma, 23 novembre 2004, Venezia, 25 november 2004 (Università degli Studi di Roma "Tor Vergata," Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienzia," Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia)*, Roma: Tiellemedia Editore, 2006; Cosimo Palagiano, Cristiano Pesaresi and Miriam Marta (eds.), *L'impresa di Marco Polo: Cartografia, viaggi, percezione; Convegno Internationale, Spoleto, 16 e 17 dicembre 2005 (Dipartimento di Geografia Umana, "Sapienzia" Università di Roma)*, Roma: Tiellemedia Editore, 2007; Silvia Conte (ed.), *I viaggi del* Milione*: Itinerari testuali, vettori di trasmissione e metamorfosi del* Devisement du monde *di Marco Polo e Rustichello da Pisa nella pluralità delle attestazioni; Convegno Internazionale, Venezia, 6–8 ottobre 2005 (Università degli Studi di Roma "Tor Vergata," Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia)*, Roma: Tiellemedia Editore, 2008.

[17] Jacques Monfrin mentions, however, further parallelisms between the *Meliadus* and the Franco-Italian rendering of Marco Polo's book, in particular when describing the knight Caradoc in the former and Aigiaruc, i.e. Khutulun, the daughter of Caidu (Kaidu), in the latter. See Jacques Monfrin, "La tradition du texte de Marco Polo," in his *Études de philologie romane,* Genève: Droz (Publications romanes et françaises; 230), 2001, p. 525.

of the opinion that, until the contrary can be proven, it is a sound working hypothesis that the Franco-Italian text represents the voice, the opinion, and the "personality" of Marco Polo himself.[18]

Much research has been undertaken on the authorship of Marco Polo's report by mediaevalists and historians of literature, especially in Italy, which show in my view that certain hypotheses about the contributions of Marco Polo and Rustichello da Pisa are more probable than others.[19] They also demonstrate that the question of the authorship of the work is complex, but nonetheless explainable to a certain extent. Cesare Segre, by summarizing much of former research, pointed out, for instance, that it is quite common in the Franco-Italian version (F) that the narrator, Marco Polo, is called *mesire Mar Pol* and is quoted or paraphrased in the third person, while the compilator, Rustichello, calls himself *le mestre* and uses the first person singular or plural for himself. Sometimes, however, the narrator, Marco Polo, is indicated in the first person singular or plural, which appears to indicate that in certain instances the Venetian explicitly claimed command over the authorship of the report. Such cases occur not only in the Franco-Italian (F), but also in the Tuscan (TA) and the Latin Z version of Toledo (which, by the way, does not mention Rustichello at all). Another clearly distinguishable meaning of the first person plural is in the sense of an inclusive "we," that is, the narrator and the reader, the latter being taken by his hand by the narrator.[20] All in all, the most

---

[18] Critchley (1992), pp. 1ff. and especially p. 29.

[19] As has been pointed out, e.g. by Folker Reichert, the most important mediaeval reports on Asia show the same pattern of labour division with an author dictating his account to a writer editing the related and putting it down in writing. His examples are Odorico da Pordenone (1286–1331) and his *frater*, Guglielmo di Solagna, the Armenian Hetum and a certain Nicolaus Falco, and Nicolò de Conti (ca. 1395–1469) and the papal secretary and humanist Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459). See Folker Reichert, "Chinas Beitrag zum Weltbild der Europäer: Zur Rezeption der Fernostkenntnisse im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, 6 (1989a), p. 41. For an introduction to more recent studies on Rustichello see Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, "Nuovi studi su Marco Polo e Rustichello da Pisa," in Luigina Morini (ed.), *La cultura dell'Italia padana e la presenza francese nei secoli XII–XV (Pavia, 11–14 settembre 1994)*, Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2001, pp. 95–110.

[20] See Cesare Segre, "Chi ha scritto il *Milione*," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 5–16. For a similar argumentation cf. Dietmar Rieger, "Marco Polo und Rustichello da Pisa: Der Reisende und sein Erzähler," in Xenja von Ertzdorff and Dieter Neukirch, with the editorial collaboration of Rudolf Schultz (eds.), *Reisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Amsterdam—Atlanta, GA: Rodopi (Chloe; Beihefte zum Daphnis; 13), 1992, pp. 289–312. Rieger (p. 303) thinks, however, that the first person plural often refers to Marco Polo *and* Rustichello, but this is explicitly denied by Segre (p. 13) who states that both first person singular and first person plural (*pluralis maiestatis*) have the same

plausible scenario for Cesare Segre is that in the prison of Genoa Marco Polo has provided Rustichello with some notes particularly of descriptive character, while for the narrative parts it is probable that he related these to Rustichello who then put his words into a literary form (cf. F, chap. CLVII: *metre en scrit*). The work was probably carried out feverishly, being testified not only by the unfinished character of *Le devisament dou monde*,[21] but also by all kinds of insertions into the narrative flow, such as flashbacks, announcements, corrections, and sudden assertive claims of authorship, which could only have originated from Marco Polo himself.[22] Thus, while the authorship of *Le devisament dou monde* is complex and is further complicated by the various copyists of the text, much evidence

function in referring mainly to the compiler, i.e. Rustichello, and not to the pair Marco Polo and Rustichello.

[21] On the more correct title *Le devisement dou monde* versus *Le divisiment dou monde* and *Le devisament dou monde* of the Franco-Italian manuscript see Alvaro Barbieri, "Marco Polo, Rustichello, il 'patto,' il libro: Genesi e statuto testuale del *Milione*," in his *Dal viaggo al libro: Studi sul* Milione, Verona: Grafiche Fiorini (Medioevi; 6), 2004, p. 131n5. However, because the Franco-Italian version is usually known under the title *Le devisament dou monde*, I kept to this usage.

[22] See Segre (2008), pp. 5–16. This interpretation is totally different to Marina Münkler's who paints—in my view—a somewhat overly passive picture of Marco Polo. She hypothesizes that Rustichello, rather than "literalizing" the realistic description of Marco Polo, was the one who first of all brought Marco Polo to talk. Marco Polo, she argues, had seen a lot of things, like many other merchants, but without Rustichello he would not have been able to express it. This hypothesis is based, empirically, on Rustichello's few identifiable additions in the style of an *aventure* fiction and, theoretically, on her general conclusion that merchants during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries produced merely instrumental—and secret—knowledge on the East destined for their practical commercial activities, in contrast to the categorical knowledge of the monks with their conscious intent to put it into writing and spreading it. Hence, Marco Polo, as a member of the merchant class, would have been dependant on somebody else for the creation of a text and thus becoming part of the discourse on the East. See Marina Münkler, *Erfahrung des Fremden: Die Beschreibung Ostasiens in den Augenzeugenberichten des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2000, pp. 60–66, 112. A pre-condition for agreement with her conclusion would be that one would have to assume that Marco Polo was indeed a merchant with a typical merchant spirit, and nothing more. Here, Martina Münkler contradicts somewhat her own findings as she postulates elsewhere (pp. 106–110) that Marco Polo indeed might have been assigned investigative and diplomatic missions and thus had transcended the instrumental approach towards knowledge typical for merchants. A view diametrically contrary to Münkler is held by Gabriella Airaldi who states that Marco Polo's text is a celebration of *mercatura* and of the merchant who even while looking at the Orient celebrates himself in the dress of a man of the Occident. The text's message is that only the merchant possesses the keys for the knowledge of the world, for penetrating and conquering its wonders. See Gabriella Airaldi, "Autobiografia di Marco," in Frederico Masini et al. (eds.) (2006), p. 219.

has in my view been accumulated by the research of the mediaevalists, showing that some hypotheses are more probable than other ones and that complexity should not be mistaken for confusion.

3.2. *Complexities of Manuscript Transmission*

Critique: In articles published in 1996 and 2000 Frances Wood[23] dwells on the lack of a fundamental Marco Polo text and at the same time criticizes the compilation of "composite versions" veiling the complexity of manuscript transmissions. Basing her arguments on Barbara Wehr's findings, she suggests that Pipino's version may have been the most useful and original one. Other candidates close to the original text may have been, in her eyes, the early French manuscript Ms. Bodley 264 (58 folios and including 38 illustrations) copied in about 1400 (B^2) or the earliest Venetian manuscript in the British Library's Department of Manuscript (39 folios), dated 1437.[24] It seems that in her view the longer texts are the result of later additions, and in this context she especially points to the new passages that are contained only in the Z manuscript and Ramusio's rendering, but not in the Franco-Italian (F) and early French versions: "Without a base text, such insertions could be the work of a mid-fifteenth century (or later) copyist, rather than a phenomenon 'observed' by Marco Polo in the late thirteenth century."[25] Moreover, the British sinologist hails the Sessa version printed in 1496 as a text unencumbered by the 200 "new" passages of the Z manuscript, thus giving rise to the impression that this is a more authentic text than the early Franco-Italian and French versions.[26]

Responses: In his book on *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* John Larner provides a thorough critique of Barbara Wehr's arguments. Barbara Wehr claims that Marco Polo was never in a Genoese prison as this is not mentioned by any chronicler, and she believes that the early Franco-Italian manuscript is a translation made by Rustichello on the basis of a pre-existing [now lost] text written in Venetian by Marco Polo himself. The text closest to this once-existing and now lost Venetian manuscript

---

[23] Frances Wood, "Marco Polo's Readers: The Problem of Manuscript Complexity," *Asian Research Trends: A Humanities and Social Science Review*, 10 (2000): 67–75, and also Frances Wood, "Did Marco Polo Go to China?" *Asian Affairs: Journal of the Royal Society for Asian Affairs*, 28.3 (1996): 296–304, especially pp. 301–303.

[24] Wood (1996), p. 302.

[25] Wood (2000), p. 70.

[26] Wood (2000), p. 72.

is in her view Pipino's Latin version. She thinks that Rustichello simply claimed that Marco Polo had dictated the text to him in order to provide authenticity to his own text, adding to it also those last chapters describing the Mongol wars that are so out of key with the rest of the book.[27] For Larner it is, however, clear that the first version of the book cannot have been begun in any other way than as a literary cooperation between the Venetian and the Pisan in a Genoa prison, and perhaps continued after Marco Polo's release, for the following reasons:

a) Pipino's[28] version clearly represents a text that has been transformed by a learned Dominican into a book that the clerical and learned public he addressed could read without contempt.
b) Marco Polo had no education or experience in the liberal arts and would thus not have been able to produce a text similar to that of Pipino.
c) This is even more so because after having lived twenty-four years in the Far East he would have been ignorant of all western literary tradition and thus was dependent on a practiced writer like Rustichello for putting his words into a text (which nonetheless includes many elements of an oral-epic style testifying to the collaboration between the Venetian and the Pisan).
d) That no chronicler mentioned Marco Polo's Genoa prison stay (which is not totally true as Jacopo d'Acqui did so) is a highly problematic *argumentum ex silentio*, given the fact that mediaeval chroniclers ignored thousands of events that would have interested the present historians.

---

[27] See also Barbara Wehr, "Zum altvenezianischen Fragment VA[1] des Reiseberichts von Marco Polo," in Luigina Morini (ed.), *La cultura dell' Italia padana e la presenza francese nei secoli XIII–XV; Pavia 11–14 settembre 1994*, Alessandria: Dell'Orso, 2001, pp. 111–142. In this article she dwells especially on the Venetian manuscript VA[1] of which only a fragment is extant and which is written in the dialect of the Venetian of the *terra ferma*, in constrast to the urban Venetian in which in all probability Marco Polo wrote. She postulates that VA[1] constituted the basis of Rustichello's text, i.e. the Franco-Italian version F, and not vice versa, because F has taken over Venetian elements from VA[1] and because the fragment of VA[1] gives a totally authentic impression and does not contain gallicisms. She leaves the question open whether VA[1] is based on the Venetian *Urtext*, i.e. the most original and now lost text written once by Marco Polo himself. She also states that VA[1] does not depend on Pipino's rendering nor vice versa.

[28] On Francesco Pipino see Guido Zaccagnini, "Francesco Pipino traduttore del 'Milione' cronista e viaggiatore in oriente nel secolo XIV, *Atti e Memorie della Reale Deputazione di storia patria per l'Emilia e la Romagna*, serie V, vol. 1 (1936): 61–95.

e) Marco Polo is very impersonal regarding the presentation of details of his own life which explains why he did not mention the reasons for his stay in the Genoese prison.[29]
f) Given, for instance, Marco Polo's mission to Persia as an escort of the future wife of the Ilkhan and the fact that the Z manuscript of Toledo refers to the death of Prince Nokhai in Central Asia in 1299 and thus after the Venetian's return, it is hard to see why Marco Polo would not have continued to have an interest in political and military developments in the Mongol empire and hence would not have fathered the inclusion of the chapters on the Mongol wars.
g) There is no good reason to disbelieve that Marco Polo did not fully approve the Rustichello text, as the copy that was procured by Thibaut de Chepoy and which was then presented by his son Jean to Charles de Valois (1240–1325) includes the story about the Polo-Rustichello collaboration. This copy was given as a gift to Thibaut de Chepoy by Marco Polo himself.[30]
h) It would have been impossible for both Marco Polo and Rustichello to have imperiled their credibility with a lie which hundreds of contemporary witnesses could easily have exposed in the small worlds of the Italian city states.[31]

John Critchley, in his *Marco Polo's Book* published in 1992, shows quite some sympathy with the hypotheses of Barbara Wehr. However, when entering into the discussion of the relationship between the Franco-Italian (F),

---

[29] The question where and when Marco Polo was captured and incarcerated in Genoa continues to be debated and may never be solved. In David Jacoby's view neither the naval battle on 28 May 1294 off Laiazzo nor the naval battle of Curzola on 7 September 1298 offer a convincing solution. He thinks it probable that the Venetian was captured by Genoese corsairs while on a commercial voyage. See David Jacoby, "Marco Polo, his Close Relatives, and his Travel Account: Some New Insights," *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 21.2 (2007): 200–201. Jacques Monfrin mentions another possible event for Marco Polo's capture—namely, a battle between merchant ships near Ayas in Lesser Armenia in 1296. See Monfrin (2001), p. 514.

[30] On the prologue concerning Thibaut de Chepoy dated August 1307 and preserved in three early French manuscripts of the B family, i.e. B^3, B^4 and B^5, see now Ménard, "Introduction," pp. 24–28. See there also Ménard's comments on the statement "[. . .] la premiere coppie de son livre puis qu'il l'eut fait [. . .]": This could have been a hyperbole or a friendly gesture of the copyist towards his illustrious addressee. Was it the first copy available? Was it the first clean copy revised on the basis of the archetype? Or the first copy to leave Italy? In Ménard's opinion a number of interpretations are possible. Peter Jackson points out that the date of the gift, August 1307, is impossible because Thibaut de Chepoy left Venice for Brindisi by May. See Jackson (1998), p. 86n25.

[31] Cf. Larner (1999), pp. 52–56, with a summary of Wehr's position.

Venetian (VA) and Pipino (P) renderings he adduces many more arguments for the theory that F is the basic text than against it: "If there was indeed a [now lost] Venetian text behind F, Pipino does not on this evidence[32] appear to be a translation of it, or at any rate a translation of all of it. In this case F remains the best basic text of Polo's book; it is not the best possible, but it is the best we have."[33] As further reasons for this conclusion we may adduce other arguments brought forward by Critchley:

a) Pipino certainly left things out and very rarely gives more information than the Franco-Italian rendering.
b) The additions in Pipino may indeed have been taken from a now lost Venetian text, though they are not in the extant VA strand.
c) Most characteristic of Pipino's text are his rude embellishments about social and religious practices of which he, as a learned cleric, showed disapproval, such as those of the Muslims, on men lending out their wives, the seeking of sexual partners by unmarried wives, and the women taking substitute husbands while their men were away.
d) It is very probable that Pipino's idiosyncratic tripartite division of the book is based on the F manuscript, but shows no relation to the VA tradition.[34]

While sharing Frances Wood's critical stance towards the establishment of integral and composite versions, Philippe Ménard and his collaborators have recently pointed out in their text-critical research that texts were in constant movement and that there might have existed not only one, but two clearly distinguishable base texts—the rather complete Franco-Italian and French tradition on the one hand and the tradition of the Z

[32] One of the evidences is, for instance, that F uses a Venetian word, *orbeque* (laurel), which Pipino does not have and which even a Venetian recension, VB, renders as *laurano*. There appears, however, also to exist a case in which a special term, i.e. *rondes* (sables), is only extant in the Pipino version (and the Venetian VA[3] manuscript), but not in the F manuscript. Cf. Barbara Wehr, "Eine Crux im Text von Marco Polo: *rondes*," in Volker Noll und Sylvia Thiele (eds.), *Sprachkontakte in der Romania: Zum 75. Geburtstag von Gustav Ineichen*, Tübingen: Max Niemeier Verlag, 2004, pp. 147–158. This leads here again to conclude that Pipino and VA[3] constitute a special branch of transmission of the Marco Polo text, distinct from that of the Franco-Italian manuscript.

[33] Critchley (1992), pp. 139–140.

[34] See Critchley (1992), pp. 137–148. For another critique of Wehr's arguments see also Bertolucci Pizzorusso (2001), pp. 103ff.

manuscript with its many additions (but also deletions) on the other.[35] It is clear that additions were made to the texts, but these additions, as those to be found in the Z manuscript, could clearly have had their origin in Marco Polo himself. At the same time there can be no doubt that passages were deleted, as, for instance, in Pipino's rendering and also in the Z manuscript. Hence Ménard does not share Wehr's and thus Wood's conclusion of the closeness of Pipino's rendering to the original text, as the former is a clearly abbreviated and altered redaction.[36]

Let us also mention the opinion of another eminent Marco Polo researcher, Alvaro Barbieri, about this issue. Defending Benedetto's text-critical research, the Italian philologist refutes Wehr's thesis on a number of reasons. First of all, he thinks that the problem Wehr has with the incoherences and errors in the Franco-Italian manuscript is irrelevant, as already Benedetto has pointed out that the F version is only a copy and already far from the completeness and the integrity of the now lost original. Second, Wehr rejects the claim that Pipino's rendering is based on the Venetian-Emilian VA manuscript strand, which contradicts the number of impeccable proofs collected by Benedetto that showed that Pipino indeed depended on VA. And third, he reproaches the German scholar not to have taken seriously into account the whole text tradition of the Z manuscript which is indispensable in any attempt at reconstructing the textual history of Marco Polo's account.[37]

Let us in this context also discuss a proposal made, e.g., by Peter Jackson, namely, that the additional material in the Z manuscript of Toledo (and also in Ramusio's rendering) could have stemmed from supplementary oral information provided by Marco Polo himself. Jackson thinks that this is far from being improbable, as such accretions had also been supplied by previous visitors to the Mongols. When the papal ambassador and Franciscan friar Giovanni dal Piano del Carpini (1182–1252) returned to the West in 1247, he was in great demand as a dinner guest, and at least the Italian Salimbene de Adam (1221–after 1281) obtained further information from him which is not found in Carpini's report. Similarly, a few years

---

[35] For this view, see also Larner (1999), p. 58. For an appeal to compile nonetheless an new integral version, based on the Franco-Italian manuscript and undertaken collectively by a team of researchers, see Eugenio Burgio and Mario Eusebi, "Per una nueva edizione del *Milione*," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 17–48.

[36] Cf. Ménard (2001), "Introduction," pp. 13–17.

[37] See Alvaro Barbieri, "Quale 'Milione'? La questione testuale e le principali edizioni moderne del libro di Marco Polo," in his *Dal viaggo al libro: Studi sul* Milione, Verona: Grafiche Fiorini (Medioevi; 6), 2004, pp. 63–67.

after his return Willem van Rubroek (1215–after 1257) was contacted in Paris by the English Franciscan Roger Bacon (ca. 1214–1294) who wanted to check some details in the Flemish Franciscan friar's report before including them in his own work.[38]

The idea that such accretions could have been added by Marco Polo himself into the Z manuscript is, however, strongly rejected by Alvaro Barbieri. His main reason for this rejection is that both the Z manuscript and Ramusio's version show errors and problems that can be clearly traced back to the Franco-Italian model. It is therefore absolutely improbable that Marco Polo would have made additions to a text that in its way of impoverishment already showed so many apparent omissions and blunders.[39]

In consideration of what has been said above, it is strange that Frances Wood dwells so much on the Sessa printed version as a candidate for a version close to the original text, because in comparison to the much earlier and much richer Franco-Italian and early French manuscripts Sessa's account is beyond any doubt a dramatically shortened text. If Sessa's version had been examined by her purely within the context of the European reception of Marco Polo's report, this would have been a justified approach, but it does not make sense to discuss it as an issue in text ancestry, this even less so when taking into account all the text-critical research undertaken in the last decades on a great variety of different Marco Polo manuscripts and printed versions.

3.3. *Nature, Style, Intentions and Receptions of the Book*

Critique: Marco Polo's book is not written like a real travelogue, but rather as an "armchair guidebook" for merchants, like Francesco di Balduccio Pegolotti's (fl. 1310–1347) *Pratica della Mercatura* (ca. 1335–1343). The qualification of "armchair guidebook" or "armchair traveller" implies that the author collected all his material not by his own experience, but obtained it from written or oral reports received from others, such as Pegolotti who visited places as far as Antwerp, London, Cyprus and Famagusta, but who had never been in China, though he gave a rather detailed description of the trade route to Cathay.

---

[38] Jackson (1998), p. 85.

[39] See Barbieri, "Quale 'Milione'?…," in his *Dal viaggo al libro: Studi sul* Milione, pp. 63–67.

Responses: As to the style of the book, John Larner has argued in a recent article that if Marco Polo had invented his account of the East without going there, it would have looked like the book of Jehan de Mandeville. In other words, it would have been based on sources available in the West and thus on all of the West's imagining of the East, filled with all the usual marvels and travel romance.[40] In his eyes, Marco Polo's account is not an adventurer's report nor a travelogue, nor is it a merchant handbook nor a work destined for the Christian mission. Rather, it is the product of a minor Mongolian official who during his years in the East has been an observer of the topography and human geography, of its customs and folklore, and, above all, the authority and court of Khubilai Khan, all seen from a Mongol point of view. Moreover, compared with earlier western descriptions of the East, the number of legendary marvels is small and subsidiary to the book's main purpose.[41] Rather, it is the everyday things of the East which form the bulk of Marco Polo's marvels—that is, a wholly new world of towns and cities, which were more flourishing and richer in goods than those of the west. This did not, however, hinder later miniaturists from including images of marvels in illustrated Marco Polo manuscript editions, simply because this was expected by the reader, but by this betraying the author's text and his intentions.[42]

Larner admits that Marco Polo provides a lot of partly unique information about commodities, precious stones, spices, monies, taxation, customs, markets, and trade, but he ascribes this to his formation in commercial

---

[40] See John Larner, "Plucking Hairs from the Great Cham's Beard: Marco Polo, Jan de Langhe, and Sir John Mandeville," in Akbari and Iannucci (eds.) (2008), p. 145.

[41] Larner (1999), pp. 80–81, distinguishes six types of "marvellous things" in the Venetian's account: 1. rational marvels, such as natural phenomena, like coal or oil; 2. descriptions of towns of greatly exaggerated size and extent; 3. miracles rooted in Christian traditions; 4. tales of men known already in mediaeval Europe, such as Alexander the Great; 5. miracles carried out by non-Christian men, such as astrologers and enchanters; 6. traveller's tales related to the abundance of wealth and strangeness of things in the East. On the small number of marvel stories in Marco Polo's book see also, e.g., Jackson (1998), pp. 89–90. On marvels in Marco Polo's book see now also the study of Sergio Marroni, "La meraviglia di Marco Polo: L'espressione della meraviglia nel lessico e nella sintassi del *Milione*," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 233–262.

[42] Cf. Larner (1999), pp. 68–87, especially pp. 82–83, 85. See also Alvaro Barbieri, "Un Veneziano nel Catai: Sull'autenticità del viaggio di Marco Polo," *Critica del testo*, 3.3 (2000), p. 2012, stating that Marco Polo's account, after all, is not a travel report, but a geo-ethnographic treatise and thus a description of peoples and countries—a work characterized by doctrinal concepts and with didactic intentions.

matters as a son of a Venetian merchant family.[43] This alone, however, does not qualify the book as a merchant's handbook because, in comparison to Pegolotti, it lacks information on the organization of voyages, volume and organisation of business, as well as conditions and problems of markets.[44] He takes sides with Jacques Heers who remarked that the Venetian's interest in commercial matters is rather that of a tax-official than a merchant—a remark which fits quite well with the assumption that Marco Polo may have filled an office related to taxation under the Great Khan.[45]

Against Larner's position can be argued that during Marco Polo's time no standard format existed yet for merchant guidebooks.[46] As John Critchley writes, Pegolotti himself called his book *Libro di divisamenti di paesi (e di misure di mercantantie)*—a title which bears some resemblance to Marco Polo's *Le devisament dou monde*. Its present title, *Practica della mercatura*, was invented by the eighteenth-century editor of Pegolotti's guide.[47] It was, however, especially Italian researchers who time and again stressed the mercantile perspective in substantial and definable parts of the *Le devisament dou monde*. As is made clear by Ugo Tucci, the recurrent theme of Marco Polo *mercante* in Italian publications has to be understood against the background of the history of Italian Marco Polo research. While the merchant perception of the Venetian did not escape the attentive eye of Luigi Foscolo Benedetto (1886–1966), *el grande maestro* of the

---

[43] The importance of the topics of economy and trade in Marco Polo's account compared to other Western mediaeval travel reports on the Far East is made evident by Jandesek's quantitative content analysis. In comparison to Marco Polo's account with a total share of more than 16 % for economy (7.8 %) and trade (6.9 %), the text of Odorico da Pordenone (1330) dedicated 7.9 % to economy and only 0.9 % to trade. The relative percentages are 0.8 and 0.6 in the case of Giovanni de Marignolli (1355–1359), 0.61 and 1.83 in the *Libro del conoscimiento* (ca. 1350–1375), 1.7 and 1.8 in the *Niederrheinischer Orientbericht* (1350–1360), 3.3 and 0.3 in Jehan de Mandeville (1356–1371), and 0 and 1.9 in the case of Poggio Bracciolini (ca. 1450). This will only change in the early modern period with a share of 10.1 % for economy in Juan González de Mendoza (1589), 13.8 % in António de Almeida (1589), 53.2 % in Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (1598), 9.2 % in Diego de Pantoja (1608), and 14.0 % in Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault (1617). See Reinhold Jandesek, *Das fremde China: Berichte europäischer Reisender des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus (Weltbild und Kulturbegegnung; 3), 1992, pp. 385–412.

[44] Cf. Larner (1999), p. 72.

[45] See Jacques Heers, *Marco Polo*, Paris: Fayard, 1983, p. 258; Larner (1999), pp. 72–73.

[46] On the earliest Italian commercial handbook of 1278, the *Memoria de tucte le mercantie*, see Robert Sabatino Lopez and Gabriella Airaldi, "Il più antico manuale italiano di pratica della mercatura," in G. Pistarino (ed.), *Miscellanea di studi storici II*, Genova: Bozzi (Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi; 38), 1983, pp. 99–134.

[47] Critchley (1992), pp. 48–50.

studi poliani, he nonetheless postulated that Marco Polo was not engaged in personal trade during his stay in China, as if this somehow would not have fitted the more elevated virtue of his mind. Much more pronounced in negating the commercial character of *Le devisament dou monde* was another authority of Italian Marco Polo research—namely, Leonardo Olschki (1885–1961), who claimed that the data on economy and trade are simply one part—and not the most important one—of the many other statements made by Polo on the various regions and countries or that these data can be explained by his administrative outlook. In Olschki's view, the concept of Marco Polo *mercante* appears almost to be unworthy of the Venetian, who became an official, commissioner and ambassador of the then most powerful ruler of the world. Such an antithetic juxtaposition of commercial wealth and political power, however, can hardly be assumed for such mediaeval city states as Venice and Genoa, characterized by their mercantile aristocraty. As Ugo Tucci, writes, *mercatura* possessed full civil dignity and were compatible with the execution of power, and the majority of the ruling class consisted exactly of those people combining both. A merchant was therefore not simply a man of business, but potentially also a *homo politico* of high intellectual status ready to take up a public office at any given moment.[48]

Apart from the general interest of Marco Polo *mercante* in commercial matters, the merchant handbook nature is perhaps best visible in those 109 chapters of the Franco-Italian manuscript that follow a rigid structure in the presentation of information. Most of them are to be found in the chapters on Cathay. An analysis of the themes contained in these 109 chapters yields the following structural elements:

a) Distances indicated in day's journeys or in miles, often accompanied by astronomical indications of orientation;
b) ethnographic notes useful for the traveller, including information on the political administration, religion, language, and cultural characteristics;
c) provisions necessary for each stage for the traveller and his animals, including explicit or implicit information on food and drink in local use and their effect on those not accustomed to them;

[48] Ugo Tucci, "Marco Polo, mercante," in Lionello Lianciotti (ed.), *Venezia e l'Oriente*, Firenze: Olschki, 1987, pp. 325–329.

d) security of maritime and overland transports for merchants and their goods;
e) agricultural and industrial products of each city and region, especially their quality and quantity, sometimes with notes on production methods and characteristics of local goods;
f) commodities available in the individual markets, distinguishing between those of local production and those imported;
g) local monies (paper notes, gold in ingots or weighed in *saggi*, cowries, salt pieces, marten heads) and their relation to Western monies, for instance, the paper notes of the Great Khan in relation to the *denier tournois* or the Venetian silver *grosso*; prices are normally indicated in Venetian *grossi* or Byzantine gold *bezant*.[49]

Franco Borlandi and Antonio Carile suggest that Marco Polo's data about territories and their commercial environment in the 109 chapters had probably been much more numerous and elaborate, but that his dry listings were not to the taste of Rustichello whom they suspect of having cut them down. In the Franco-Italian manuscript this can be deduced from the following remarks which in their view bear the hand of Rustichello: "[…] hi vienent maintes nes con maintes mercandies—e ce sunt dras d'ore e de soie de plosors maineres et de maintes autres couses que noç ne voç conteron eci—[…]"[50] as well as "[…] il hi a encore maintes autres mercandies de quelz ne firai memoire nostre livre por ce que trop seroit longaine matiere a mentovoir […]."[51]

The Italian researchers also undertook a comparison with Pegolotti's merchant handbook, especially the chapter "Avvisamento del viaggio al

---

[49] Cf. Antonio Carile, "Territorio e ambiente nel 'Divisament dou Monde' di Marco Polo," *Studii Veneziani*, 1 (1977): 20–22, basing his study on a comprehensive analyis carried out by Franco Borlandi, "Alle origini del libro di Marco Polo," in Gino Barbieri, Maria Raffaella, and Amintore Fanfani (eds.), *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani*, Milano: Giuffrè, 1962, vol. 1, pp. 173–226. See also Ugo Tucci, "Marco Polo andò veramente in Cina?" *Studi veneziani*, n.s., 33 (1997): 54–56.

[50] See Borlandi (1962), p. 119, and Carile (1977), p. 22, referring to chap. 191 about the isle of Mog[d]asio (Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 594). See the shortened translation in Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 411: "[…] Many traders, and many ships go thither with cloths of gold and silk, and many other kinds of goods, and drive a profitable trade."

[51] Borlandi (1962), p. 119, and Carile (1977), p. 22, referring to chap. 186 about the kingdom of Canba[e]t (Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 588). See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 398: "[…] with many other kinds of merchandize too tedious to mention. […]"

Gataio" and concluded that it partly showed a similar structure to the 109 relevant chapters in Marco Polo's account:

a) Distances in day's journeys of various stages in the itinerary;
b) what the merchant had to know in order to adapt himself to the usages and customs of the territories crossed by him;
c) provisions necessary for each stage;
d) notes on the security of the routes, both for men and goods, and explicit indications on the less secure sections;
e) travel costs, in *fiorini* of Florence;
f) profitable and practical investments along the route;
g) local monies and prices of the principal commodities expressed in ounces of silver;
h) notes on weights in use in individual localities and their relationship to the weight in use in Genoa.

In merchant handbooks, however, one would also find legal regulations concerning traffic, custom tariffs and levies, indications of seasonal variations in supply and demand, synoptic tables for the comparison of weights, measures and monies, suggestions and advice on how to carry out trade, as well as on the load and capacity of overland and fluvial transportation means. Such information crops up from time to time also in Marco Polo's book, conferring on it this characteristic aspect of a catalogue of goods boring so many readers who would be without an interest in economic history.[52] As Ugo Tucci pointed out, it was not uncommon that apprentices of commercial companies made notes of matters concerning trade and economy, as we know from the case of Uzzano who authored a manual at the age of twenty that was based on notes he made while working in the paternal company.[53] This situation is very much comparable to Marco Polo and his engagement in the *fraternal compagnia* and lends support to the supposition that notes on economic and trade conditions as well as those on other topics were made by himself during his time in China and other parts of Asia.

Another possible and admissible approach to be found in the literature is the assumption that Marco Polo's descriptions of Chinese and other regions was a product of his missions carried out for the Great Khan. For

[52] Carile (1977), p. 23.
[53] Tucci (1987), p. 335.

instance, the structure of Wang Dayuan's 汪大淵 (fl. 1311–1350) *Daoyi zhilüe* 島夷誌略 (An Account of Barbarians of the Islands [especially of Southeast Asia]) of 1349 shows some similarities with both Marco Polo's descriptions as well as with those of Pegolotti, though no doubt more with the former than the latter, especially because of its inclusion of information about a country's inhabitants and their customs and practices:

a) Geographical position of a country;
b) conditions of its soils and climate;
c) the inhabitants and an evaluation of their customs and habits;
d) sometimes remarks on legal norms and punishments;
e) information about local products;
f) less often, notes about currencies, weights and measures;
g) from time to time, the addition of a specific chapter on a special product.[54]

In other words, many of the characteristic topics discussed in Marco Polo's book show not only similarities with Pegolotti's merchant manual, but also with the Chinese tradition of travel, observation and reconnaissance reports.

In conclusion, although Marco Polo's report contains only some of the elements of a merchant's handbook, it is an undeniable fact that the Venetian showed a keen interest in matters of production, transport and distribution of commodities as well as in revenue conditions and monetary affairs. One would therefore be going too far to state that he had no merchant perspective at all and that he represented mainly the outlook of a "de-cultured" (*entkulturalisiert*) official of the Mongol administration. Yet, at the same time, it cannot be overlooked that his book went far beyond

[54] Roderich Ptak, "Ein mustergültiges 'Barbarenland'? Kalikut nach chinesischen Quellen der Yuan- und Ming-Zeit," in Denys Lombard and Roderich Ptak (eds.), *Asia Maritima: Images et réalité, Bilder und Wirklichkeit, 1200–1800*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (South China and Maritime Asia; 1), 1994, pp. 88–90, and id., "Images of Maritime Asia in Two Yuan Texts: *Daoyi zhilue* and *Yiyu zhi*," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, 25 (1995): 57–58, 74. For a similarly structured, but earlier work see Friedrich Hirth and William Woodville Rockhill, *Chau Ru-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chï*, Petersburg 1911, repr. Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1966. The origin of Zhao Rugua's 趙汝适 *Zhufan zhi* 諸蕃志 (A Description of Barbarous People) is manyfold—on the one hand based on records of earlier authors, on the other on oral information obtained from Chinese and foreign traders. He himself was not in the countries described by him, but compiled this work while being Inspector of Maritime Trade at Quanzhou.

what constitutes the content of a *Practica della mercatura*, especially when describing the rise of the Tartars, their wars and battles, the idealized rulership of the Great Khan, the wealth and splendour of his cities, as well as the usages, beliefs and strange customs of their inhabitants.[55] The uniqueness of his report is owed in no small degree to the combination of different approaches, but it is also constituted by the fact that only a small space is granted to the miraculous and wondrous. To the contrary, there are many instances where the Venetian dismissed legendary accounts that had been so popular in stories about the Far East before and during his time and that continued even after. Another salient characteristic of *Le devisament dou monde* is his wide-angle-lens vision, covering not only China (129 chapters) but also other parts of Asia (208 chapters)[56] and by condensing experiences and information accumulated during a period of twenty-four years, in contrast to the often higher degree of intensity in Giovanni dal Piano del Carpini (1182–1252) and Willem van Rubroek's (1215–after 1257), respective, six-months' or one year's experience of the East. Following the findings of John Larner, for instance, one can state that never before or since has one man given such an immense body of new geographical knowledge to the West,[57] including information on administrative and human geography, the production and trading of goods, monetary conditions, taxation and revenues, religious beliefs, customs and folklore, political and military events in Mongol and Yuan dynasty history and, above all, on the authority and court of Khubilai Khan.[58]

---

[55] Cf. Münkler (2000), pp. 103–109.

[56] His interests for geographical-political spaces concentrates in the Tuscan Ottimo version on Chandu (Shangdu) (17.2 %), Cathay (14.0 %), Greater India (10.3 %), Tangut (10.3 %), Mangi (8.7 %), Persia (8.3 %), Lesser India (6.9 %), etc. Cf. Jandesek (1992), pp. 34, 385–388.

[57] Larner (1999), p. 97.

[58] Jandesek (1992), pp. 34, 385, establishes the following thematic shares for the Tuscan Ottimo version as a whole, i.e. for all the regions dealt with in the book:

History	17.50 %
Political conditions	13.03 %
Religious customs	10.50 %
General customs	7.90 %
Economy	7.80 %
Trade	6.90 %
Topography	6.30 %
Route description	5.10 %
Animals	3.90 %
Travel conditions	2.20 %
Appearance of people	1.70 %
Geography	0.40 %

In addition, when discussing the nature and style of Marco Polo's account one certainly has to mention that the different major manuscript versions of the book were addressed not always to the same publics and were received and interpreted by them in a variety of ways. A few remarks related to the intended readerships have to suffice here:

– In the *proemio* of the Franco-Italian version (F), considered by most researchers to be the manuscript nearest to the now lost original version, it is interesting to note that besides the rulers and the nobility ("enperaor et rois, dux et marquois, cuens, chevaliers") also the "b[o]rgio[i]s, et toutes gens" are addressed as potential readers interested in obtaining knowledge of "deverses jenerasions des homes et les deversités des deverses region dou monde."[59] The manuscript is written in a peculiar mixture of Franco-Italian, or, more precise, Franco-Lombardian and Franco-Venetian. Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, moreover, stresses the uniqueness of this book, not only because it is composed in *volgare*, but also because, in comparison to other reports on the Far East, it was not a commissioned work, but an independent account originating from the private initiative of a merchant family. The use of French for prose accounts in Venice was not exceptional, as is demonstrated by the famous precedents of Brunetto Lattini's (ca. 1220–1294) *Tresor* and Martin da Canal's *Estoires de Venise* (ca. 1267–1275). French was a language current in Venice in those days and was certainly also practised in a family such as the Polos who had been established for many years in the Latin Orient where it was used as a *lingua franca* between members of different nationalities.[60] That the F manuscript is not the original version but a copy of a copy is also made evident by the fact that Rustichello could write in better, less Italianised French, as he indeed did in his Arthurian novel *Meliadus*.[61]
– Written in a "correct" French and accompanied in some cases with splendid illustrations, the early French texts were addressed to the French nobility.[62] As is well-known, in 1307 Marco Polo presented a copy of his work to Thibaut de Chepoy which was then handed over by his son Jean to Charles de Valois (1270–1325), the brother of Philippe IV

[59] Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 305.
[60] Bertolucci Pizzorusso (1994), pp. 61–63; Monfrin (2001), pp. 515–516.
[61] Monfrin (2001), p. 524.
[62] Cf. Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, "Le versioni storiche del Milione in Italia: La versione Toscana," in Frederico Masini et al. (eds.) (2006), p. 199.

le Bel (1268–1314). Charles de Valois, who had married Catherine de Courtenay (1275–1307), was a nephew of the last Latin emperor of Constantinople and successor of Filippo I di Taranto (1278–1332), son of Carlo d'Angiò (1254–1309), and he became the protagonist of a project for the recapture of Constantinople. 1307 was also the year in which the French Pope Clemente V (1264–1314), installed in Avignon, received the third letter from Giovanni da Montecorvino (1247–ca. 1330), archbishop in Beijing. On the background of the contemporary political situation, Marco Polo's present for Charles de Valois went in the "right direction," as is stressed by Gabriella Airaldi. First, it integrated well into the French crown's plans for a crusade and the establishment of a new empire in Constantinople, providing at the same time subaltern rule for the house of Angiò as kings of Jerusalem and for the Valois as Sires of Constantinople. Second, it reflects the controversy about the *pravi mercatores*, i.e. the merchants who contravened the prohibitions of commerce with Egypt. Third, it is proof of the readiness of Venice to collaborate with the French crown. Fourth, it is a reaction to the demands of European rulers for information about the Orient, as is also demonstrated, in the same year of 1307, by Hayton of Armenia (?–ca. 1320), historian and member of the Premonstratensian order, and his *Flos historiarum*. Hence, it may be suspected that the use of French by Rustichello and Marco Polo was not incidental, but was a conscious and intentional choice, as in this way it may have served as a means of communicating information of great political and economic value to the French crown.[63] The version of Thibaut de Chepoy is clearly a shortened rendering, but at times also contains passages not to be found in the Franco-Italian manuscript.[64]

– The edition of Pipino's Latin text (P) shows clear influences exerted by a strong ecclesiastical milieu.[65] The Dominican *frater* Francesco Pipino (ca. 1270–after 1328) made this first translation into Latin by command of his ecclesiastical superiors, "producing a work of deadly seriousness designed to serve the work of Christian missions," and not out of any abstract intellectual curiosity or as *belles lettres*.[66] As Valeria Bertolucci

[63] Airaldi (2006), pp. 216–217, and also Ménard (2001), "Introduction," p. 26.

[64] Monfrin (2001), p. 527.

[65] See Philippe Ménard, "Le problème de la version originale du 'Devisement du Monde' de Marco Polo," in François Livi (ed.), *De Marco Polo à Savinio: Écrivains italiens en langue française*, Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003, pp. 10–12; id., "Introduction," p. 15.

[66] Larner (1999), p. 62.

Pizzorusso and others have stressed, Pipino's version became the most wide-spread and most successful edition. The translation from the Venetian *volgare* to the Latin is proof of the interest which the book had aroused, so that the Dominican order appointed one of its members to produce a Latin version for its missionaries. Made available under a new title, *De consuetudinibus et condicionibus orientalium regionum*, it found wide-spread distribution among the literary circles of clerics, universities and the scientific world as well as among the explorers of the New World, as is well-known.[67]

– Another Latin manuscript, the Zelada Codex (Z manuscript of Toledo), is likewise strongly influenced by an ecclesiastical outlook. According to Philippe Ménard's opinion, the Z rendering belongs to the most complete version of the Marco Polo text. However, while containing about two hundred passages not preserved in other manuscripts, it dropped a substantial number of chapters and paragraphs, sometimes to a very considerable degree. As to the additional passages, it is most reasonable to assume that these may be supplementary annotations made by Marco Polo to another, now lost manuscript and which may have survived in the Z manuscript and also in Ramusio's rendering. Ménard thinks that the added passages are, in most cases, authentic.[68]
– In contrast especially to the early French versions, Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso considers the Venetian, Tuscan as well as the hybrid "Genoese" redactions all as manuscripts of modest quality and deprived of splendid illustrations and ornamentations. From this one can conclude that their public was not the nobility, but classes of a middle standing, especially merchant citizens in the case of the Tuscan version with its use of a technical terminology based on the Tuscan mercantile economy. On the one hand these transmissions into Italian dialects contributed to the distribution and popularization of the work, also because, for instance, the Venetian tradition formed the basis for a number of other manuscript renderings.[69] On the other hand these currents of diffusion have also to be held responsible for deficits in both quantitative and qualitative respects.[70]

---

[67] See Bertolucci Pizzorusso (2006), p. 200. For a full documentation of the Pipino manuscripts, including a biography of the Dominican, see the dissertation thesis of Dutschke (1993).

[68] Ménard (2001), "Introduction," pp. 16–19.

[69] Bertolucci Pizzorusso (2006), pp. 201, 203–207; Overbeck (2003), p. 105.

[70] See Bertolucci Pizzorusso (2006), pp. 201, 203–207. In this article the author also makes clear that the so-called "Ottimo" edition, that is, ms. II. IV. 88 of the Bibliotheca

– Philippe Ménard and his collaborators think that, without doubt, the Ramusio version preserved additional annotations added by Marco Polo himself to his report during the course of his life.[71] At any rate, it is remarkable that Ramusio's edition contains about sixty of the more than two hundred passages preserved in the Z manuscript only, but in all probability not taken from the Toledo manuscript or any other rendering related to it, but rather from the now lost Ghisi codex.[72] In view of the many deficits of the then current Tuscan and Venetian versions, Valeria Bertollucci Pizzorusso praises the efforts of Ramusio and calls his work the first true and proper edition in a modern sense, in spite of the problems it raised and is still raising.[73] Ramusio stated that for his own compilation he not only profited from the consultation of the original Z manuscript, but also from a Latin text similar to the Z manuscript, which he had obtained from the Ghisi family.[74]
– In the view of Horst von Tscharner, the Middle German translation as it is preserved in the Admont manuscript is based on a second Tuscan Marco Polo version (TB) and its rendering into Latin (LA). This second Tuscan version itself is considered to have been derived from the Venetian VA text family. The German text gives special prominence to such treasures as gold, silver, pearls, precious stones and coins in the titles of its chapters.[75] As Tscharner stressed (p. X), the Admont manuscript is very often much more imprecise and erronous than the Latin version LA. Compared to the Franco-Italian version (F), the *Heydnische Chronik* is very much shorter and moreover shows a static character, because no public is addressed and because the elements telling a story from the

---

Nazionale Centrale of Florence is by no means the best of the five existing Tuscan versions, but the ms. II. IV. 136 of the same library. Paradoxically, in the Tuscan versions all the romance-style elements of Rustichello, a native of Tuscany, had been removed! On the Tuscan and Venetian renderings see also Monfrin (2001), pp. 516–517.

[71] Jean-Claude Faucon, Danielle Quéruel, and Monique Santucci, *L'empereur Khoubilai Khan*, in Philippe Ménard (ed.), *Marco Polo: Le devisement du monde*, Genève: Librairie Droz S. A., 2004, vol. 3, p. 14.

[72] See Barbieri, "Quale 'Milione'?…," in his *Dal viaggo al libro: Studi sul* Milione, pp. 54–63.

[73] Bertolucci Pizzorusso (2006), p. 203.

[74] See Reichert (1992), p. 156. On Ramusio and his compilation see the article of Marica Milanesi, "Giovanni Battista Ramusio e le *Navigazioni e viaggi* (1550–1559)," in Renzo Zorzi (ed.) *L'epopea delle scoperte*, Firenze: Olschki (Collana Civiltà veneziana: Saggi; 40), 1994, pp. 75–101.

[75] On the enourmous wealth and great treasures of Asia as one of the literary topics in the *mirabilia* tradition in the middle German version of Marco Polo see Steidl (2010), pp. 110–114.

first-person plural, 'we'-perspective as well as the verbs indicating spatial movement had been almost completely removed. Apart from these important reductions of the text in content and style, and in contrast to the Franco-Italian manuscript, it put much more stress on the popular Asian myths and thus stood in a close relationship to the traditional European reception of Asia.[76]

– Similar to the Admont manuscript, the first printed version in German—and the first printed version of Marco Polo's account at all—published by Fritz Creußner in Nürnberg in 1477 and later with only minor changes by Anton Sorg in Augsburg in 1481 had only very limited success with the public, because it was a very shortened text, especially in its narrative parts and thus almost boring to read, in contrast to Michael Velser's German translation of Mandeville. In the 1477 version Marco Polo is presented as a "noble knight and traveller" ("[…] das puch des edelnn Ritters vnd landtfarers Marcho polo […]") describing the great wonders of this world as they have been created by God ("[…] die grossen wunder vnd wu^{e}nderliche ding vnd werck des almechtigen vnsers schopffers der welt […]"). Like the Admont manuscript, these two printed, German versions were based on the Tuscan manuscript TB, being not a successor of the Tuscan TA strand, but a translation of the Venetian text tradition. In Germany it was only with the incorporation of Pipino's Latin version into the compilation of Simon Grynäus (1493–1541) in 1532 and its German translation two years later that Marco Polo's work gained clearly in popularity.[77]
– The first translation into Spanish by Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella (1444–1509) was published in 1503 by Estanislao Polono y Jacobo Cromberger in Sevilla in 1503. It was based on a later version (VA^{2}) of the Venetian manuscript family VA. Santaella's reference text was written in Sicilian with a Venetian patina and is now stored in the Biblioteca Capitular of the City of Sevilla. It is quite probable that Rodrigo Fernández

---

[76] Steidl (2010), pp. 221–222.

[77] Xenja von Ertzdorff, "Marco Polos 'Beschreibung der Welt' im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert in Deutschland," in Gerhard August, Otfried Ehrismann and Hans Ramge (eds.), *Festschrift für Heinz Engels zum 65. Geburtstag*, Göppingen: Kümmerle (Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik; 561), 1991, pp. 50–55; id., "Gedruckte Reiseberichte über China in Deutschland im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," in Xenja von Ertzdorff and Dieter Neukirch, with the collaboration of Rudolf Schulz (eds.), *Reisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit: Vorträge eines interdisziplinären Symposiums vom 3.–8. Juni 1991 an der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen*, Amsterdam: Editions Rodophi B. V., 1992, pp. 422–423; Monfrin (2001), p. 518.

de Santaella brought it with him from Sicily where he worked as inspector for the Catholic Kings during the years 1491–1496. In his prologue, however, Santaella also reproduced explanations added by Valentim Fernandes (d. 1518 or 1591) to his Portuguese version of 1502.[78]

In view of the fact that the different versions of Marco Polo's account addressed—in some cases explicitly—distinct publics of readers, we have also to take into consideration that the readers thus addressed by the different renderings consumed and interpreted these versions in their own idiosyncratic ways. According to what Enrico Abramo Vicentini, Folker Reichert and others think, we can distinguish the following, and in many cases certainly overlapping, modes of reading, namely:[79]

– as belletristic-literary entertainment;
– as an account of fantastic and miraculous phenoma in the Asiatic regions;
– in the sense of clerical and spiritual edification by demonstrating the beauty and variety of God's creation and the moral and ethical differences between Christians on the hand and various kinds of idolators on the other;
– as an epic of global dimensions in the sense of the *Rolandslied*—namely, to carry out a part of God's road to salvation as envisaged by the Christianisation of the immense Mongolian empire or at least through the establishment of a political-military alliance between the Occident and the Mongols in order to fight Islam as the common enemy;[80]
– in furnishing implicit criteria for a distinction between civilized and savage societies;[81]

---

[78] Cf. Angélica Valentinetti Mendi, *Marco Polo—Libro del Famoso Marco Polo; Libro de le Cose Mirabile*, Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2008, pp. LIV and LXVIff., and id., "Tradizione ed innovazione: La prima traduzione spagnola del *Libro delle meraviglie*," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 115ff.

[79] See Folker Reichert, "Marco Polos Buch: Lesarten des Fremden," in Dietrich Hart (ed.), *Fiktion des Fremden: Erkundung kultureller Grenzen in Literatur und Publizistik*, Frankfurt a. Main: Fischer, 1994; Enrico Abramo Vicentini, "Il *Milione* di Marco Polo come portolano," *Italica*, 71 (1994): 145–146. For a extensive treatment of the different categories of reception of Marco Polo's account cf. also Vicentini's PhD thesis of 1991.

[80] See especially Hermann H. Wetzel, "Marco Polo's *Milione* zwischen Beschreiben und Erzählen," in Gabriele Birken-Silvermann and Gerda Rössler (eds.), *Beiträge zur sprachlichen, literarischen und kulturellen Vielfalt in den Philologien: Festschrift für Rupprecht Rohr zum 70. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992, p. 529.

[81] On this topic see, for instance, Jandesek (1992), pp. 40–44.

– as providing data of practical mercantile interest in the sense of the *mercatura* manuals;
– as a handbook containing scientific information on animals, plants, minerals, and stones;
– for geographical information on far-away regions on this earth;
– in the sense of pragmatical instructions for travelling to distant regions.

While all these factors conditioned by the variety of intentions on the side of the authors, copyists and editors and by the plurality of interpretations on the side of the readers add to the complexity of the issue concerning the nature and style of Marco Polo's legacy, it nonetheless should be maintained that this complexity can be grasped, differentiated and explained to a certain extent.

3.4. *Itinerary and Data*

Critique: Marco's itinerary is untrustworthy because of lack of coherence and because it is impersonal and in several instances actually incorrect as to dates, distances and events.

Responses: As Igor de Rachewiltz writes, the occasional 'undisciplined' way in which Marco presents his story is due to the fact that he lacked the constraints of a diarist, a chronicler or a compiler of a travel or commercial guide. His knowledge of the written language was probably limited to the basic vocabulary and stereotyped formulae of the *mercatura*, because he left Venice as an adolescent and spent much of his adult life in foreign lands. The personal element in the narrative is rare because it is simply not there, having been relegated and disposed of in the Prologue of the book.[82]

Both the main events and the names given by Marco Polo are generally correct. This concerns not only—as we will see below—political and military affairs, but also holds true for place names of which almost all can be identified without major difficulties.[83] Moreover, it has been often observed that *Le devisament dou monde* was not an *itinerar* in the

[82] Rachewiltz, "Wood's *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* A Critical Appraisal."

[83] Marco Polo's toponyms had been thoroughly investigated by Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, vol. 1, 1959; vol. 2, 1963; vol. 3, 1973. For a convenient and partly up-dated overview see Haw (2006), pp. 82–123. Critchley (1992), p. xiv, remarks that Pegolotti's renderings of place names in England

strict sense, but that, for the description of a geographic-political region he chose, a point of reference showing which routes would have had to be taken if one wished to move to the different frontiers. Thereafter, this geographical point of reference is taken up again for continuing the travel to another region. Such points of reference are, for instance, Kerman for Persia, Campichu for Tangut and Juju (Zhuozhou) for Cathay. Not an itinerary, but the systematic approach in his description of an unknown world dictated the structure of the main part of his report.[84]

There is no doubt, however, that Marco Polo sometimes erred or was incorrect in matters of details. In a recent article, Jean-Claude Faucon shows that the indication of a large amount of quantitative data was one of the innovative factors contributing to the spread and success of Marco Polo's account. In the early French editions, the 193 chapters of the book contain 1,100 quantitative data, most of them concerning human beings (mostly soldiers, but also kings, khans, their relatives and servants, as well as generations, inhabitants, travellers and messengers; a total of ca. 260) and distances on sea and on land (ca. 245), followed by data on time (duration, age, dates; a total of ca. 120), measures (ca. 100), values (ca. 55), animals (ca. 40), ships, cities (buildings and residences), geography, clothes, armament, and other items. Apart from their narrative functions and use as literary devices, these quantitative elements can also be analysed in terms of their degree of plausibility. Faucon demonstrates that a substantial amount of the quantitative data given by Marco Polo are plausible or exact, in contrast to those which are wrongly transcribed, erroneous, inflated or exaggerated.[85] In many cases, it was simply the error of a copyist or mistakes in the conversion of calendar dates that were responsible for

(Liuzenstri = Leicester; Bufeltro = Buckfast (Devon) or Alnuicche = Alnwick) require in many cases as much scholarly annotation as those given by Marco Polo for China.

[84] Jandesek (1992), p. 33.

[85] Examples are the elephants captured by Nasr al-Din in Burma and sent to Khubilai's court in 1279 (200 elephants in Polo's book versus 12 in the *Yuanshi*); the probably exaggerated figures of soldiers indicated for the Great Khan's troop attacking Nayan in 1287; the erroneous date of 1256 for Khubilai's enthronement, instead of 1260. Cf. Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988, pp. 215, 223, 244. Hangzhou did not have 12,000 bridges, but ca. 117 inside the city walls and some 230 outside of them. See Folker Reichert, "Die Städte Chinas in europäischer Sicht," in Wilfried Hartmann (ed.), *Europas Städte zwischen Zwang und Freiheit: Die europäische Stadt um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Regensburg: Universitätsverlag (Schriftenreihe der Europa-Kolloquien im Alten Reichstag), 1995, pp. 344–345. Inflated or exaggerated are also the figures on the ships plying the waters of the Yangzijiang, the number of horses used in postal stations, and the population of Hangzhou. Cf. Peng Hai (2010), p. 209.

misrepresentations and errors. Exact quantitative indications especially concern geographical distances, dimensions of cities (e.g. the extension of Karakorum which agrees with archaeological findings), the rate between gold and silver in Yunnan (as we will discuss in this book), the number of horses per postal station (30 on average), the personnel and organizational pattern of Mongol armies, the number of strokes with a cane for petty thefts (7, 17, 27, . . . 107 strokes), as well as the months Khubilai spent in Cambaluc, in his summer palace and in his hunting residence respectively. Faucon also concludes that the abundance of quantitative data suggests the existence of written notes on the part of the Venetian traveller.[86] Already in 1962 Franco Borlandi postulated that Rustichello not only noted down what Marco Polo told him orally, but that the Pisan also relied on a text of the *mercatura* type provided by the Venetian. Proof of this is, for him, the fact that in the Franco-Italian version and thus the earliest available manuscript proper names and toponyms are not given in the manuscript's usual French spelling, but in Italian pronunciation.[87] The existence of written notes is claimed by Ramusio who writes that while being a prisoner in Genoa Marco Polo asked his father to send him his writings and notes which he had carried with him.[88]

That details are sometimes wrong is also due to the fact that it may not have been possible for Marco Polo to check all of them after his return to Venice. Furthermore, factors like lapses of memory and blurred recollections concerning things seen or done, or heard many years before have to be taken into account.[89] One good example is the the famous so-called "Marco Polo Bridge"—the bridge Pulisanghin—to which he assigns

---

[86] See Jean-Claude Faucon, "Examen des données numériques dans le *Devisement du Monde*," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), especially pp. 103–111. Cf. also Larner (1999), p. 52.

[87] See Borlandi (1962), pp. 108–110. For a similar argument see Carl Theodor Gossen who, based on an analysis of Venetianisms in the Franco-Italian version (F), assumes that it is very probable that Rustichello worked with records written by Marco Polo either in Venetian or in Franco-Venetian. See Carl Theodor Gossen, "Marco Polo und Rustichello da Pisa," in Manfred Bambeck and Hans Helmut Christmann, in collaboration with Erich von Richthofen (eds.), *Philologica Romanica: Festschrift Erhard Lommatzsch*, München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1975, p. 142. Cf. in contrast to this the less convincing opinion of Reichert who holds that Marco Polo had no notes and presented everything orally, while Rustichello put his account down on paper and gave it a literary form. See Reichert (1994), p. 182.

[88] See Ramusio, 6/7/8r (i.e. on the single unnumbered folio between 5 and 9), as quoted in Critchley (1992), p. 21: "[. . .] scritto qui à Venetia à suo padre, che dovesse mandargli le sue scritture e memoriali che havea portati seco, [. . .]."

[89] Rachewiltz, "Wood's *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* A Critical Appraisal."

24 arches instead of 13.[90] Another factor affecting the veracity of information was certainly that Marco Polo not only reported on what he has seen, but also on what he had heard—that is, on what he was informed by others.[91] It is justifiable to assume that these third-party accounts were not always correct and often contained fantastic, miraculous or mystical elements. In one of the most recent Marco Polo publications Hans-Wilm Schütte, by taking a common sense approach, comes to the following conclusion: Whoever rejects the most simple and near-laying assumption—namely, that Marco Polo travelled through China, and whoever is not willing to ascribe mistakes, inaccuracies, schematic repetitions and omissions to the well-known factors (i.e. loss of original manuscript, blackouts, additions and exaggerations added by Rustichello as well as additions, falsifications and omissions of later copyists and translaters) will have to make plausible whence all these examples of amazing, correct and detailed information did come from and why this hearsay was only available to Polo, but to nobody else. It is exactly this proof that is, however, missing.[92] Below, I will provide more details on all these in many cases amazingly correct and precise pieces of information to be found in Marco Polo's book.

3.5. *Persian Rendering of Chinese Place Names*

Critique: The geographical and proper names mentioned by Marco Polo are not given in their Mongolian or Chinese form (as would be expected), but in their Persian rendering. This seems to confirm a theory put forth many years ago by the late German sinologist Herbert Franke that the Venetian may have used a Persian source on China.

---

[90] In Henry Yule's view, Marco Polo had mixed this up with a bridge further upstreams which effectively had 24 arches. But as Henri Cordier pointed out, the latter was built in the beginning of the sixteenth century and thus long after Marco Polo. See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 6.

[91] See Barbieri (2000), p. 1013; Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 305; Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 1. See also a statement in the Z manuscript only where also a clear distinction is implied between what the Venetian has seen and what he has heard only: "[…] But do not believe that we have treated of the whole province of Catai [north China] in order, nor indeed of a twentieth part; but only as I Marco used to cross through the province, so the cities which are on the way across are described. […]" See Jackson (1998), p. 1, refering to Arthur Christopher Moule and Paul Pelliot, *Marco Polo: The Description of the World*, London: G. Routledge, 1938, vol. 1, p. 309.

[92] Hans-Wilm Schütte, *Wie weit kam Marco Polo?* Gossenberg: Ostasienverlag (Reihe Gelbe Erde; 1), 2008, p. 61.

Responses: During his seventeen years in Mongol-ruled China, Marco Polo moved among the many foreign communities already established there before the Mongol invasion and that were greatly enlarged due to the Mongol government's multiethnic policy. In the second half of the thirteenth century these communities consisted of a large number of Persian and Turkic-speaking Central and Western Asians, Arabs, Alans from the Caucasus, as well as traders, clerics and adventurers from various European countries, especially from the Italian commercial centres of Genoa, Venice, and Pisa. The *lingua franca* of all these 'Westerners' in China was Persian, which was not only the dominant foreign language, but also the 'official' foreign language until the end of the Yuan dynasty. At the bottom of the social ladder were the Chinese scholars, the keepers and transmitters of China's tradition and culture. Chinese was thus the language of the native subjects, and Mongolian (and, to a lesser extent, Turkic) the language of the foreign rulers, both being separated from each other by a huge social and cultural gulf.[93] The foreigners of various origins, including the Polos, formed a sort of intermediate class with close links to the top, however, and purely mercantile and/or administrative relations with the Chinese. Most, if not all, of their business with members of other ethnic groups took place in Persian. It is therefore not surprising that Marco Polo rendered geographical and proper names as well as various terms for official titles and objects in Persian and Turkic.[94]

It is adequate in this context to discuss shortly the question of the language capabilities of Marco Polo. Alvaro Barbieri has shown that the relevant passage in the Franco-Italian manuscript (F) should be read "il soit de langaies et de quatre letres et scripture," which corresponds perfectly

---

[93] On the social isolation of the Mongols in China see Elizabeth Endicott-West, *Mongolian Rule in China: Local Administration in the Yuan Dynasty*, Cambridge (Mass.) and London: Harvard University Press, 1989, pp. 122–123.

[94] Cf. de Rachewiltz, "Wood's *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* A Critical Appraisal." On Persian as *lingua franca* and official language see Huang Shijian, "The Persian Language in China during the Yuan Dynasty," *Papers on Far Eastern History*, 34 (1986): 83–95. For the rendering of Chinese places names containing the character *zhou* 州 (department) in the Romanic versions of Marco Polo's book see now the recent article of Philippe Ménard, "Problèmes philologiques dans le *Devisement du Monde* de Marco Polo: Les graphies des noms chinois en *zhou* dans les versions romanes," in Anja Overbeck, Wolfgang Schweickard and Harald Völker (eds.), *Lexikon, Varietät, Philologie: Romanistische Studien Günter Holtus zum 65. Geburstag*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011, pp. 713–721. Ménard offers the interesting hypothesis (p. 719) that differences in the rendering of this administrative-toponymical element may reflect the pronunciation of this term as a nonvocal sibilant in the west of China and a vocal sibilant in the Jiangsu region.

to the early French version "[…] il sot en pou de temps de pluseurs langages et sot de .IIII. lettres de lors escriptures"—in other words, within a short time Marco Polo knew several languages as well as four scripts, the latter possibly being Arabo-Persian (for writing Persian), Greek, Uighurian (used for both the Uighur and Mongol language), and Phags-pa (the official way of writing Mongolian shortly before Marco Polo's arrival),[95] though also the languages of the Khitan and Jurchen could have been meant as both had their own scripts. As to spoken languages, Persian, Mongolian and Uighur Turkic are the most likely candidates, and Stephen G. Haw even thinks that he might have had at least some rudimentary knowledge of spoken Chinese as many of the place names mentioned by Marco Polo could have been derived from a Chinese pronunciation, and not from their Persian rendering.[96] How far Marco Polo really mastered these individual languages is very much debated. Most other researchers have come to the conclusion that Marco Polo knew no Chinese, and some of them, like Cai Meibiao, go even so far to state that he also did not understand Phags-pa script nor knew much Mongolian.[97] In a recent comprehensive investigation Philippe Ménard has shown that the most important Marco Polo manuscripts (Franco-Italian, early French, Pipino, Z, Tuscan and Venetian versions) contain about 45 Arabic or Persian words, a dozen or so of Turco-Mongolian and only about half a dozen of Chinese or Indian origin. This not only bespeaks the importance of Persian and Arabic for the international trade during those days, but—in the words of the eminent French Marco Polo scholar—also demonstrates the influence of Marco Polo on the development of the occidental languages and the regeneration and enlargement of their exotic vocabulary.[98]

Regardless of the question as to whether Marco Polo may have known some rudimentary oral Chinese or not, he would not have been the only one confronted with a serious language problem. In the biography of Cui

---

[95] Alvaro Barbieri, "Un Veneziano nel Catai: Sull'autenticità del viaggio di Marco Polo," *Critica del testo*, 3.3 (2000): 1020–1021.

[96] Haw (2006), pp. 60–63.

[97] Cai Meibao, "Marco Polo in China," *Social Sciences in China*, 14.2 (1993): 171–172, referring to the cases of Achbaluch and Bayan as well as the Venetian's use of the word "Tartars," the latter being a concept taken over from the Persians. Another often quoted stock example and clear indication of his ignorance of Chinese is his statement that Suju (Suzhou) means "earth" and Kinsay signifies "heaven." See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 182ff.

[98] Philippe Ménard, "Les mots orientaux dans le texte de Marco Polo," *Romance Philology*, 63 (2009b): 130–132.

Bin 崔斌 (1222–1278) in the "History of the Yuan" (*Yuanshi*), we can read that after the Mongol conquest of Southern China that there was not a single bureaucrat [of Mongol origin or of those from the Central Asian regions] in the provinces of the Yangzi and Huai rivers who was familiar with the Chinese script.[99] Moreover, a work from the early Ming period (1368–1644) stated that in the Yuan empire the northeners (北人 *beiren*) [probably including people from the Western Regions] were generally illiterate yet were appointed as high officials. Northern (*huaren* 華人) and Southern Chinese (*nanren* 男人) were very rarely employed for high offices. When writing instructions, signing documents or indicating dates, the northeners tended to make stupid mistakes. For instance, when writing the character *qi* 七 (seven), one of them curved the stroke left instead of right, turning it into 廾. Anyone who saw it could not help laughing. Translators and interpreters were therefore assigned to the government offices at various levels. In the Mongolian language an interpreter was called *qielimachi* 怯里馬赤.[100]

While later Yuan emperors acquired knowledge of Chinese to various and sometimes quite substantial degrees, Khubilai's Chinese was rather poor. Oral reports to the Great Khan had to be translated by interpreters into Mongol, although he could at least read Uighur.[101] At any rate, all this shows that Marco Polo's linguistic competency was up to the standard required for non-Chinese officials in the service of the Mongolian empire.[102] It was certainly higher than that of the Franciscan missionaries who, with the exception of Giovanni da Montecorvino's (1247–ca. 1330) knowledge of Turkic language and script, seem not to have mastered any of the non-Western language and had to rely on double translation.[103]

---

[99] *Yuanshi*, by Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–1381), ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976, vol. 13, chap. 173, p. 4038; Yang Zhijiu (1998a), p. 107.

[100] *Caomuzi* 草木子 (Book of Master Plants), by Ye Ziqi 葉子奇, preface of 1378, ed. *Yuan Ming shiliao biji congkan* 元明史料筆記叢刊 (Collection of Note-Form Literature and Historical Materials from the Yuan and Ming), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997, chap. "Kejin pian" 克謹篇, p. 49, and chap. "Zazu pian" 雜俎篇, pp. 82–83; Yang Zhijiu (1998a), pp. 107–108.

[101] Herbert Franke, "Could the Mongol Emperors Read and Write Chinese?" *Asia Major*, N.S. 3 (1953): 28–30.

[102] See Barbieri (2000), pp. 1020–1021. On the polylinguality of the "miscellaneous aliens" (*semu ren* 色目人), mostly Western and Central Asians, serving as middlemen of the Mongols, see Frederick W. Mote, "Chinese Society under Mongol Rule, 1215–1368," in Franke and Twitchett (eds.) (1994), p. 646.

[103] Johan Van Mechelen, "Yuan," in Nicolas Standaert (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One: 635–1800*, Brill: Leiden (Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section Four, China; 15/1), 2001, pp. 87–90.

3.6. *Aspects of Chinese and Mongol Civilization and Culture*

Critique: Marco Polo fails to mention many important aspects, objects and relics of Chinese life and material culture. Among these notable omissions are: a) the Chinese writing system; b) books and printing; c) tea and tea drinking; d) the Chinese custom of footbinding; e) cormorant fishing; f) chopsticks; g) the Great Wall.[104] To this one could also add acupuncture, Daoism and Confucianism, and many other things.

Responses: Wood's "failures" were countered both on a general and particular level. On the general level we may, first, paraphrase Hans-Wilm Schütte who argues that the concealment of standard knowledge provides evidence rather for the authenticity of the report than its second-hand character.[105] Second, others have proffered that arguments *ex silentio* cannot be used as definite proof, but are only of presumptive value.[106] Another statement of general nature is, third, that with regard to products and commodities Marco Polo showed an explicit tendency to omit those items that did not go to the West. Moreover, his selection of topics to be discussed and described was coloured by his individual and eclectic predilections.[107] Among many others who word their responses in a similar way, Ugo Tucci speaks in this context of the figure of the traveller, his personality as well as his mental luggage shaping his perceptions, choices and selections that have to be taken into account.[108] A fourth general critic is that the Polos were mainly allied with, and in the service of, the Mongol conquerors and thus did much less associate and interact with their Chinese subjects. Therefore, their interest focused on Mongol society, culture and customs as well as on the political, military and economic organization of the Yuan empire. In contrast to this, many characteristics of Chinese society and culture escaped Marco Polo's attention or were not

---

[104] Not having mentioned the Great Wall is an already quite time-honored criticism, perhaps the first time put forth in *Astley's Voyages*, published 1774 in London. See Larner (1999), p. 174.

[105] Schütte (2008), p. 46.

[106] Barbieri (2000), pp. 1007–1008.

[107] See Barbieri (2000), p. 1008 and especially p. 1011, where he refers to Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 468: "[…] Il ont encore gengibre en abundance et cannelle ausint, et d'autres espices aseç que ne vienent unques en nostre contree et por ce ne fait a mentovoir." Cf. Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 56: "[…] They have also ginger and cinnamon in great plenty, besides other spices which never reach our countries, so we need say nothing about them."

[108] Tucci (1997), p. 55.

considered by him of prime importance for description and transmission.[109] How many British officials in colonial Hong Kong, John Larner asks, knew any Chinese or showed much interest in the people over whom they ruled?[110] Moreover, as an example of another China traveller ignoring the native subject people, Larner quotes Giovanni da Montecorvino who in a letter of February 1306 wrote the following from Kambalik (Cambaluc, Beijing): "I have had six pictures made of the Old and New Testament for the instruction of the unlearned; and they are written upon in Latin, Tursic [Mongol], and Persian letters so that all tongues may read." Apparently, Chinese and the indigenous population were not in the focus of the Franciscan friar.[111]

Marco Polo may also have consciously omitted many things in order not to inundate his contemporaries with further information, data and novelties even more overstretching their capacity of good faith than that which he had already reported. The Dominican Jacopo d'Acqui tells us the famous story that on his deathbed Marco Polo was asked by his friends to correct his account by removing everything that went beyond facts. His response was that he had not told one half of what he had actually seen.[112]

As to the particular "failures" of the Venetian traveller, the following counter-arguments have been adduced:

a) Marco Polo makes only a cursory remark on the Chinese language and the mutually intelligible dialects in Manzi, and on a single system of writing ('one manner of letters').[113] Like Ibn Battuta (1304–1368 or 1369) and Odorico da Pordenone (1286–1331), he does not comment further on the script. Rubroek has only a very short entry on it, stating that the

---

[109] Barbieri (2000), p. 1009.

[110] Larner (1999), p. 65.

[111] Larner (1999), pp. 120–121, refering to Arthur Christopher Moule, *Christians in China before 1500*, New York and Toronto: The Macmillan Co. (London Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge), 1930 p. 178.

[112] See Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 54; Larner (1999), p. 45. Reichert, however, is sceptical about this story which he considers to belong to the topos of the "beautiful death" (*schönes Sterben*). Cf. Reichert (1989a), p. 51.

[113] The relevant passage reads in the Z manuscript of Toledo as follows: "Set scire debetis quod per totam provinciam Manci una servatur loquela et una maneries litterarum, tamen in lingua est diversitas per contratas veluti apud laycos inter Lonbardos Provinciales Francigensas etc. ita tamen quod in provincia Manci gens cuiuslibet contrate potest gentis alterius intelligere ydioma." See Moule and Pelliot, *Marco Polo: The Description of the World*, vol. 2, p. 353; Critchley (1992), p. 22.

Chinese write with a brush and that in a single character they make several letters which form one word.[114] In Igor de Rachewiltz' view, Marco Polo saw China through the ruler's eyes and was thus not interested in the culture of the Great Khan's subject. De Rachewiltz, moreover, notes the comparable case of Latin literature not containing even the briefest description of the Egyptian script, in spite of Italy's close touch with Egypt.[115] Yang Zhijiu underlines the difference in the outlook of Rubroek and Marco Polo. The former as a learned Franciscan friar did not only comment on the Chinese script, but also on the writing of the Tibetan, Tangut and Uighur people, while for the latter with his poor educational background and his pronounced interest in mercantile matters it was more difficult to give consideration to foreign scripts.[116]

b) Although the Venetian does not mention Chinese books and book-printing, he gives a detailed description on the production of paper money which was basically printed in the same way as books. Both the complex Chinese system of writing and the fine details of printing techniques only interested those travellers who were more educated and literary-minded than were either Marco or Odorico.[117] Apart from the manufacture of paper money, another indirect reference to printing is Marco Polo's mentioning of the small astrological pamphlets that were sold in large numbers.[118]

c) Tea drinking was a custom spread mainly among the Chinese, and principally in the provinces of Jiangsu and Huguang in central China. Neither Odorico da Pordenone nor Ibn Battuta mentioned it in their accounts. The Mongols with whom the Polos were allied and identified themselves clearly favoured alcoholic beverages, such as the lighty alcoholic *kumis* (fermented mare's milk), grape wine, honey wine, and especially rice wine. Another beverage preferred by them was sherbet. Both *kumis* and especially rice wine are mentioned by Marco Polo. In Huang Shijian's view, there is no evidence that the Mongols acquired the habit of tea drinking after their conquest of the Jin dynasty (1115–1234), nor was it widespread among them during the 1360s and 1370s, in spite of the listing of nineteen kinds of tea in Hu Sihui's 忽思慧

[114] De Rachewiltz, "Wood's *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* A Critical Appraisal"; Haw (2006), p. 59.
[115] De Rachewiltz (1997), p. 59.
[116] Yang Zhijiu (1998a), p. 108.
[117] De Rachewiltz, "Wood's *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* A Critical Appraisal."
[118] Thomas T. Allsen, "The Cultural Worlds of Marco Polo," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 31.3 (2001a): 380.

Yinshan zhengyao 飲膳正要 (Proper and Essential Things for the Emperor's Food and Drink) of 1330.[119] While the upper strata of Mongol and Muslim society in Yuan China started to drink tea, this did not hold true for the majority of the Mongol and Muslim population. In Europe, it was Ramusio who was the first to mention Chinese tea in ca. 1545,[120] and only from thereafter onwards did knowledge about Chinese tea begin to spread in Europe.[121] In 1265 Khubilai Khan began to monopolize the tea trade from Sichuan, extending its fiscal control from 1275 onwards to various regions in Southern China.[122] And while in 1285 levies on alcoholic beverages were abolished, tea was continued to be taxed, which favoured the distribution of the first to the detriment of the latter. Moreover, as was already mentioned in the general arguments above—namely, that Marco Polo had no intention to report about commodities not known in Europe—tea perfectly fits this qualification as it was unknown in Europe during that period.[123]

d) The only Western, Arabian or Persian visitor to China to note briefly the curious custom of footbinding is Odorico da Pordenone in ca. 1330. After him it would take almost two hundred and fifty years before this practice became again a topic of a Western travel report—namely, in Martín de Rada's (1533–1578) account of around 1575.[124] It is quite possible that this practice was neither common nor widespread during the time of Marco Polo. Being perhaps mainly confined to Chinese women of the upper class and large cities predominately in the south of China, it did not catch the Venetian's prime interest. As a matter of fact, neither the Khitan women of the Liao Dynasty (907–1125), the Jurchen women of the Jin Dynasty (1115–1234), the Mongolian women of the Yuan Dynasty, nor the Manchurian women of the Qing Dynasty

---

[119] Paul D. Buell and Eugene N. Anderson, with an appendix by Charles Perry, *A Soup for the Qan: Chinese Dietary Medicine of the Mongol Era as Seen in Hu Szu-hui's* Yin-Shan Cheng-Yao—*Introduction, Translation, Commentary, and Chinese Text*, London and New York: Kegan Paul International (The Sir Henry Wellcome Asian Series), 2000, pp. 393–394.

[120] See Henry Yule and Arthur Coke Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: The Anglo-Indian Dictionary*, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Ltd., 1996, p. 906.

[121] Cf. the detailed article of Huang Shijian, "The Early Dissemination of Tea in Northern Asia and the Western Region—Why Marco Polo Never Mentioned Tea," transl. by Lu Yunzhong, rev. by Yang Zhi and Bruce Doar, *Social Sciences in China*, 15.4 (1994): 171–174.

[122] Huang Shijian (1994), p. 173.

[123] Barbieri (2000), p. 1011.

[124] Folker Reichert, "*Pulchritudo mulierum est parvos habere pedes*: Ein Beitrag zur Begegnung Europas mit der chinesischen Welt," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 71 (1989): 297–307.

(1644–1911) ever adopted this Han Chinese practice, nor did the rulers of these dynasties encourage it. Moreover, in contrast to Pordenone, Marco Polo was active predominantely in the north of China, while the Franciscan missionary Odorico stayed for longer periods in the South of the Yuan empire.[125] Since Marco Polo's contacts with Chinese society were limited and as he showed only a superficial interest in its customs, it would have been difficult for him to investigate this practice in a stratum of society alien to him and largely removed from the public eye. Moreover, at least in the Z manuscript of Toledo the graceful way in which Chinese ladies walked in order to preserve their virginity is explicitly described.[126] This indeed may well have been a result of bound feet (or an imitation of it), although the deeper reasons for this particular way of walking may not have been clear to Marco Polo.[127]

e) Cormorant fishing also is noted only by Odorico da Pordenone, but not by Ibn Battuta nor by Marco Polo. More significant, however, is the fact that only two Chinese references to this practice can be found in pre-Ming sources. The one reference is in a poem by the great Tang poet Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770); the other in the work of the famous scholar-official Shen Gua 沈括 (1033–1097), the latter mentioning it only for Sichuan, from where it might have also spread to western Hubei. Thus, during Marco Polo's time this peculiar practice was perhaps not yet very widespread, besides the fact that the warfare of the preceeding period of the Mongol conquest had disrupted many of the normal activities. In view of the very rare mention of this technique in Chinese sources, the omission on the part of Marco Polo is both understandable and not very surprising.[128]

f) Neither Odorico nor Ibn Battuta report in their accounts on the use of chopsticks.[129]

---

[125] Yang Zhijiu (1998a), pp. 108–112.

[126] See Alvaro Barbieri, *Marco Polo, Milione: Redazione latina del manoscritto Z, versione italiana a fronte*, Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo / Ugo Guanda, 1998, p. 172: "[…] semper virgines, in earum progresione itineris, tam suaviter gradiuntur quod nunquam unus pes ultra unum digitum alium antecedit […] ad […] virginitatis conservantiam […]."

[127] Barbieri (2000), p. 1010; Haw (2006), pp. 55–56; de Rachewiltz, "Wood's *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* A Critical Appraisal."

[128] Haw (2006), pp. 56–59.

[129] De Rachewiltz, "Wood's *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* A Critical Appraisal"; Haw (2006), pp. 52–55.

g) The question of the non-mentioning by Marco Polo of the Great Wall has become one of the most convincing counter-arguments against Frances Wood's interpretations so that it will suffice to summarize the debate very briefly. The Great Wall as it is seen today with its many watch towers and its brick coating did not exist in Marco's time, but is a fortification built or re-built by the Ming government in the sixteenth and seventeeth centuries. Before the Ming there were only a series of ramparts, erected in different periods and made of pounded earth reinforced with wooden stakes or bundled twigs. At no time was there a continuous line, but only discontinuous walls, differently placed and shifting in position from dynasty to dynasty. What remained unchanged throughout the centuries was the literary fiction and 'myth' of the "Long Wall" built by Qin emperor Shihuang in the third century BC. Chinese sources of the thirteenth century do not mention a Great Wall as a material reality. Thus, until 1579, when it first appeared in a cartographic work, Chinese geographers themselves had largely ignored the existence of such a wall. During the Mongol period it was mainly the famous Daoist Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (Changchun 長春; 1148–1227), Zhang Dehui 張德輝 (1195–1275) and Wang Yun 王惲 (1227–1304) who during the reign of Chinggis Khan had visited the long ago abandoned border watch-towers and frontier ditches of the Jin Dynasty constructed as border defences against the Mongols. Being fully aware of the historical significance of these frontier fortifications, these three scholars had left their marks there, in contradistinction to Marco Polo and other Western travellers who would have had no reason at all to be interested in these unimpressive ruins.[130]

In a detailed article published in 1998 in Chinese and one year later in English Huang Shijian and Gao Yingyan wrote that the Polos could potentially have seen remnants of the Great Wall(s) of the Qin and Han periods only in two places—namely, in the area of Dunhuang and en route from Shangdu to Dadu. In both regions, however, that which remained of the Qin-Han Great Wall(s) would have either been dilapidated to a great extent or covered by drifting sands. Only a handful of references to these relics are to be found in Yuan works of literary, historical and geographical nature. One telling instance is Huang Jin's 黃溍 poem on Yulin 榆林 of the 1330s or 1340s which reads as follows:

---

[130] See Yang Zhijiu (1998a), pp. 112–114; Arthur Waldron, *The Great Wall of China: From History to Myth*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 21–22.

> The high mounds of earth beside the road are said to be ruins of the ancient Great Wall.
> The water in the caves of the pools along the wall is good for my horse to drink.
> I am very lucky to live at a time of an honest and enlightened government.
> Peace reigns in this border area where the flames of war raged in the past.
> The crops are growing luxuriantly and cattle and sheep are all over the fields.
> It is a pity that I cannot sing the full praises of our wise sovereign.

Based on their thorough search in Yuan literature about notions of the Qin-Han Great Wall(s) Huang Shijian and Gao Yingyan come to the following conclusions: first, the walls constructed in widely different eras were often confused with each other. Second, the scholar-officials perceived these walls as historical sites and relics, similar to dilapidated ancient temples and other monuments. Third, in their accounts the misery suffered by those building the walls was stressed, especially in the light of the uselessness against invasion. Fourth, sometimes the contrast between the abandoned walls and the peaceful, well-governed frontier regions struck a cord in the author's heart and made him praise the unified Yuan empire. Fifth, the author often had to be told that these were relics of the ancient Great Wall(s), which then prompted him to muse over things of the remote past.[131]

In sum, in the eyes of the Yuan people, the Great Wall(s) were not of special significance and did not constitute yet a symbol of China. This it became only with the Ming dynasty building a wall of some 7,300 km stretching from the Shanhai Pass 山海關 in the east to the Jiayu Pass 嘉峪關 in the west. This most complete and solid wall in Chinese history was first noticed and described by the Portuguese, but not before the mid-sixteenth century, such as in the following: a missionary's report of 1549, Gaspar da Cruz (ca. 1520–1570) in 1569, Bartholemeu Velho (d. 1568) in 1561, João de Barros (1496–1570) in 1563, Martín de Rada (1533–1578) around 1575, Juan González de Mendoza (ca. 1540–1617) in 1585, Bento de Goez (1562–1607) in 1604, followed by Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) at the end of the sixteenth century, Martino Martini (1614–1661) in 1665, the diplomatic mission headed by Earl

[131] See Huang Shijian and Gong Yingyan, "Marco Polo and the Great Wall—Also on *Did Marco Polo Go to China?*" transl. by Deng Ying and Liu Xiangnan, *Social Sciences in China*, 20.3 (1999): 120–123.

George MaCartney (1737–1806) to China towards the end of the eighteenth century, and many others before and thereafter.[132]

If ruins from former periods still existed during Marco Polo's time, they were probably not very impressive. Neither Giovanni dal Piano del Carpini, Willem van Rubroek, Giovanni de Marignolli (ca. 1290–after 1357) nor Odorico da Pordenone mention the Wall, while Ibn Battuta refers to the "Wall of Gog and Magog" supposedly built by Alexander the Great, but could not find anyone who had either seen it or who knew of anyone who had seen it. Small wonder that also Marco failed to notice it.[133]

To sum up: while it is true that Marco Polo did not report on a number of minor or major facets of Chinese culture and society, it should, foremost of all, be called to memory that, as related by the Dominican Friar Jacobo d'Aqcui, Marco Polo stated on his deathbed that he had only written down a small part of what he had seen and heard.[134] And already before his own demise, his uncle Maffeo, when approaching death, also told to his confessor that everything in the book was true.[135] Moreover, contemporaries such as the Dominican friar Francesco Pipino, who selectively translated Marco Polo's account into a Latin version of its own, Pietro d'Abano, professor of the University of Padua, who included observations of Marco Polo in his own compilation, as well as Jacopo d'Acqui and Domenico Silvestri, the Florentine author of *De insulis et earum proprietatibus* (1385–1406), all of them eventually trusted in the Venetians account or testified its veracity.[136]

A second salient feature of Marco Polo's account is that in juxtaposition to a number of omissions (which could be expanded according to one's own predilections) one cannot oversee all his detailed reports of facts

---

[132] Huang Shijian and Gao Yingyan (1999), pp. 123–127; Charles Ralph Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century: Being the Narratives of Galeote Pereira, Fr. Gaspar da Cruz, O.P., Fr. Martín de Rada, O.E.S.A. (1550–1575)*, London: Haklyut Society, 1953, pp. 70 and 85 for Caspar da Cruz and pp. 263, 279 and 282 for Martín de Rada; Walton (1990), pp. 203–215.

[133] Haw (2006), pp. 52–55; de Rachewiltz, "Wood's *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* A Critical Appraisal"; id. (1977), pp. 63–66.

[134] See Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 54.

[135] See Justin V. Prášek, *Marka Pavlova z Benátek; Milion: Dle jediného rukopisu spolu s příslušným základem latinským*, Prag: Nákladem České Akademie Císaře Františka Josefa pro Vědy, Slovesnost a Umění, 1902, p. 2: "[…] in mortis articulo constitutus, confessori suo in familiari colloquio constanti firmitate asseruit librum hunc veritatem per omnia continere. […]"; Larner (1999), p. 111.

[136] Haw (2006), p. 51; Reichert (1989a), p. 52.

that are corroborated by Chinese or other sources as well as by modern research. Without intending to be exhaustive this concerns:

– his account of many historical, political and military events and persons that are corroborated by Chinese sources such as the battles between "Prester John," i.e. Toghril (Toqrul), Khan of the Kereyid, and Chinggis Khan (1161?–1227),[137] the account of King George of Tenduc (Öngüt),[138] the siege and massacre of Changzhou 常州,[139] the revolt of Li Tan 李璮 (d. 1262), the assassination of Ahmad (d. 1282) (only in Ramusio's version),[140] the Mongol conquest of south China and the fall of the Southern Song,[141] the war of Yongchang, the Mongol expedition into Mien (Burma),[142] the Mongol invasion of Chamba (Champa),[143] the description of Khutulun (Kutulan; the martial daughter of Khubilai's cousin Kaidu),[144] Khubilai Khan's battle against Nayan 乃顏,[145] the second military expedition against Japan (a country not to be mentioned again in European literature until the sixteenth century),[146] Khubilai's favorite son and designed heir-apparent Zhenjin (Chinkin 真金; 1243–1286),[147]

---

[137] See Voiret (1997), p. 813, and Giorgio R. Cardona, "Indice Ragionato," in Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, *Marco Polo, Milione. Versione toscana del Trecento*, Milano: Adelphi Edizioni, 1975, pp. 698–703. Cardona, however, also points out that Marco Polo at some point confounded Prester John also with King George of Tenduc, just because both the Kereyid and Öngüts were Christians.

[138] See Igor de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*, London: Faber & Faber, 1971, pp. 164–167; Qiu Shusen 邱樹森 and Fang Jun 方駿, "Conference Report—New Findings in Marco Polo Studies: A Brief Report on the International Conference on Marco Polo and 13th Century China," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, 31 (2001): 356–362, referring to findings of Yang Zhijiu 楊志玖. It was, however, not George, who married a daughter of Khubilai (as stated by Marco Polo), but his father Aï-bukha who married Khubilai's daughter Yurek, George being their son. See Cardona (1975), p. 638; Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, p. 737.

[139] For more details see Peng Hai (2010), pp. 127–131.

[140] Cf. Rossabi (1988), pp. 178–179; Yang Zhijiu (1998a), pp. 101–103.

[141] For more details on the fall of the Southern Song see the entry "Facfur" in Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, pp. 652–661.

[142] See Rossabi (1988), p. 214–215: "The mission has been colorfully described by Marco Polo, who offers a vivid and detailed, though perhaps not entirely accurate account of the battle. […]"

[143] See Haw (2006), p. 164.

[144] Rossabi (1988), p. 104.

[145] See Rossabi (1988), pp. 222–224; Qiu Shusen et al. (2001), referring to the research of Li Zhi'an 李治安; Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, pp. 788–789.

[146] Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, pp. 531–535; Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 255ff.

[147] Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, pp. 278–280.

the reigns of Prince Hügächi (Cogachin; d. 1271)[148] and Prince Esen Temür (Essentemur; d. 1332)[149] in Carajan and of Prince Manggala (Mangalai; d. 1280) in Jingzhao 京兆,[150] the legend relating to the birth of Bugu Khan 不古可汗 of the Huihu 回鶻 regime,[151] and his mentioning of such important military figures as Bayan, Ajul (Agul; 1227–1280),[152] Nasr al-Din (Nescradin; d. 1291),[153] Nangiadai (Mongotay),[154] Wang Zhu (*cenchu*) and Zhang Yi (*vanchu*),[155] Vonsainchin (Fan Wenhu 范文虎), and Sögätü (Sagatu, Suodu 唆都);[156]

– his, in many ways unique, characterization of Khubilai Khan's personality, including his eclectic religious attitude and his substantial religious tolerance,[157] though, no doubt, coloured by the Venetian's great, godlike admiration of, and loyalty towards, this ruler;[158]

---

148 Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, pp. 394–395.

149 Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, pp. 14–15.

150 Gu Weimin (2006), pp. 335, 337, 339.

151 Qiu Shusen et al. (2001), referring to Dang Baohai's 黨寶海 contribution.

152 Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, pp. 14–15.

153 Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, pp. 793–794.

154 See, however, Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, pp. 781–783, suggesting that Marco Polo may have meant Manghutai (d. 1290).

155 On Wood's mistaking of Vanchu (= *wanhu* 萬戶 or myriarch, the title of Zhang Yi 張易, one of the conspirators) for a transliteration of Wang Zhu 王著, a chiliarch (*qianhu* 千戶 = Cenchu) and one of the conspirators in the assassination of Ahmat in 1282, see Yang Zhijiu (1998a), pp. 101–103; Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, pp. 10–11, 236; vol. 2, p. 870.

156 Cf. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, pp. 836–837. Less clarity exists, however, in the case of Marco Polo's Abacan and Cogatai. See Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, pp. 1–3, 395–396. On Abacan see also Enoki Kazuo, "Marco Polo and Japan," in *Oriente poliano*, 1957, p. 35.

On the aforementioned historical persons, see also Haw (2006), pp. 159–164.

157 Khubilai said to Marco Polo that he did honour and reverence to Jesus Christ, Mahomet, Moses as well as to Shakyamuni Buddha, but also implied that he gave preference to Buddhism. Khubilai clearly favoured Tibetan Buddhism over Daoism, which might explain why Daoism was not mentioned in his conversation with Marco Polo. See Rossabi (1988), pp. 39–40, 229. Cf. also the remarks of Larner (1999), pp. 76–77: "[…] If only all are faithful to the Lord Khan […] And thou may do what thou wilt with God and thy soul whether thou art Jew, Pagan or Saracen or Christian who dwellest among the Tartars. […]," referring to Moule and Pelliot, *Marco Polo: The Description of the World*, vol. 1, p. 96; vol. 2, p. 21. A similar eclectic religious attitude is revealed in Möngke's (1209–1259) conversation with Willem van Rubroek when the Great Khan declared that God has given different fingers to the hand, so as he has given different ways to men. See Larner (1999), p. 24, as well as Richard C. Foltz, *Religions of the Silk Road: Overland Trade and Cultural Exchange from Antiquity to the Fifteenth Century*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999, pp. 121ff., for more examples of the Mongols' eclectic and functionalistic approach towards different religions.

158 See Rossabi (1988), pp. 148–152. Cf. Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 331: "[…] he is the most potent man, as regards forces and lands and treasure, that existeth in the world, or ever hath existed from the time of our First Father Adam until this day." On the representation

– his astute observation about the political rift between those Mongols who claimed to represent the traditional values of the steppe and those who became more adapted and seduced by a Chinese lifestyle in China or by Muslim customs in Persia;[159]
– his reports about Kaiping 開平 (since 1263 named Shangdu 上都), Khubilai's residence from 1253 onwards, and Cambaluc or Dadu 大都 (Beijing), the capital of the Yuan empire since 1266, including their inner cities, palaces, buildings, parks[160] and hunting preserves, as well as court life, the performance of the kowtow,[161] the Mongol rulers' sumptuous tents;[162] festivities such as Khubilai's birthday and the Lunar New Year court ceremony,[163] Khubilai Khan's riding of elephants,[164] his visits to the summer residence in Shangdu,[165] the selection of the concubines for the Great Khan, and the hunting culture;[166]
– his correct description of the rich and precious crimson girdles worked with threads of gold and silver worn at court ceremonies by high officials or commanders;[167] so extensive was their use that an Imperial Belt Treasury (*yudai ku* 御帶庫) was founded by the Yuan in 1289 to tend to imperial use and to make ready bestowals;[168]

---

of the Great Khan in Marco Polo's book see now also Philippe Ménard, "La représentation de l'empereur de Chine Khoubilai Khan dans le Devisement du Monde de Marco Polo," in Venceslas Bubenicek and Rocher Marchal (eds.), *Gouvernement des hommes, gouvernement des âmes; Mélanges Charles Brucker*, Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 2007, pp. 229–244.

159 Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, pp. 361; Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 263; Rossabi (1988), p. 236.

160 On Khubilai Khan's enthusiasm for parks with trees and the identification of the Mongols with trees see the interesting article of Sasaki Shigemi, "Faune et flore dans *Le Devisement du Monde*: 'Mont Vert' du Grand Kaan et 'Vergier' de Deduit," in Alain Labbé, Daniel W. Lacroix and Danielle Quérel (eds.), *Guerres, voyages et quêtes au Moyen Âge: Mélanges offerts à Jean-Claude Faucon*, Paris: Champion, 2000, pp. 381–388.

161 Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 391; Johannes Witte, *Das Buch des Marco Polo als Quelle für Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin: Hutten-Verlag, 1916, p. 40; Leonardo Olschki, *Guillaume Boucher: A French Artist at the Court of the Khans*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1946, p. 49.

162 Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Cambridge Series in Islamic Civilization), 1997, p. 74.

163 Allsen (1997), p. 15; Qiu Shusen et al. (2001), referring to Yang Zhijiu's work.

164 Qiu Shusen et al. (2001), referring to Wang Ting 王頲.

165 Paul Ratchnevsky, "Über den mongolischen Kult am Hofe der Grosskhane in China," in Louis Ligeti (ed.), *Mongolian Studies*, Amsterdam: Verlag B. R. Gründer (Bibl. Orientalis hungarica; 14), 1970, p. 426n50.

166 Rossabi (1988), pp. 31–33, 131–135, 174–175; Haw (2006), pp. 68–73.

167 Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 387; Allsen (1997), pp. 18–19.

168 See Allsen (1997), pp. 18–19; *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 90, p. 2295.

Source: Jan Hendrik Glazemaker, *Markus Paulus Venetus*, Reisen, en beschryving der Oostersche lantschappen;. . ., t'Amsterdam: Voor Abraham Wolfgang, 1664, p. 47. Courtesy of Leiden University Library.

Figure 1. The Great Khan carried by elephants, as illustrated in Glazemaker's Dutch version (1664) of Marco Polo's book.

– his mentioning of the wearing of golden canopies which were called umbrellas by high-ranking military officers as a sign of authority and power;[169]
– his accurate account of the Great Khan's donation of robes of one colour (*jisün, yijin zhisun* 衣金直孫)[170] and "cloths of silk and gold," richly adorned with pearls and precious stones, on a regular basis to his imperial guardsmen, the *keshigten*, and the dress code to be observed at celebrations;[171]
– his observation that the Great Khan had not much trust in the Chinese because of the dubious legitimy of his rule and thus relied to a considerable extent on the services of Tartars, Saracens or Christians;[172]
– his mentioning of Khubilai's [re]instation of the ban on *halal* slaughter after Ahmad's purge;[173]
– his notion of Khubilai Khan's forstering of trade and his concern for merchants;[174]
– his correct report about the decimal organization of the Mongol armies,[175] the heavy deployment of troops in Jiangzhe and Jiangnan,[176] figures on

---

169 Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 353; Allsen (1997), p. 19.

170 See, e.g., *Yuanshi*, vol. 10, chap. 124, p. 3050.

171 See a full discussion in Allsen (1997), pp. 19–26. On the "cloth of silk and gold" and the *keshigten* see below.

172 See Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 418 (only in the Ramusio version); Rossabi (1988), p. 66. On the many foreigners employed by the Mongol rulers see the voluminous collection of biographies in Igor de Rachewiltz, Chan Hok-lam, Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing and Peter W. Geier, with the assistance of May Wang (eds.), *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200–1300)*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993. See also the classical study of Ch'ên Yüan 陳垣, *Western and Central Asians in China under the Mongols: Their Transformation into Chinese* 元西域人華化考, translated and annotated by Ch'ien Hsing-hai 錢星海 and L. Carrington Goodrich, Los Angeles: Published by Monumenta Serica at the University of California, 1966.

173 Cf. Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 420 (only in Ramusio's rendering). Cf. Witte (1916), pp. 101–102; Foltz (1999), pp. 125–126. As a matter of fact, it was already on January 27, 1280—that is, before Ahmad's death (April 2, 1282)—that the death penalty was imposed for anyone slaughtering an animal in the Muslim way. The prohibition was only lifted in 1287. For more background information see Rossabi (1988), pp. 199–201.

174 Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, pp. 437–438; Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 412; Rossabi (1988), pp. 122, 124.

175 See, e.g., Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 350.

176 For large garrisons or places for the production of weapons explicitly mentioned by Marco Polo see Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 13, Taian (Taiyuan); vol. 2, p. 154, Yanju (Yangzhou); vol. 2, pp. 190, 216, Kinsay (Hangzhou); vol. 2, p. 231, Fuju (Fuzhou). Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing mentions the assignment of *tammachi* troops to Taiyuan as well as the heavily garrisoned cities of Yangzhou and Hangzhou. See Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, *The Military Establishment of the Yuan Dynasty*, Cambridge (Mass.) and London: Harvard University Press, 1978, pp. 53, 56. Gunther Mangold enumerates 226 provincial garrisons for Jiangnan, 227 for Jiangzhe,

the garrison strengths in Manzi,[177] as well as the number, quartering and three-days shifts of the *keshigten*, the personal bodyguard of the Great Khans;[178]
– his rather detailed description—as the only non-Chinese writer of his time—of the impressive achievement of the Yuan in building the Grand Canal;[179]
– his precise account of the justice and verdict system of the Yuan dynasty, with 7, 17, 27, 37, 47, . . . and 107 blows given to thieves according to the severity of their crimes; no other Western travel notes mentioned this numerical system instituted from 1264 onwards which was so unique in Chinese legal history;[180]
– his astute observation of the imposition of a ninefold fine upon cattle thieves; theft of cattle was a serious offence for such nomadic people as the Mongols and thus the law of the ninefold fine was not only an innovation in the formal Chinese penal system, but also continued in the practice of the *Mongol Oirat Code* of 1640, the *Khalkha Djirom*, and the law of the Kalmucks;[181]

---

and 53 for Fujian. See Gunther Mangold, *Das Militärwesen in China unter der Mongolen-Herrschaft*, PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Bamberg: aku Fotodruck, 1971, p. 29. On the omnipresence of the garrison armies cf. also Qiu Shusen et al. (2001), referring to Wang Xiaoxin's 王曉欣 contribution.

[177] Marco Polo mentions 1,200 great and wealthy cities, each of them having at least 1,000 men, some of them even up to 30,000 men. See Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, pp. 516–517; Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 190. On this topic see also my statements in the conclusion of this book.

[178] Marco Polo indicates 12,000 *keshigten*, which operated in shifts of three-days-and-night, of 3,000 men. See Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 379. Both Chinggis Khan and his son Ögödei had a bodyguard of 10,000. Other figures available on the number of *keshigten* are: 1312, 10,000; 1329, 13,000; 1331, 15,000; 1332, 13,600. Cf. Mangold (1971), p. 19; Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing (1978), p. 40. For the division of the *keshigten* into four parts being on duty in three-days-and-night shifts see Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, Leiden, Boston: Brill (Brill's Inner Asian Library; 7/1–2), 2004, vol. 1, pp. 155–156, vol. 2, pp. 825–827. The "Secret History of the Mongols" was probably composed between 1228 and 1251. See on this and the history of the text de Rachewiltz (2004), pp. xxixff. This work was transliterated into Chinese and published not before the 1380s. See Mote (1994a), p. 694.

[179] Joseph Needham, with the collaboration of Wang Ling and Lu Gwei-Djen, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 4, *Physics and Physical Technology*, part 3, *Civil Engineering and Nautics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971, p. 312; Haw (2006), pp. 73–81.

[180] See Paul Ratchnevsky, "Die mongolische Rechtsinstitution der Busse in der chinesischen Gesetzgebung der Yüan-Zeit," in Herbert Franke (ed.) (1961), p. 173; Paul Hengchao Ch'en, *Chinese Legal Tradition under the Mongols: The Code of 1291 as Reconstructed*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979, pp. 48–51; Yang Zhijiu (1998a), p. 120.

[181] Ratchnevsky (1961), pp. 173ff.; Paul Hengchao Ch'en (1979), pp. 58–59.

– his reference to the prohibition of gambling;[182]
– his mentioning of the retaliatory penalty of hand-cutting to supplement the traditional form of "five punishments";[183]
– his indications of the three-year terms of service for officials, as it indeed had been institutionalized since 1282;[184]
– his description of tax relief measures in times of natural disasters,[185] the establishement of granaries for preventing famines,[186] and the existence of orphanages and offices for public assistance for the destitute;[187]
– his account of the Mongol postal service[188] and Polo's use of official roads in Fujian;[189]
– his accurate information on monies, monetary conditions and fiscal revenue of the empire, as I will explain in detail in this book;
– his precise knowledge, as we will likewise see in this book, of salt production, distribution and revenue, less surprising when taking into account the importance of the Yuan salt monopoly and the fact that as a Venetian he was familiar with a rigorous salt monopoly;
– his references to Yuan government orders to destroy city walls in Han Chinese areas and the planting of roadside trees;[190]
– his substantial and reliable information—backed by written evidence of other origin and archaeological remains—concerning religious

---

[182] Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 457 (in Ramusio's rendering only); Paul Ratchnevsky, *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 4, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises; 4), 1985, pp. 368–370.

[183] Paul Hengchao Ch'en (1979), p. 63.

[184] Peng Hai (2010), pp. 133, 178, 253.

[185] Rossabi (1988), pp. 119, 186, 254n9.

[186] Rossabi (1988), pp. 119, 185; Haw (2006), p. 64.

[187] See Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 445; vol. 2, p. 147; Jacques Gernet, *La vie quotidienne en Chine à la veille de l'invasion mongole, 1250–1276*, Paris: Hachette, 1959, p. 161. For public assistance offices for widowers, widows, orphans, childless persons, elderly people, adolescents and handicapped see the legal regulations in Paul Ratchnevsky, *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 2, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises; 4), 1972, pp. 83–84.

[188] The most authoritative work in a western language on the postal service in China under the Mongols is still Peter Olbricht, *Das Postwesen in China unter der Mongolenherrschaft im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen; 1), 1954. However, compared with Rossabi's indications, based on Chinese and Japanese research, Marco Polo's quantitative data on the number of horses per station and the total number of horses differ widely. Rossabi (1988), p. 124: 1,400 postal stations in China, with a total of 50,000 horses, 8,400 oxen, 6,700 mules, 4,000 carts, almost 6,000 boats, over 200 dogs, and 1,150 sheep. Cf. Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 434: 10,000 buildings (i.e. postal stations) and 300,000 horses.

[189] Qiu Shusen et al. (2001), referring to Gao Rongsheng's 高榮盛 contribution.

[190] Qiu Shusen et al. (2001), referring to Dang Baohai 黨寶海.

conditions in China, comprising not only Islam, Judaism, Catholicism, and Nestorianism, but also Buddhism,[191] though much less about Confucianism and Daoism;[192] although being very limited, eclectic and partial in his practical approach, he sometimes shows astonishing knowledge of details, such as in his admiration of Daoist ascetism, the description of the practice of animal sacrifices in lamaistic Buddhism, i.e. a habit contrary to the Buddhist interdiction against killing living creatures;[193] or the mentioning of the activities of the Nestorian Christian Marsarchis (Marsarquis, Mar Sarghis) who built churches in Zhenjiang and, moreover, was appointed as "seignor por le grant kaan" of Chinghianfu (Cinghianfu; Zhenjiang) in 1278,[194] a fact which is corroborated by the *Zhishun Zhenjiang zhi* 至順鎮江志 (Local Gazetteer of Zhenjiang from the Zhishun Reign-period) stating that Ma Xuelijisi 馬薛里吉思 became General of the Third Class (*mingwei jiangjun* 明威將軍) and Assistant Overseer (*fu daluhuachi* 副達魯花赤) of the Zhenjiang Route;[195]

---

[191] See the overviews in Gu Weimin (2006), pp. 338–340, and, especially, Zhang Xiping, "Il Milione e le ricerche sulla storia del Christianesimo in Cina," in Frederico Masini et al. (eds.) (2006), pp. 305–316. Classic studies on these topics to be consulted are, among others, Moule (1930), with a convenient list of relevant Marco Polo passages, a chapter on the Nestorian community in Zhenjiang, translations of Chinese passages dealing with Nestorians and their activities etc.; Paul Demiéville, "La situation religieuse en Chine au temps de Marco Polo," in *Oriente Poliano*, 1957, pp. 193–234, Olschki (1960), pp. 178–228; Van Mechelen (2001), especially pp. 49–50, 64, 67, 79, 80, 86 (on the Manichaen community at Fuzhou which were registered as Christians and thus enjoyed the same privileges as the Christian clergy).

[192] For a still indispensable and at the same time very readable and convenient overview of Marco Polo's account on Buddhism and the religious creeds and activities of both Mongols and Chinese see Witte (1916). Cf. also René Etiemble, "La philosophie, les arts et les religions de la Chine dans l'œuvre de Marco Polo," in Agostino Pertusi (ed.), *Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento*, San Giorgio Maggiore (Venezia), Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Centro di Cultura e Civiltà: Sansoni, 1966, pp. 375–388. In Rossabi's view, however, Marco Polo did not mention Daoism, which might be deliberate as it reflected the well-known preference of Khubilai Khan—his admired ruler of the rulers—for Tibetan Buddhism over Daoism. See Rossabi (1988), p. 39.

[193] Etiemble (1966), pp. 377, 381, 388; Witte (1916), p. 37.

[194] Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 509; Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 177; Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, pp. 774–776.

[195] Cf. Moule (1930), pp. 145ff.; Yang Zhijiu (1998a), p. 120. See also Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, p. 775, who assumes that Marco Polo may have obtained from Marsarchis, a man of Samarkand, the legend of the main pillar of the church at Samarkand hanging in the air.

– his indications on religious practices of the Mongols, such as the adoration of Natigai, God[dess] of the Earth, and their use of idols made of felt;[196]
– his remarkable and correct reports on customs, habits and ceremonial rituals such as the Mongol custom of measuring, viz. indicating distance with bowshots,[197] their scattering of mare's milk on sacred ground,[198] the Mongol's more lax attitude towards virginity (in contrast to their high esteem of fidelity and chastity and their abhorrence of adultery)[199] and the existence of the levirate,[200] their arrangement of *post mortem* marriages,[201] the significance of the colour white for them,[202] their taboos against the spilling of blood of members of the dynasty and enemy leaders,[203] the suicide-vendettas in southern China,[204] the custom of eating raw meat in Yunnan, and the habit of adorning one's teeth with gold among the Dai people 傣族 in Yunnan,[205] the worshipping of primordial ancestors and the existence of the habit of the

[196] See Cardona (1975), pp. 678–679, and especially Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, p. 791–792, and Antoine Mostaert, "Le mot Natigay/Nacigay chez Maro Polo," *Oriente poliano*, 1957, pp. 95–101. On this and the following topics see also Alvaro Barbieri (2004b), "Usanze e culti nell'Oriente poliano (schede etnografiche dal *Milione*," in his *Dal viaggo al libro: Studi sul* Milione, pp. 219–243.

[197] Chan Hok-lam, " 'The Distance of a Bowshot': Some Remarks on Measurement in the Altaic World," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, 25 (1995), p. 42; Chan Hok-lam, "Siting by Bowshot: A Mongolian Custom and its Sociopolitical and Cultural Implications," *Asia Major*, 3rd ser., 4.2 (1991): 67.

[198] Ratchnevsky (1970), pp. 426–429.

[199] Jennifer Holmgren, "Observations on Marriage and Inheritance Practices in Early Mongol and Yüan Society, with Particular Reference to the Levirate," *Journal of Asian History*, 20 (1986): 145–146, 155, 174–177.

[200] See Holmgren (1986), p. 157. For legal stipulations prohibiting the levirate to Chinese see Ratchnevsky (1972), *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 2, pp. 131–134.

[201] Witte (1916), pp. 64–65.

[202] See the references in de Rachewiltz (2004), vol. 2, p. 1311.

[203] See Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, "La proibizione di versare il sangue nell'esecuzione d'un membro della dinastia presso i Turchi et i Mongoli," *Annali del Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, Nuova serie, 1 (1940): 15–23; Cardona (1975), p. 677; Rossabi (1988), p. 65; de Rachewiltz (2004), vol. 1, p. 368.

[204] Barbieri (2000), p. 996.

[205] Cf. Gu Weimin (2006), p. 334, referring to the research of Fang Guoyu and Lin Chaomin (1994); Cardona (1975), p. 544; Jacqueline Misty Armijo-Hussein, "Sayyid 'Ajall Shams al-Din: A Muslim from Central Asia, Serving the Mongols in China, and Bringing 'Civilization' to Yunnan," PhD diss., Harvard University, 1996, UMI, p. 144.

couvade (male childbed) in Zardandan (Yunnan),[206] and the dangerousness of the Tibetans;[207]
– his vivid relation about miraculous healings with the help of shamans and magicians in Carajan, Vochan and Yachi in Southwest China[208] and the captivation of soul matter for oneself by killing people of high, noble rank in Carajan;[209]
– his famous and much discussed accounts on the custom of guest prostitution among the Uighurs of Kamul and the people of Caindu in Sichuan;[210]
– his description of Chinese funerary practices, including the opening of a special hole into the wall through which the corpse is carried out of the house[211] as well as the burning of all kinds of objects made out of paper such as gold, horses, camels, arnaments, male and female slaves together with the body of the dead,[212] and his numerous indications about the adoption of cremation;[213]

---

[206] Witte (1916), pp. 75–76; Armijo-Hussein (1996), p. 141.

[207] Herbert Franke, "Tibetans in Yüan China," in his *China under Mongol Rule*, VII, p. 298.

[208] Witte (1916), pp. 77–78; Armijo-Hussein (1996), p. 137.

[209] Witte (1916), pp. 79.

[210] Cf. Witte (1916), pp. 80–83; Armijo-Hussein (1996), p. 143. On guest prostitution as described by Marco Polo as an entertaining and learned topic of conversation arranged by the Dominican Philippus of Ferrara for his confratres between 1321/23 and 1347 see Folker Reichert, "Fremde Frauen: Die Wahrnehmung von Geschlechterrollen in den spätmittelalterlichen Orientberichten," in Odilo Engels and Peter Schreiner (eds.), *Die Begegnung des Westens mit dem Osten: Kongreßakten des 4. Symposions des Mediävistenverbandes in Köln 1991 aus Anlaß des 1000. Todesjahres der Kaiserin Theophanu*, Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1993, p. 176.

[211] Witte (1916), pp. 68–69.

[212] See Witte (1916), pp. 68–69, and Hou Ching-Lang 侯錦郎, *Monnaies d'offrande et la notion de trésorerie dans la religion Chinoise*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France (Mémoires de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises; 1), 1975, pp. 3–17. For a prohibition of this practices see Ratchnevsky (1985), pp. 337–338.

[213] That people burn their dead is regularly mentioned by Marco Polo in his descriptions of individual cities and regions. Cf. Gernet (1959), pp. 189ff., writing extensively on the surprisingly wide-spread adoption of cremation, especially in Hebei, Shanxi and the maritime southeastern provinces, as a consequence of the high costs of grave land. About the topics of cremation and concremation in Marco Polo's book as a means of expressing the distinction between the Own and the Others see Jean-Claude Faucon, "Feux de l'Ailleurs (les rites de crémation dans le *Devisement du monde*), in *Feu et Lumière au Moyen Âge*, travaux du Groupe de recherches "Lectures médiévales," Université de Toulouse II, Toulouse: Éditions Universitaires du Sud, 1998, pp. 103–120. Cremations were banished by Christianity until quite recently, as is made clear by Faucon (1998), p. 103.

– his highlighting of the importance of the consultation of astrologers, astronomers,[214] geomancers and diviners[215] by both Mongols and Chinese as well as the existence of cheap popular astrological calendars;[216] his mentioning of the twelve animals representing the Twelve Earthly Branches, though in a confused sequence;[217]
– his many observations on city life, especially of Kinsay (Hangzhou),[218] including city walls, canals, streets and bridges, fire guards,[219] curfew,[220] door registration placards, multi-storied houses,[221] hospitals, baths,

[214] See Yule (1903), vol. 1, pp. 446–448 (only in the Ramusio version); Witte (1916), pp. 71–72; Gernet (1959), p. 163; Rossabi (1988), pp. 125–126, 147. On the rich documentation on Mongol astrology and divination in general see Charles R. Bawden, "Astrologie und Divination bei den Mongolen—die schriftlichen Quellen," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 108 (1958): 317–337. On Marco Polo's ambiguous attitude towards these magicians see Jean-Claude Faucon, "Marco Polo et les enchanteurs," in *Chant et enchantement au Moyen Âge*, travaux du Groupe de recherches "Lectures médiévales," Université de Toulouse II, Toulouse: Éditions Universitaires du Sud, 1997a, pp. 205–222. On the close relationship between astronomy, astrology and divination under both the Mongols in particular and in China in general, the Mongols' recruitment of relevant experts from all over Eurasia, and a thorough study of the manifold aspects of astronomy under the Mongols, especially in the light of the institutionalisation of the season-granting calendar system in 1280 see the authorative study of Nathan Sivin, with the research collaboration of the late Kiyosi Yabuuti 藪内清 and Shigeru Nakayama 中山茂, *Granting the Seasons: The Chinese Astronomical Reform of 1280, with a Study of its Many Dimensions and an Annotated Translation of its Records*, New York: Springer (Sources in the History of Mathematics and Physical Sciences), 2009.

[215] Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 408; Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 335; Witte (1916), pp. 71–72; Rossabi (1988), p. 223.

[216] Cf. Witte (1916), also referring to Pauthier (p. 525) mentioning that in 1328 no less than 3,123,185 such calendars were printed. See also Gernet (1959), p. 196.

[217] Yule (1903), pp. 447, 454; Peng Hai (2010), pp. 199–200.

[218] The name Kinsay derives from *xingzai* 行在, i.e. "temporal residence" of the Southern Song court. It continued to be called Kinsay even after some time of the Yuan conquest, and the custom of using this name by foreigners would have persisted to a later time. See Kuwabara Jitsuzō, "On P'u Shou-keng 蒲壽庚: A Man of the Western Regions who was the Superintendent of the Trading Ships' Office in Ch'üan-chou 泉州 towards the End of the Sung Dynasty, together with a General Sketch of Trade of the Arabs in China during the T'ang and Sung Eras," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko*, 2 (1928): 22.

[219] On the fire guards in twelfth-century Kaifeng see Brigitte Kölla, *Der Traum von Hua in der Östlichen Hauptstadt: Meng Yuanlaos Erinnerungen an die Hauptstadt der Song; Einleitung und Übersetzung Buch 1–3*, Bern, Berlin etc.: Peter Lang, 1996, pp. 169–170. For fire prevention and fighting measures in Hangzhou see Gernet (1959), pp. 35–39.

[220] Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 420; Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 375, and vol. 2, p. 188 (Ramusio version only). Cf. also Ratchnevsky (1985), *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 4, pp. 340–342.

[221] Étienne Balazs, "Marco Polo in the Capital of China," in his *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy: Variations on a Theme*, edited with an Introduction by Arthur F. Wright, transl. by H. M. Wright, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964, p. 89, referring

pleasure boats, restaurants, hotels and banquet places, prostitutes, carriages, craft guilds, commerce, markets, commodities, food and beverage, and clothes;[222]
– his mentioning of megalithic bridge-constructions in Kelinfu (Quenlifu, Jianning 建寧) in Fujian;[223]
– his detailed account of Chinese ships, especially their sailing in convoys with dinghies, their size, freight and crew, bulkhead-built hull, decks, cabins, oars, rudders, multiple masts, sails, tackling and rigging, the use of tung-oil and lime for chalking, water-tight compartments, planking, and repair by continual overlaying with new layers of caulked strakes;[224]
– his accurate account on the use of coal[225] and his correct description of production of asbestos, the latter being information obtained from a Turkish acquaintance named Zurficar (Çurficar) who had lived three

---

to Wu Zimu's 吳子牡 *Mengliang lu* 夢梁錄 (Dreaming of Splendour in Midst of Deprivation), chap. 10, p. 84; Gernet (1959), p. 123.

[222] On Hangzhou during the Song and Yuan periods in general see especially Arthur Christopher Moule, *Quinsai with Other Notes on Marco Polo*, Cambridge: At the University Press, 1957; id., "Carriages in Marco Polo's Quinsai," *T'oung Pao*, second series, 24.1 (1925–1926): 66–69; Gernet (1959). For a recent book in Chinese see Bao Zhicheng 鮑志成, *Make Boluo yu tiancheng Hangzhou* 馬可· 波羅與天城杭州 (Marco Polo and the Heaven-city Hangzhou), Xianggang: Xianggang xinfeng chubanshe, 2000.

[223] See Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 525; Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 225; Voiret (1997), p. 818. Schütte (2008), pp. 70–72, mentions also Marco Polo's precise description of the bridges of Zayton (Quanzhou 泉州) and Voiret (1997), p. 818, his account of pontoon bridges, but neither of these am I so far able to locate in Marco Polo's work.

[224] Cf. Kuwabara Jitsuzō (1928), pp. 66–68; Needham et al. (1971), pp. 465–469; Jacques Dars, "Les jonques chinoises de haute mer sous les Song et les Yuan," *Archipel*, 18 (1979): 41–56; Philippe Ménard, "Marco Polo et la mer: Les navires vus en Orient," in Reynal Abad, Jean-Pierre Bardet, Jean-François Dunyach and François-Joseph Ruggiu (eds.), *Les passions d'un historien: Mélanges en l'honneur de Jean-Pierre Poussou*, Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne (Collection Roland Mousnier; 44), 2010, pp. 415–424; Sally K. Church, "Zheng He: An Investigation into the Plausibility of 450-ft Treasureships," *Monumenta Serica*, 53 (2005): 7, 12. I would like to thank Mathieu Torck, Ghent University, Department of Languages and Cultures of South and East Asia, for having brought to my attention the article of Church. See, e.g., also Friedrich Hirth, "Ueber den Schiffsverkehr von Kinsay zu Marco Polo's Zeit," *T'oung Pao*, 5.5 (1894), p. 387, where, based on Wu Zimu's *Menglianglu*, he refers to the large ocean-going ships of Hangzhou with 500–600 passengers and the smaller ones with 200–300 *passengers*. Cf. this with Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 250, where Marco Polo says the following: "Each of their great ships requires at least 200 *mariners* [some of them 300 (added by Ramusio)]. They are indeed of great size, for one ship shall carry 5000 or 6000 baskets of pepper [and they used formerly to be larger than they are now (Ramusio)]."

[225] Haw (2006), pp. 64–65.

years in the region of Chingintalas for procuring this mineral on behalf of the Great Kahn;[226] Marco Polo was the first to shatter the European legend that asbestos was the product of salamanders;[227] exploitation of "stone silk floss" (*shirong* 石絨), i.e. asbestos, at Mount Bieqiechi 別怯赤山 had been advocated by Khubilai's infamous finance minister Ahmad in a memorial submitted to the throne already in 1267—a request that was granted;[228]

– his report on the production of "Tartar cloth" or "cloth of gold and silk," called *nasich*, *nac* or *naques* (*nassit, nac, nascisi*) by Marco Polo[229] or *nasij* in Arabic, *nakh* in Persian, *nacchetti* by Pegolotti and *nashishi* 納石失 or *jinjin* 金錦 (gold brocade) by Chinese sources,[230] not only in Baghdad, Tabriz, Georgia and Lesser Armenia, but also in the region around Xuzhou 敍州 in Sichuan, Zhenjiang 鎮江 in the Lower Yangzi region and even in Tibet;[231] in addition, in the chapter about the province of Tenduc, a region north of the great loop of the Yellow river, the Venetian mentions towards the border of Cathay the "weaving [of] those fine cloths of gold which are called *Nasich* and *Naques*, besides silk stuffs of many other kinds [...],"[232] which in all probability is a reference, though somewhat oblique, to the famous gold brocade production centres of Xunmalin 尋麻林 and Hongzhou 弘州 which were extremely active in the 1270s and 1280s and which both had a Civil Artisans Superintendency (*renjiang tijusi* 人匠提擧司) and a Gold Brocade Office (*nashishi ju* 納石失局);[233]

– his precious report about the production of "hair satin" (*maoduan* 毛緞) or *camlet* (*giambellot, çamelloit*) in Calachan (Ningxia 寧夏),

---

[226] Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 376; Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 213.

[227] See Berthold Laufer, "Asbestos and Salamander: An Essay in Chinese and Hellenistic Folklore," *T'oung Pao*, 16 (1915): 325, and also Jean-Claude Faucon, "La représentation de l'animal par Marco Polo," *Médiévales*, 32 (1997): 108–110, stressing Marco Polo's stance against the interpretation of St. Augustine and Isidore.

[228] *Yuanshi*, vol. 1, chap. 6, p. 116; Laufer (1915), p. 265; Jackson (1998), p. 93.

[229] Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, pp. 330, 398; Yule (1903), vol. 1, pp. 63, 285.

[230] Allsen (1997), pp. 2–3.

[231] Allsen (1997), p. 34.

[232] Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 398; Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 285.

[233] For more details and literature see Allsen (1997), pp. 41–45. See also Qiu Shusen et al. (2001), referring to Qiu Shusen's 邱樹森 contribution; Olschki (1946), p. 19.

the capital of the kingdom of Egrigaia belonging to Tangut, as well as in Tenduc;[234]
– his overall identification of a number of other textiles, i.e. buckram, ghilan, muslin, cramoisy, yazdi, baldekin, damask, sandal, fustian and hemp;[235]
– his mentioning of the production of porcelain in Fujian for large-scale overseas export;[236]
– his, in great part, correct and identifiable mentioning of a large number of animals and natural products;[237]

---

[234] See Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 397; Yule (1903), vol. 1, pp. 281, 284; Allsen (1997), p. 71.

[235] Muriel J. Hughes, "Marco Polo and Medieval Silk," *Textile History*, 6 (1975): 119–131. On textiles, leathers and furs mentioned in Marco Polo's work in general see also Franco Brunello, *Marco Polo e le merci dell'Oriente*, Vincenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1986, pp. 107–112, 114–115.

[236] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, pp. 235–236, with Ramusio's additions by using a special earth, apparently kaolin, on p. 242n5; Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 528; Yang Zhijiu (1998a), pp. 106–107; Brunello (1986), pp. 113–114. On Yuan ceramics and porcelain production in general see Rossabi (1988), pp. 169–170. On the large-scale production of porcelain for overseas exports in Quanzhou as well as in nearby Jinjiang 晉江, Nan'an 南安 and Anxi 安溪 during the Song and Yuan periods see especially So Kee Long 蘇基朗 [Su Jilang], "The Trade Ceramics Industry in Southern Fukien during the Sung," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, 24 (1994): 1–19; Richard Pearson, Li Min and Li Guo, "Port, City, and Hinterlands: Archaeological Perspectives on Quanzhou and its Overseas Trade," and Ho Chuimei, "The Ceramic Boom in Minnan during Song and Yuan Times," both in Angela Schottenhammer (ed.), *The Emporium of the World: Maritime Quanzhou, 1000–1400*, Leiden: E. J. Brill (Sinica Leidensia; 49), 2001, pp. 177–235 and 237–308 respectively.

[237] See the list in Haw (2006), pp. 124–145, which includes the following items: musk deer; cranes at Chagan Nur; cators; pheasants; bagherlac (sandgrouse); lanners, sakers, other gyrfalcons and goshawks; silkies; geese; "Pharaoh's rats"; roe deer and other deer; "beyamini" or wild cattle; sable, papiones; wild asses; yaks; crocodiles (serpents with two legs); rhubarb; poisonous grass; camphor in Fujian; cinnamon in Tibet and Caindu; "cloves" in Caindu; galangal (galingale); ginger; pepper, long pepper, cubebs; jujubes; (very large) pears; (very large) peaches; spikenard; lign-aloes, aloes wood; sugar; tong oil; paper made from the inner bark of mulberry trees; saffron-like fruit in Fujian. Cf. these entries also with those in Brunello (1986).

Especially interesting is the topic of rhubarb. Marco Polo mentions the growth of rhubarb in the mountains of the Great Province of Tangut, including Sukchur (Succiu), i.e. Suzhou 肅州 in the Gansu Branch Secretariat, where indeed this medicinal plant is growing wildly. See Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 217; Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 377. Apart from Tangut, the Venetian also reports on the great abundance of rhubarb growing in the mountains around Suju (Suigiu; Suzhou 蘇州) in the Lower Yangzi region. See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 181; Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 511. So far, the statement about the abundance of rhubarb in the Lower Yangzi region has been believed to be quite erroneous. Cf. Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 183n3. Haw suggests, however, that for the Lower Yangzi region Marco Polo did not refer to the medicinal *dahuang* 大黃 root, which grows only in the Tangut region and belongs to the genus

– his records on food and drinks of the Mongols and Chinese, including rice, panicum, millet, wheat, vermicelli and pastas,[238] fermented mare's milk or *kumis* (*kemiz*), rice wine,[239] and giant pears and peaches;[240]
– his account of the importance of sugar production and taxation in South China, especially in Fujian, as corroborated by the documentation of sugarcane agriculture and sugar-making techniques in the *Nongsang jiyao* 農桑輯要 (Fundamentals of Agriculture and Sericulture) of 1273, by the establishment of a Sugar Office (*shatang ju* 砂糖局) after the pacification of Jiangnan in 1276,[241] and on the background that one of the most obvious West Asian features in the medical section of Husihui's

---

Rheum L., but that he meant the *tu dahuang* 土大黃 or "local rhubarb" that looks similar to *Rheum*, but belongs to the closely related genus *Rumex L.* The latter indeed is produced in the Jiang and Huai region, to which Suzhou belongs. See Haw (2006), pp. 124–126. On rhubarb cf. also Brunello (1986), pp. 57–59.

Alvaro Barbieri (2000), p. 1003, highlights Marco Polo's unique report about the *gudderi* or *küderi*, the musc-producing animals, and states that no Mongolian source mentions them.

Another fine and surprising example of the veracity and correctness of Marco Polo's observation is his reference to the *beyamini*, which often were erroneously identified as the Gaur or Gayal, *Bos gaurus H. Smith*. In his recent work Haw (2006), pp. 132–133, convincingly argues that Marco Polo meant the Takin, *Budoras taxicolor*, which in Chinese is called *baiyang* 白羊 or, in former pronunciation, *beyang*, which itself was probably derived from a non-Chinese, presumably Tibetan, name.

On the manifold representations of animals in Marco Polo's book beyond the usual Christian bestiary and its moral symbolism see also Faucon (1997).

238 For the relevant passage, which is only contained in Ramusio's rendering, see Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 438. The legend that Marco Polo brought filamentous pasta from China to Italy is definitively wrong. See, e.g., Gregory Blue, "Marco Polo's Pasta," in Hakim Mohammed Said (ed.), *Essays on Science: Felicitation Volume in Honour of Dr. Joseph Needham*, Karachi: Hamdard Foundation Pakistan, 1990, pp. 39–48; Eugene N. Anderson, *The Food of China*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988, p. 144. Nonetheless, filamentous noodles may have travelled from China to Italy *before Marco Polo's* time along the same route as the art of paper-making through Central Asia and the Arab world, the former by transmission, the latter by diffusion. For an interesting discussion of this topic see Huang Hsing-tsung, *Fermentations and Food Science*, part V of vol. 6, *Biology and Biological Technology*, of Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilisation in China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 493–497.

239 See de Rachewiltz (1997), pp. 61–62, and also Anderson (1988), pp. 273–274, and Allsen (2001a), p. 379.

240 See Haw (2006), pp. 142–143; Michael Freeman, "Sung," in Chang Kwang-chih (ed.), *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977, p. 155. On food and drinks in general see also Brunello (1986), pp. 63–80.

241 Christian Daniels, *Agro-Industries: Sugarcane Technology*, part III of vol. 6, *Biology and Biological Technology*, of Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilisation in China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 91–92, 185; David M. Farquhar, *The Government of China under Mongolian Rule: A Reference Guide*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner (Münchener Ostasiatische Studien; 53), 1990, p. 77; *Yuanshi*, vol. 7, chap. 87, p. 2204.

Yinshan zhenglan (Proper and Essential Things for the Emperor's Food and Drink) of 1330 is the presence of recipes requiring large quantities of refined sugar; syrups, sharbuts, confits, jams, preserves and other confectionary became the preferred way for administering all kinds of medicinal substances;[242]
– his quite probably correct remark on the introduction from Babylon, which in Franco Brunello's view means here Cairo, of methods for refining sugar with tree ashes;[243]
– his precise observation of the northwest (winter) and the southwest (summer) monsoons;[244]
– his likewise correct statement that the Polar Star and the Grand Bear cannot be seen anymore on "Java the Less," i.e. Sumatra,[245] and the practice in the Indian Ocean of the measuring of the height of a stellar constellation with an ordinary lance;[246]
– etc., etc., etc.

In view of such overwhelming evidence of correct and accurate descriptions, the eminent Chinese Marco Polo researcher Yang Zhijiu correctly concluded that, if we take what appears in the Venetian's account and not in other travel reports as the criterion for judgement, then all other travel notes can be said to be only hearsay knowledge picked up by the authors.[247] It is well known that Marco Polo's report is much more precise in his description of the material life and the economic and monetary conditions in China than is his account of political events or social and cultural phenomena. In the latter areas he is often very general and sometimes also oversimplifies, errs or provides inaccurate data. This indeed can be explained, namely by lapses of memory, that he—as his Mongol overlords—was not culturally well-integrated into Chinese society, or that he himself was not an eyewitness of many of the events mentioned by him, but had to rely on information or hearsay from others. Yet, especially his precise, realistic and often unique descriptions of the material

---

[242] Leigh Chipman, "Islamic Pharmacy in the Mamlūk and Mongol Realms: Theory and Practice," *Asian Medicine: Tradition and Modernity*, 3 (2007): 270, referring to Buell and Anderson (2000), p. 119.
[243] See Daniels (1996), pp. 351–352, for a discussion of this issue, and Brunello (1986), pp. 75–76.
[244] Philippe Ménard, "Marco Polo et la mer: Le retour de Marco Polo en Occident d'apres les diverses versions du texte," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), p. 183.
[245] See Ménard (2008), pp. 188–189. For the identification "Java the Less" with Sumatra see, e.g., Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 286n1.
[246] Tucci (1997), p. 57.
[247] Yang Zhijiu (1998a), p. 100.

culture make it very improbable that he had obtained all his information secondhand, and in the light of the many unique testimonies he left it is, as a matter of fact, much harder an operation to disprove that he was in China than to prove that he had not been there.

3.7. *"Latins" at Khubilai's Court*

Critique: Marco's claim that his father and uncle were the first "Latins"—i.e. Western Europeans—ever seen by Khubilai Khan is incorrect since we know that they had been preceded by at least one Frankish (Falang) embassy.

Response: John Larner argues that though the Chinese annals record the visit of Falang to Khubilai in 1260–1261, these were people said to have been blond and white and to have come across two seas to make the visit. Hence it seems rash to insist that these were "Latins," when taken in the sense of 'Southern Europeans.'[248]

3.8. *Participation in the Xiangyang Siege*

Critique: Marco claims that he, his father Nicolò and uncle Maffeo were present at the Mongol siege of Xiangyang 襄陽, the important Song stronghold in Hubei, and that they were actually instrumental in bringing about the surrender of this city, because they had advised the Yuan to build and use mangonels. This claim is patently false since the siege of Xiangyang ended in late March 1273, and the three Polos reached north China only about one and a half years later, towards the end of 1274.

Responses: All important Marco Polo researchers agree that the participation of the Polos in the siege of Xiangyang is an absurd claim, which was either boasted by him himself or magnified by Rustichello or a later editor, or invented by both the Venetian and the Pisan. This, no doubt, goes hand in hand with the mediaeval man's tendency to exaggerate his role and to fill in gaps in knowledge with wild statements and tales of marvels.[249] This kind of "military vanity" showing up in the context of the

---

[248] Cf. Larner (1999), p. 34. De Rachewiltz (1997), pp. 66–67, thinks, however, that "Latins" in Marco Polo's context was synonymous with "Franks" and that Marco Polo's statement is therefore wrong.

[249] De Rachewiltz, "Wood's *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* A Critical Appraisal"; David O. Morgan, "Marco Polo in China—or not," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, third series, 6.2 (1996): 224.

report on the Xiangyang siege has been also spotted in other parts of his work and thus reveals a peculiar trait of Marco Polo's character.[250] Yet, apart from the false claim of being present in the siege of Xiangyang, one should not forget that more or less all the details of this crucial military event are in agreement with what we know from Chinese and Persian sources and that this thus constitutes a further testimony of having been in China and having heard stories about that famous battle there.[251]

3.9. *Governorship in Yangzhou*

Critique: Marco Polo states that he was, for three years, governor of the important city and trade-post of Yangzhou 揚州 in Jiangsu. However, as no local gazetteer of Yangzhou mentions him, this too appears to be another unsubstantiated claim.

Responses: As will be shown in this book, there is no reason to disbelieve that the Venetian resided in Yangzhou for two or three years. Although Marco Polo certainly never held a top-echelon official position of that city or region, he may well have held a temporary position of authority there as a lower-echelon official or as inspector or court appointed commissioner. And it may well be that later he or Rustichello magnified the importance of his position.[252]

---

[250] Barbieri (2000), pp. 1016–1019.

[251] See Gu Weimin (2006), p. 332. It is interesting to note here that recently Peng Hai, in his otherwise stimulating book about Marco Polo published in 2010, claims that the Xiangyang story is true to some extent. His main arguments can be summarized as follows: a) The Polos may have arrived in China not towards the end of 1274, but already towards the end of 1272. b) Basing himself on the Ramusio rendering which represents for him a version corrected by Marco Polo himself due to remonstrances made by his father and uncle, Peng Hai asserts that only Matteo and Niccolò took part in the siege, and not all the three Polos. c) Again on the basis of Peng Hai's interpretation of the Ramusio redaction, it was not the siege of Xiangyang in which Matteo and Niccolò participated, but the ensuing Mongol conquest of Shayang 沙陽 and Xinzhou 新洲 in September 1274. Peng Hai arrives at this conclusion because in the chapter just following the Xiangyang chapter the Ramusio version says that when one departs from Xiangyang one arrives in Sinju after travelling 15 miles in a southeastern direction [while the Franco-Italian manuscript writes that it is from Yangzhou that one arrives in Sinju after 15 miles southeast]. This prompts Peng Hai to identify Sinju with Xinzhou, and not with Zhenzhou 真州, as this is usually the case, and to assume that not the Xiangyang but the Xinzhou conquest was somehow meant. See Peng Hai (2010), pp. 228–244. Peng Hai's interpretation is not convincing to me, but this has to be elucidated in a separate publication.

[252] See chapter V.3 in this book where I also discuss the various opinions and hypotheses offered by Marco Polo scholars on this topic.

3.10. *Missions of the Polos*

Critique: Marco Polo exaggerated his own role not only with respect to the Polo's participation in the siege of Xiangyang and his governorship of Yangzhou, but it is also not credible that the Polos carried out diplomatic missions both for the pope as well as for Khubilai Khan, and that Marco Polo undertook investigative tours in China by order of the Great Khan.

Responses: As to investigative tours within the country, Marco Polo indeed mentions having been sent by the Great Khan on missions—on perhaps two occasions—to the southwest of China and from there further to Mien (Burma) and Vietnam. Other missions were probably travels to Yangzhou and Hangzhou, perhaps also to India and Southeast Asia, and finally, a voyage to Persia via Quanzhou 泉州.[253]

As Morris Rossabi has stressed time and again, in order to impress his Chinese subjects, gain in stature and increase his legitimacy both as a ruler over China but also as the rightful Great Khan of the Mongols, Khubilai was eager to receive tributary missions and foreign visitors from all parts of the "world," including the West, as a means of proving his acceptance as the supreme ruler in the wider world. Moreover, he also needed and indeed relied on, learned and talented men to help him to administer his domains in China. Especially since the rebellion of Li Tan 李璮 (?–1262) in 1262, he had started to hesitate to rely on Chinese in administering the empire, as this might imperil his reign. Hence he increasingly recruited non-Chinese aides, Muslims, Khitans, Uighurs or Europeans, in order to decrease the Chinese influence within the administration, in spite of the danger that this might provoke further Chinese discontent. As a consequence, *semuren* 色目人 or "miscellaneous aliens"—mostly Western and Central Asians, but also a category to which Marco Polo belonged—perfomed important services for the Mongols and were accorded higher status than members of the indigenous populations.[254]

---

[253] See Jackson (1998), pp. 91–92; Haw (2006) pp. 94, 108. It is worthwhile mentioning here that Peng Pai (2010), pp. 87–88, 132–135, thinks that Marco Polo was also on a three-year mission in the region of the former Xixia empire in Gansu Province in the years from 1275 to 1278 and that there is an entry on this mission to be found in the *Yuanshi*. This deserves further discussion, though, as a preliminary observation, there is one argument derived from Peng Pai's interpretation of various Marco Polo versions that did not convince me. I will deal with that and other questions raised by Peng Pai in a separate article.

[254] See Rossabi (1988), pp. 66, 71, 149, 152, and also Allsen (2001a), p. 378.

Was Marco Polo too young to have been entrusted with investigative missions? If we assume that he arrived in China towards the end of 1274 at the latest, he was just twenty-one years old. Some historians assume that it was not possible that the Great Khan would have entrusted him with a mission already at this age. There is, however, evidence available that Khubilai indeed sometimes entrusted youngsters for important posts. For example, in 1257, when still being a prince and Möngke Khan's viceroy in North China, Khubilai appointed Antong 安童 (Hantum; 1245–1293) as an "elder" in his *keshig* guard. Antong, then only thirteen years old, belonged to the Jalayir family and was chosen because he had caught Khubilai's attention because of his reverent and respectful attitude towards elders.[255] Another case is Öchicher (1247–1311) who was appointed by Khubilai Khan as head of a *keshig* in 1262. Being only sixteen years old, this member of the Hü'üshin family was appointed to this position not because of his political importance, but again due to his appearance and poise.[256] Together with the fact of Marco Polo being a foreigner contributing to the glory of the Great Khan and his empire, these examples make clear that it is far from being impossible that the Venetian was promoted and employed by the emperor because of his discreet and prudent attitude, his great pains in learning languages and the Tartars' customs, his curiosity, and his pleasant and intelligent manner.[257]

Regarding Marco Polo's investigative tours within China, John Critchley has noted that the stereotyped parts of Polo's book indeed look like a bureaucratic record, which, however, were not peculiar to China, but could as easily be called "Venetian," as also that city's ambassadors were used to compile such reports containing information on a region's cities and towns, rivers and forests, fortresses and ports, its climate, soils and minerals, as well as the customs, religion, society and political organization

---

[255] Christopher Pratt Atwood, "*Ulus* Emirs, *Keshig* Elders, Signatures, and Marriage Partners: The Evolution of a Classic Mongol Institution," in David Sneath (ed.), *Imperial Statecraft: Political Forms and Techniques of Governance in Inner Asia, Sixth-Twentieth Centuries*, Bellingham (Wash.): Center for East Asian Studies (Studies on East Asia; 26), 2006, pp. 148–149.

[256] See Atwood (2006), p. 149. For further examples of male adolescents being selected and employed by Khubilai Khan see Peng Hai (2010), pp. 74–76, as well as the example of Bolad Akha in Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, p. 64.

[257] See the relevant passages in Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, pp. 317–319, and Yule (1903), vol. 1, pp. 26–31.

of its inhabitants, and including information on the art of war as well as the ancestry, person, lifestyle and court of their respective prince.[258]

In an article published in 1995 Chen Dezhi presents a case which reminds us of the account given by Marco Polo about his missions. In a text of the Yuan period the scholar Yu Ji 虞集 (1272–1348) tells that Dong Shixuan 董士選, when he was transferred to Jiangnan to act as censor-in-chief there, he invited him to become teacher of his sons. Shortly thereafter, when Dong Shixuan became an official in Dadu, Yu Ji followed him to the Yuan capital. At the occasion of a meeting of court attendants in the house of Dong Shixuan, Yu Ji heard them report about the following:

> In the Zhongtong and Zhiyuan reign-periods [1260–1294] there were affairs [to be handled] in all the four directions [of the empire]. When each great and small commissioner that had been sent out had returned and had finished his report to the throne, [the Emperor] for certain inquired with him in an easy manner about the prosperity and bitterness and the dangers and easy[-going things of the regions] he had passed, as well as about the people's conditions and their habits and customs, and whether there were talents and meritorious deeds. Sometimes, when after a long time [a commissioner] was called for an audience on account of some [other] official matter, [the Emperor] again would inquire with him. Therefore, each and everybody told him all [what he had seen and heard], and [the emperor] by this method got hold of the right men by examining them. For this reason whenever one was sent on a mission, he would not have dared not to carry out thorough examinations and scrutinities, just to be prepared for the [imperial] inquiries.[259]

As Peng Hai in his recent book shows us, this is only one of many historical examples demonstrating the inquisitive curiosity of the Great Khan towards his commissioners and officials.[260]

With regard to Mongol missions sent to South and Southeast Asia, we know that Yuan embassies visited Ma'abar in 1280, Ceylon, Ma'abar and Kawlam (Quilon) in 1281, Ceylon again in 1282, Kawlam in 1283, Ma'abar in 1285, 1287 (with Ceylon) and 1290. Their purpose was not simply the

---

[258] See Critchley (1992), pp. 78–79. See also Gossen (1975), p. 135, which refers to this practice, though with reference to the seventeenth century.

[259] See Chen Dezhi 陈得芝, "Make Boluo buzhu shuze" 马可· 波罗补注数则 (Some Additional Notes on Marco Polo), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 38–39, quoting Yu Ji's "Sizhi zhongxi youman gao xu" 司執中西遊漫稿序 (Preface to the Manuscript on Travelling Far in China and West of it when Holding Office), in *Daoyuan leigao* 道園類稿 (Classified Manuscripts of Daoyuan [i.e. Yu Ji]), chap. 19: 中統、至元間，方有事於四方，每大、小使者之出，比還奏畢，必從容問所過豊兇、險易，民情習俗，有無人才、治跡。或久之，因事召見，猶問之也。是以人人得盡其言，當以此觀人而得之。由是凡以使行者，莫敢不究心省查，一待顧問。

[260] Peng Hai (2010), pp. 173–174.

exchange of goods, but they also served religious and politico-ideological purposes, like the 1282 mission ordered to inspect and secure the alms bowl and mortal remains of Buddha. Other envoys, like that of 1290, were sent to bring back men of learning and interpreters. The 1282 mission seems to refer directly to a mission mentioned in Marco Polo's book, though under the year 1281 or, in another manuscript tradition, under 1284, by identifying Buddha as 'Adam,' and without making a claim of having participated in it.[261] For 1285, the "History of the Yuan" (*Yuanshi*) mentions that Masuhu 馬速忽 and Ali 阿里 were sent to Ma'abar, i.e. India, with a thousand spindles of yarn to acquire rare gems. Masuhu was provided with a tiger tally, Ali with a golden tally.[262] In his account of Ma'abar Marco Polo recorded the technique of pearl collection and the value of Ma'abar gems, but as he does not mention tallies it is clear that he was not there as the principal official envoy. He may, however, have been a merchant member of the entourage accompanying Masuhu and Ali, or he may have made the voyage at a later time.[263] Hence it is not inconceivable that the Marcos belonged to one of the many members of one of these envoys whose names were not important enough to find entry into the highly selective Chinese historiography.

As to diplomatic missions Marco Polo claims that his father Niccolò and his uncle Matteo accompanied an evoy sent by the Ilkhan Hülegü (ca. 1217–1265) to Khubilai, at whose court they arrived in 1265. Khubilai charged them with conveying to the Pope his wish to dispatch "a hundred wise men of learning in the Christian religion" to his court—a wish which they could not fulfil. In their second voyage to China, this time with Marco Polo, they are said to have presented a papal letter to Khubilai upon their arrival in the Great Khan's summer residence in Shangdu in May 1275. Eventually, we are told that in 1291 the Polos were granted permission to accompany the escort of the Mongol princess Kökechin to the court of the Ilkhan Arghun (1258–1291) in Persia.[264] At they same time they were said to have been charged with a mission to the kings of France and Spain among others.[265]

---

[261] Jackson (1998), p. 93.
[262] *Yuanshi*, vol. 2, chap. 14, p. 289.
[263] Cai Meibao, "Marco Polo in China," *Social Sciences in China*, 14.2 (1993): 174.
[264] Van Mechelen (2001), p. 69.
[265] Jackson (1998), p. 99.

Italian merchants, though probably only after 1260,[266] were indeed not only temporary or permanent residents in Yuan China and other parts of the Mongol empire pursuing commercial activities there, but they were also engaged with embassies by the Pope to the Mongols and vice versa. Apart from the Polos there are other examples of merchants involved in political and religious missions. One is the Venetian, Pietro de Lucalongo, who, in 1291, accompanied Montecorvino (1247–ca. 1330) on his way to China from Tabriz. Moreover, it is known that Venetian merchants transferred Montecorvino's letters from China to Tabriz. In one of these letters Montecorvino mentioned his contacts with a Genoese merchant, perhaps Ventura de Sarezana who had joined the Franciscan Order in Quanzhou some time before 1326. Another Genoese merchant, Buscarello de Ghisolfi, (d. after 1304) together with his brother Percivalle and his nephew Corrado was sent on a political mission to the Pope and to European rulers by the Ilkhan Arghun in 1289, 1295 and 1304. Another well-known case is Andalò da Savignone, a Genoese merchant, sent in 1336 by the Shundi emperor or Toghun Temür (1330–1370 on a mission to the Pope. This prompted, in 1338, the envoy of the papal legate Giovanni de Marignolli (ca. 1290–after 1357) to China, accompanied by Andalò.[267] Thus, although we do not have other evidence for the employment of Europeans on official diplomatic missions by the Great Khan with the exception of the claim of the Polos, such evidence at least does exist for Mongol Persia.[268]

Yet, it cannot be ruled out that the claim of the Polos to have been sent on official Mongol embassies is part of a wider tendency in *Le devisament dou monde* to magnify their own role in the Far East. As Peter Jackson has pointed out, bogus envoys scurried about all over Europe, such as the impostor Theodolus at some point prior to 1254. He had accompanied a

---

[266] As Gregory G. Guzman writes, in the period between 1231 and 1255 very little trade is mentioned by the seven earliest Christian envoys (the Hungarian Friars Riccardus and Julian (1231–1237), Giovanni dal Piano del Carpini (1245–1247), Benedict the Pole (1245–1247), C. de Bridia (1247), Simon of Saint-Quentin (1245–1248), Willem van Rubroek (1253–1255)) to Mongol Asia. The envoys appear to have received most of their information about the Mongols from European captives and craftsmen and only in single cases from merchants. Western economic penetration, with the Polos being an important part of it, set in only after the Mongols' pacification of the Muslim Middle East and Confucian China. The same holds true for diplomatic services provided by merchants. See Gregory G. Guzman, "European Clerical Envoys to the Mongols: Reports of Western Merchants in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, 1231–1255," *Journal of Medieval History*, 12 (1996): 53–67.

[267] Van Mechelen (2001), pp. 69–70; Münkler (2000), pp. 61–62.

[268] Jackson (1998), p. 99.

Mongol envoy who fell ill and died at Nicaea. In 1276 two ambassadors from Mongol Persia warned king Edward I of England against a couple of Catalans, in company with a Nestorian Christian, pretending to purchase gyrfalcons on behalf of the Ilkhan Abakha (r. 1265–1282). Another case is the Pisan, Isolo, who managed to exaggerate his standing at two completely different courts—on the one hand convincing Rashid al-Din (1247–1318) in Ilkhan Persia to qualify him in his "History of the Francs" as one of the rulers of Pisa; on the other to claim at the Papal Curia in 1301 to have been appointed as the "vicar" for Syria and the Holy Land by the Ilkhan Ghazan (1271–1304).[269] In the case of Marco Polo, was it Rustichello who had invented some of these prestigious connections, in the same way as the Pisan writer—decidedly suspect—had claimed in his other works that Lord Edward hat lent him an Arthurian novel?[270]

3.11. *The Polos and Chinese Sources*

Critique: It is strange that neither Marco nor his father and uncle are mentioned in any Chinese source of the period. Marco specifically claims that during his seventeen years in Mongol-ruled China he was constantly sent on special missions by Khubilai Khan to different parts of the empire. Hence he must have held an important position, and his name should be recorded somewhere.

Responses: Marco Polo claimed indeed that he had been sent on several missions—namely, to *Tebet* Yunnan, and Burma and Vietnam, to the Lower Yangzi region, to India and Southeast Asia, and finally to Persia. First of all, in spite of his claim that at court he was simply called *mesere Marc Pol* (Master Marc Pol) we do not know what Marco's name was in Chinese, nor in Mongolian. The Mongols often gave nicknames to people in their employment which then would have been phonetically transliterated into Chinese.[271]

---

[269] For more details see Jackson (1998), pp. 95–101.

[270] Jackson (1998), p. 98.

[271] See De Rachewiltz, "Wood's *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* A Critical Appraisal." Cf. also de Rachewiltz (1997), pp. 81–83, stating that none of the alternative transcriptions (including various combinations of syllables and homophoneous characters) of the Polos' surnames or names yielded any results in Chinese sources. Marco would have been transcribed as Mahusi and Polo as Baolu. The same result holds true for the transcriptions of the names of the three Polos proposed by Olschki. See Leonardo Olschki, "Poh-lo: Une question d'onomatologie chinoise," *Oriens*, 3 (1950): 183–189. I input the names suggested by Olschki into the relevant electronical databases of Chinese texts of the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin), likewise without result.

Second, others have hypothesized that Marco Polo's missions had been special, secret and personal so that they would not have been recorded in the official historiography.[272]

Third, even if Marco Polo really held a position or was sent on missions, his bureaucratic status was not high enough to be considered worthy of being recorded in the official historiography which as a rule was reserved for much more exalted persons. Moreover, Igor de Rachewiltz has pointed out that neither Giovanni da Montecorvino (1247–ca. 1330), the first Catholic Archbishop of Peking and a contemporary of Marco Polo, nor the famous friar Odorico da Pordenone (1286–1331), nor Giovanni de Marignolli (ca. 1290–after 1357),[273] the head of an important papal embassy to the last Mongol ruler of China, got any mention in the Chinese sources, very similar to the very scanty references to Jesuit activities in official Chinese sources from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Thus, for the Chinese, Mongols or, later, Manchus, the few Europeans who resided in China were not significant enough to warrant inclusion in official historiography, and "it is we who, as usual, overestimate ourselves."[274]

Fourth, one Chinese historian, Cai Meibiao assumes that Marco Polo may not have been an ordinary *semu ren*, but a member of the famous *ortogh* merchant associations that served the Mongols in financial and commercial matters.[275] He may have been engaged in the lucrative musk trade. Indeed, as has been recently shown by David Jacoby, Marco Polo displayed a particular interest in musk, not only in *Le devisament dou monde*, but also after his return from the Far East in business ventures

---

[272] Cf. Barbieri (2000), p. 1015, referring to Mario Bussagli, "La grande Asia di Marco Polo," in Alvise Zorzi (ed.), *Marco Polo, Venezia, e l'Oriente*, Milano: Electa, 1981, pp. 176–226, esp. p. 203. See also de Rachewiltz, "Wood's *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* A Critical Appraisal."

[273] The Chinese annals only recorded the gift of a remarkable "heavenly horse" (*tianma* 天馬) from the Kingdom of the Franks, a tribute which was considered a good omen for the ruling dynasty. They do not, however, give the name of the pope nor of any of the thirty-two persons of Marignolli's envoy. See de Rachewiltz (1971), pp. 193–195; Van Mechelen (2001), p. 90.

[274] Cf. de Rachewiltz, "Wood's *Did Marco Polo Go to China*? A Critical Appraisal," referring also to a private communication of Prof. G. Stary from Venice of August 5, 1998; de Rachewiltz (1971), p. 206.

[275] On these merchant partnerships see the article of Elizabeth Endicott-West, "Merchant Associations in Yüan China: The *Ortogh*," *Asia Major*, 3.2 (1989a): 127–154. On merchants in general and their relationship with, and influence on, the Mongol rulers see Thomas T. Allsen, "Mongolian Princes and their Merchant Partners 1200–1260," *Asia Major*, third series, 2.2 (1989): 83–126. *Ortogh* is Mongolian, and *ortaq* is the Turkish name. In Chinese these partnerships were called *wotuo* 斡脫.

in his last years in Venice.[276] The General Administration of *Ortogh* had been set up in 1268, followed by the establishment of Regional Offices for the Supervision of *Ortogh* beginning in 1272. *Ortogh* merchants enjoyed a special, semi-governmental status and could be directly entrusted by the court or the princes to purchase goods in various places, seek profits or provide loans. They appear to have used the facilities of the government postal stations and were also handed over official documents or even "tiger tablets" (*hufu* 虎符)[277] of authority for facilitating trade and providing protections. For de Rachewiltz, Cai Meibiao's assumption is quite plausible, as the *ortogh* merchants, though not being officials *per se*, were also ordered to collect intelligence.[278] This double function would explain why we find so much not only on commercial matters, but also on the various creeds and religious practices in China in Marco Polo's book. Both activities—spying and gathering information for the Great Khan on the one hand and commercial activities in one's own interest on the other[279]—were not mutually exclusive under the Mongols, and it is quite probable that both Marco Polo's father and uncle were undertaking commercial ventures in China, which would also explain why the Polos became rich.[280] That the Polos were involved in commerce is indeed explicitly stated in

---

[276] See details in Jacoby (2007), pp. 201–203:
- In Matteo's will of February 6, 1310, a delivery of 86 *saggi* or 359.48 g of musk by Paolo Berengo on behalf of his father Marchesino is mentioned, as a reimbursement of a loan of £400 di piccolo in which the share of Marco amounted to two-thirds.
- In April 1310 Marco Polo entrusted 1 ½ pound or 451.84 g musk belonging to himself and his half brother Giovannino to Paolo Girardo of the Venetian Parish of San Apollinare. Girardo, however, eventually failed to transfer the proceeds from half of a pound. This led to a court case in March 1311 which was decided in favour of Marco Polo's claim.
- In 1311, Nicoletta, wife of the spice dealer Valor, deposited with Marco Polo precious wares including 1 *saggio* and 19 carats or 7.49 g of musk, presumably as a security for a loan obtained from him.
- At the time of his death Marco Polo owned approximately 83 pounds of musk worth 217 ducats—that is, a large quantity which was clearly not intended for personal use or for that of his household.

[277] See Endicott-West (1989a), p. 148.

[278] On some evidence for *ortogh* merchants' involvement in spying and gathering intelligence see Endicott-West (1989a), pp. 134–135.

[279] See Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 30: "… hither and thither, on the missions that were entrusted to him by the Lord [and sometimes, with the permission and authority of the Great Kaan, on his own private affairs]." The part in brackets, however, is only in the Ramusio rendering.

[280] See Cai Meibiao (1993), pp. 175–176; de Rachewiltz (1997), pp. 78–81. On Marco Polo's considerable wealth, based on the capital that the Polos had brought back from Asia, see Jacoby (2007), pp. 198, 206. His wealth, including real estate may have exceeded more than 10,000 ducats.

the chapter on Canpiciou (Ganzhou 甘州 in Gansu), relating that the three Polos stayed there for one year for their own business.[281]

Fifth, recently Stephen G. Haw has brought forward another, not implausible hypothesis, namely that Marco Polo might have been a member of Khubilai's bodyguard, the *keshigten* (*kasitan, quesitan*). Not only is his figure of the *keshigten*—12,000—very close to the actual number during the time of Khubilai Khan, but this would also explain why in the inventory list of his possessions after his demise there was a silver belt of a Tartar knight. If he really was a member of the *keshigten*, this would accord well with his claim of having held a place of honour at the Yuan imperial court and his great adoration of, and intense loyality towards, the Great Khan. And it would also tally with his claim of having been employed on especially military missions within and beyond the empire, because members of the *keshigten* were frequently appointed for such and other duties.[282] However, out of the large number of ca. 12,000 men constituting the Khan's bodyguard only a fractional part of its members found entrance into the official historiography. Even if eventually it cannot be proven that Marco Polo was a member of the Khan's bodyguard, this example makes clear that by far the larger part of the military and civil staff went unnoticed in official Chinese historiography. Generally speaking, the coverage of official Chinese historiography is overestimated insofar as it concentrates on the utterances and deeds, first of all, of the emperor and then, secondly, of the most important, upper-level civil and military officials. Given this strictly elite-oriented outlook and by taking into consideration the fact that no archives from the Yuan period have survived, we may assume that it would only have been by chance, and very unintentionally, that Marco Polo, as one of many other bodyguards or lower officials, would have been mentioned by name explicity.

Sixth, we should mention here that recently a Chinese Marco Polo researcher, Peng Pai, has claimed that there indeed exist direct and indirect references to the Venetian in sources of the Yuan period—namely, the "History of the Yuan" (*Yuanshi*). The structure of the arguments of Peng Hai is built up in such a way that he juxtaposes the relevant passages in the *Yuanshi* with, in his view, complementary remarks in Marco

---

[281] Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 379: "Et si vos dis que mesier Nicolau et mesier Mafeu et mesier Marc demorent un an en ceste cité por lor fait que ne fa a mentovoir; […]." Cf. Yule (1903), vol. 1, pp. 220, 223n5; Jackson (1998), p. 91.

[282] See Haw (2006), pp. 165–168. We know that besides Mongols also people from Central Asia could become members of the *keshigten*. See Mangold (1971), p. 20.

Polo's book. Moreover, being well aware that the Boluos 孛羅 mentioned in the *Yuanshi* mostly referred to Bolad Akha (Bolad Aqa), a member of the Mongolian-speaking Dörben tribe and (until his departure to Persia in 1285) an important official of Khubilai Khan, or to other persons with a similar name, he is nonetheless convinced that at least two, or even four, passages mention the Venetian traveller by name. One is in chapter 119 of the *Yuanshi*, in the appended biography of Toghtō (Tuotuo 脫脫), where it is said that Saman 撒蠻, a fourth-generation grandson of Chinghis Khan's famous companion and trusted general Mukhali (Muhuali 木華黎; 1170–1223) from the Jalayir clan, had the courtier (*jinchen* 近臣) Boluo 孛羅 arrested because he did not observe the rule that men and women had to walk on different sides within the palace, as Saman had been instructed by the Great Khan himself. When Khubilai inquired after Boluo, because he had not seen him for a long time, and learnt about the reason for his absence, he had him pardoned for this transgression and had him freed. After Saman heard about this, he reproached the ruler for going against his own orders. Saman's principledness and frankness earned him the admiration of the Son of Heaven who had great plans with him, but, unfortunately, Saman soon died of an illness at the age of just seventeen *sui*.[283] This passage is contrasted with statements in *Le devisament dou monde* that the emperor held Marco Polo in great esteem and kept him so close to him that "some of the Barons waxed very envious thereat."[284] Moreover, Peng Hai thinks that, although Saman died soon thereafter, this conflict of the Venetian with the Mukhali clan lingered on also thereafter, especially with Xiangwei 相威, the elder brother of Saman. Hence, to Peng Hai, Khubilai Khan was in some predicament, insofar as he had to take into consideration the respect towards, and loyality of, the Mukhali descendants on the one hand and as he wanted, on the other hand, to protect the foreign courtier Marco Polo whom he greatly esteemed.[285] The clash between Saman and Marco Polo is, in Peng Hai's view, also the reason why, in the second month of the twelfth year of the Zhiyuan reign-period (March/April 1275), Khubilai Khan "sent the Clerk (*bishechi* 必闍赤) Boluo 孛羅 to investigate the levy of taxes in

[283] See *Yuanshi*, vol. 10, chap. 119, pp. 2943–2944. As Peng Hai stresses time and again, that this passage refers to the Venetian has already been assumed by Tu Ji 屠寄 in his *Mengwuer shiji* 蒙兀兒史記 (Record of Mongolian History), 1934, repr. Taibei: Shijie shuju, 1983.

[284] Yule (1903), vol. 1, pp. 27, 31.

[285] Peng Hai (2010), pp. 71–83.

Ningxia 寧夏," as it is reported in the Basic Annals of Khubilai's reign in the *Yuanshi*.[286] By this move Khubilai intended to avoid further conflicts between Marco Polo and the Mukhali clan. Also this second explicit reference to the Venetian fits well, to Peng Hai,[287] with records in *Le devisament dou monde*—namely, that the Khan sent Marco Polo "on an ambassage of his, to a country which was a good six months' journey distant"[288] and that the Polos stayed for a mission a whole year in the city of Campichu (Ganzhou甘州) in Gansu.[289] A pre-condition for the acceptance of this second passage as an explicit reference to Marco Polo is, however, the assumption that the Polos did not arrive in Cambaluc in 1275, but had already reached this place in the summer or autumn of 1274.[290] Peng Hai is not the only one to have proposed an earlier date for the arrival of the Polos in China. As a matter of fact, this was already done, for instance, by the Japanese Marco Polo researcher Otagi Matsuo 愛宕松男 who thinks that Marco Polo reached Shangdu in the middle of 1274.[291]

In addition to the two entries above, Peng Hai links two other passages in the "History of the Yuan" with the Venetian. One is an entry in the Basic Annals, dated January 27, 1281 (Zhiyuan 18/1/*guimao*), in which the emperor had "transferred paper money (*chao* 鈔), gold and silver to Boluo 博囉 to be handed over to needy people."[292] Instead of identifying this man with Bolad Akha, as this is usually done, Peng Hai thinks that this passage may quite probably refer to the Venetian, because, first, this is one of the very rare cases in which, in reports about public support measures, the name of the commissioner is mentioned, which bespeaks, to Peng Hai, of the high trust and esteem of the Great Khan in Marco Polo's missions. Second, it is improbable that Bolad Akha would have been entrusted with this mission, because his position at this time was already too high for carrying out such public charity work for which Khubilai Khan usually deputed courtiers. Third, Marco Polo has a special chapter on the public support and charity system in the Yuan empire, which can be considered a matching part to the *Yuanshi* entry of 1281. Fourth, the "History of the Yuan," moreover, contains two other interesting entries—namely, one of a "Mongolian Boluo" (Mengguren Boluo 蒙古人孛羅) sent to Hubei to take

286 *Yuanshi*, vol. 1, chap. 8, p. 161.
287 Peng Hai (2010), pp. 87–92.
288 Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 27.
289 Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 220.
290 Peng Hai (2010), pp. 64–65.
291 Enoki Kazuo (1957), p. 39.
292 *Yuanshi*, vol. 1, chap. 11, p. 229.

command of the gold paning in Chenyuan 辰元 and other departments in August 24, 1282 (Zhiyuan 19/7/*dingchou*);[293] the other on a "Boluo" 孛羅 sent as Overseer (*darughachi*) for gold mining to Yunnan only two months later (Zhiyuan 19/9/*dinghai*).[294] As the first is clearly marked as a "Mongol," the second must have been no Mongol, as otherwise this would have been stated. Hence, to Peng Hai, also in this case it could well have been Marco Polo.[295] At the present stage I have doubts about Peng Hai's interpretations, because they are partly not new, and are, in many respects, rather speculative and sometimes even adventurous. For instance, in the case of the entry about the "Mongol Boluo" sent to the Hunan gold mining area and the mentioning of the "Boluo" sent to the Yunnan gold mines it can be easily countered that for the second entry the compilers did not deem it necessary to add "Mongol" once more to the name "Boluo," because this had been already made explicit some passages earlier. As every sinologist will confirm, classical and documentary Chinese is very concise in its expression, one phenomenon being the omission of information that had been already mentioned before but which nonetheless continues to exist in the deep structure of the text. Nonetheless, I decided to include Peng Hai's arguments here for further discussion, and I myself certainly will come back to them in another context.

3.12. *Return from China*

Critique: The famous story of Marco's return to the West accompanying the Mongol princess Kökechin to Persia to marry the Ilkhan Arghun (1258–1291), could have been borrowed from another source.

Responses: Neither Kökechin nor Khubilai Khan's embassy to his grandnephew, the Ilkhan Arghun, in 1290, are recorded in the official history of the Yuan dynasty (*Yuanshi*). The reason for this omission may be that this mission, involving an internal family arrangement between the two courts and fraught with dangers owing to the long voyage in perilous waters, was considered of a private and delicate nature. However, a directive issued by Khubilai Khan in April-May 1290 survived in the fifteenth-century Ming encyclopaedia *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 (Great Encyclopedia of the

---

293 *Yuanshi*, vol. 1, chap. 12, p. 244.
294 *Yuanshi*, vol. 1, chap. 12, p. 246.
295 See Peng Hai (2010), pp. 92–96, whose extensive arguments speaking in favour of Marco Polo I have summarized.

Yongle Reign-period) and was discovered and then published by the eminent Chinese Polan scholar Yang Zhijiu in 1941.[296] This directive ordered the three envoys Oulatay (Oulatai; Wuludai 兀魯鮿, Apusca (Abushkha; Abishihe 阿必失呵) and Coja (Coia; Huozhe 火者) to go to Prince Arghun by way of Ma'abar (i.e. the Coromandel Coast) and specified that certain arrangements had to be made concerning the rations and provisions for the voyage. Neither the purpose of the mission nor Kökechin nor the Polos are mentioned in this document. As Yang Zhijiu assumes, one has to bear in mind that Kökechin was only the daughter of an ordinary noble of the Mongolian Baya'ud tribe and therefore not worth recording in detail. And like the Polos, she had nothing to do with the distribution of the rations.[297] The account in *Le devisament dou monde* is of vital importance for several reasons:

a) Marco Polo could not have learned about this mission from either Chinese or Persian written sources, as the former do not mention it, and the only Persian source, that of the Persian historian Rashid al-Din, that refers to it was not completed until 1310–11.
b) He must have been well acquainted with the three of Arghun's envoys, which he transliterates as Oulatay, Apusca and Coja. Otherwise it is most unlikely that he would have been able to record their names so accurately, and in the correct sequence, solely based on second-hand oral information.
c) Marco says that two of the three envoys died during the voyage and only the third, Coja, survived.[298] Rashid al-Din, when reporting about the delivery of Princess Kökechin to Arghun's son Ghazan in the spring or early summer of 1293 (Arghun had died in the meantime), confirms this fact indirectly by mentioning only Xwāǰ(a)h (Coja) in his account. Writing a few years after these events he gives a brief account of the arrival in Abhar (near Kazvin) of Coja and "a party of envoys" who had been sent by Khubilai, with the bride sought by Arghun in the person

[296] See also Yang Chih-chiu [Yang Zhijiu] 杨志玖 and Ho Yung-chi [He Yongji] 何永佶, "Marco Polo Quits China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 9.1 (1945): 51, and the detailed discussion in Francis Woodman Cleaves, "A Chinese Source Bearing on Marco Polo's Departure from China and a Persian Source on his Arrival in Persia," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 36 (1976): 181–203.

[297] Yang Zhijiu (1998a), p. 101.

[298] Coja as the only survivor is mentioned only in the Ramusio version, while the Venetian rendering (V) of Marco Polo's account states that only one of the ambassadors survived, without giving his name. See Barbieri (2000), p. 998n19.

of Lady Kökechin. Nothing should hinder one from thinking that the Polos were a part of this party of envoys.

d) It is, in fact, thanks to Marco Polo's account that we can reconcile the piecemeal references in the Chinese and Persian sources and thus complete the picture. At the same time this is also evidence of the veracity of the story since the basic facts and the chronology corroborate each other. The likelihood of Marco's reconstructing the whole episode in Genoa (from memory) or in Venice (from notes) on the basis of second-hand information that he had previously obtained from an unknown informant in the Crimea or in Constantinople is so remote as to be safely dismissed.[299]

e) In a recent essay, Philippe Ménard has presented a convincing attempt at re-constructing the return travel of the Polos from China. By taking into account all textual evidence provided by the most important Marco Polo versions, knowledge about the history and techniques of traditional Chinese ocean seafaring and navigation, and the climatological conditions caused by the winter and summer monsoons and the occurrences of typhoons (July, August and September) he concludes that the convoy, composed of fourteen large sea-going junks and with Lady Kökechin on board, had probably left Quanzhou 泉州 in February 1291. From there, by making use of the winter monsoon, it sailed to Borneo where it arrived in May of the same year. Because of the southwest (or summer) monsoon, the convoy had to stay in Borneo for five months. In November 1291 it made use again of the northeast (winter) monsoon and left Borneo for Ceylon, and from there, in January 1292, proceeded to the Malabar coast on Indian's eastern seaboard. They did not visit the Coromandel coast further north but travelled on to Quilon on the southwest coast of India. From here the convoy probably had to continue by means of cabotage or coastal shipping, as no favourable winds support sailing along the western coast of the country, and they finally arrived at the port of Hormuz—possibly in April 1293—without having visited the eastern coast of Africa, as has been often assumed. Because of long travels overland it was not until September or October of 1293 that Lady Kökechin could be handed over in Abhar near Kazvin to Ghazan, whose father Arghun had already died by March 10, 1291. The Polos then left Persia in the spring of 1295 and returned to Venice (arrival in the beginning of winter 1295) via

[299] De Rachewiltz, "Wood's *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* A Critical Appraisal."

Source: Manuel Komroff, *The Travels of Marco Polo* [*the Venetian*], with illustrations by Withold Gordon, Garden City, New York: Garden City Publishing Co. 1926, 1930, p. 18. Courtesy of Liveright Publishing Corporation.

Figure 2. The story of the Polos escorting Princess Kökechin to Persia from 1291 to 1295, as depicted by Withold Gordon in 1926.

Tabriz, Trebizond (departure about May/June 1295), Constantinople (departure about August 1295) and Negropont.[300]

3.13. *Golden Tablets of Authority*

Critique: Marco Polo's references to the golden tablets of authority which he, his father and his uncle received from Khubilai Khan are confused and therefore unreliable as evidence of the Venetian's journey. So also is a reference to one of these tablets in the (surviving) inventory of his possessions. Moreover, the will of Marco Polo's uncle Matteo of 1310 suggests some 'jiggery-pokery' by Polo over one of the tablets.

Responses: These *laissez-passer* are described in detail by Marco Polo who also notes the ones he, his father and his uncle were granted in the course of their travels. These tablets—the *paizas* as they were called in the Occident, *paizi* 牌子 in Chinese and *gerege* in Mongolian—were usually oblong (but sometimes also round), made of gold, silver or bronze, and measured about 30 cm by 9 cm. They were given to dignitaries and envoys on official missions, but some served also as sign of certain military and civil officials, granting their holders free lodgings, means of transport and provisions along their route. There were several types of them, not only in the Yuan empire, but also in Ilkhan Persia and the domains of the Golden Horde. The Polos were given altogether seven *paizas*:

– one golden tablet from Khubilai to Niccolò and Matteo for their way back home (1266);
– two golden tablets from Khubilai for the three Polos when leaving China (1290/1291);
– four golden *paizas* from Gaykhatu (r. 1291–1295) before leaving Persia (1293), two of them bearing gyrfalcons, one a lion, and one being smooth.[301]

Moreover, in the chapter dealing with Khubilai's rewards for his officers and generals having shown great valour in the battle with his rival

[300] For the full particulars see the detailed account of Philippe Ménard, "Marco Polo et la mer: Le retour de Marco Polo en Occident d'après les diverses versions du texte," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 173–204.

[301] De Rachewiltz (1997), pp. 70–72; Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, pp. 311–312, 321–322; Yule (1903), vol. 1, pp. 15–16, 34–35.

Nayan, Marco Polo describes various tablets of authority—namely, those of silver (120 *saggi*, for a captain of 100 men), gold or silver-gilt (120 saggi, for a captain of 1,000), gold and bearing a lion's head (220 saggi, for a captain of 10,000), and gold with a lion above and sun and moon below (300 saggi, for a captain of 100,000). Morover, tablets with gyrfalcons are given to "very great lords."[302] In addition, he also mentions *paizas* of gold granted to the "Twelfe Barons," in this case the high chief ministers in the capital,[303] and gyrfalcon tablets carried by runners of the imperial postal service.[304] He also gives a fairly accurate translation of the Mongolian text inscribed on such *paizas* and also mentions the credentials or warrants that accompanied these *laisser-passer*.[305] As de Rachewiltz writes, gold *paizas* are often mentioned in Chinese sources of the Yuan period, and several types of them existed: with a tiger, lion, or gyrfalcon at the top or just plain.[306] Münküyev stresses that Persian tablets of authority show not a tiger, but in all probability a lion, because, as was said by Yule, "Lion and Sun . . . formed the emblem of the Sun in Leo, i.e. in highest power."[307] In his review article of Frances Wood's book Igor de Rachewiltz also shows that there was neither 'jiggery-pokery' over these golden tablets nor a family dispute. In the will of Marco's uncle Matteo dated February 6, 1310, there is clear reference to certain arrangements concerning a jewel and "the three tablets of gold which were from the magnificent Chan of the Tartars" (*tres tabulae de auro que fuerunt magnifici Khan Tartarorum*). Moreover, the list of Marco's possessions dressed up after his death in 1324 likewise list a "large gold tablet of command."[308] Matteo's three tablets and the one of Marco Polo were clearly the four tablets they had received from the Ilkhan Gaykhatu when leaving Persia and thus lend credence to the Polos' claim of having been entrusted with some important mission.[309]

---

[302] Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, pp. 412–413; Yule (1903), vol. 1, pp. 350–351.

[303] Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, pp. 442; Yule (1903), vol. 1, pp. 431ff.

[304] Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, pp. 445; Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 436.

[305] Cf. de Rachewiltz (1997), p. 71ff. For further literature on *paizas* in western languages see N. Ts. Münküyev, "A New Mongolian P'ai-tzŭ from Simferopol," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarium Hungaricae*, 31.2 (1977): 185–215; Peng Hai (2010), pp. 98–110.

[306] De Rachewiltz (1997), p. 71.

[307] Münküyev (1977), pp. 207–208.

[308] See de Rachewiltz (1977), pp. 74–75; id., "Wood's *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* A Critical Appraisal." Cf. also John Larner's incisive critique of Wood's distorted reading of Matteo Polo's will in Larner (1999), pp. 61–62.

[309] Jacoby (2007), p. 203.

As is stressed by Alvaro Barbieri, there were, however, other "souvenirs" in Marco Polo's collection which strongly suggest that the Venetian had been in China himself. Apart from precious silk and brocade clothes and cloth of Chinese origin,[310] these were: a *bosolo* [...] *a modo di paternostri*, i.e. in all probability a Buddhist rosary; *una çentura darçento*, that is, probably a silver girdle of a Tartar knight; a *bochta* [...] *doro con piere & perle*, in other words a parade golden head dress (Mongolian: *bokhtakh*) of a Mongolian lady adorned with precious stones and perles; a *bosolo .j. di muscio* as well as a *sacheto .j. de pelo che dila bestia*—namely, a box with musk as well as a bag containing the hide of a musk deer.[311] With regard to the musk souvenirs, there is an interesting passage in the Venetian version (VB) of Marco Polo's text stating that he took with him to Venice the dried head and the feet of a musk deer ([...], *et portai miego qui in Venexia la testa e I piedi de uno de diti animali sechi, et del muschio.*).[312] Most of these items were probably souvenirs—that is, exotic objects that the Venetian traveller had collected for his curiosity cabinet in memory of his travels to the Far East. But one should also not forget to mention that he had in his service a slave, named Pietro, of the "Tartarian race" (*de genere tartarorum*), whom he freed in his will.[313]

---

[310] Jacoby (2007), pp. 203–204 lists the following items:
– 24 Venetian light pounds or 7.229 kg white silk cocoons (*foleseli bianchi de seda*)
– 1 bundle of 40 light pounds or 12.049 kg of silk
– the same quantity of horsehair (*seda di cavallo*) used for sieves
– 1 white garment in Tartar fashion (*alla tartaresca*)
– 3 silken blankets of camoca and sandal with Tartar embroidery (*choltre 3 a lavorieri tartaresci de chamoch et de zendadi*), worth the sizeable sum of 120 ducats
– 1 yellow and 2 white pieces of *catai* or Chinese zendal, each worth 10 ducats.
The first three items were too large in quantity to have been intended for personal or household use and therefore must have been stored by Marco Polo for commercial reasons. The other items, however, were almost certainly kept as mementos. Camoca was costly figured silk, either monochrome or polychrome, sometimes brocaded with designs in gold thread. See Jacoby (2007), p. 203.

[311] Barbieri (2000), pp. 999–1004.

[312] Barbieri (2000), p. 1003.

[313] See Barbieri (2000), p. 1004. On the enslavement, for instance, of many Chinese during the Mongol conquest and also thereafter see Ebisawa Tetsuo 海 老澤哲雄, "Bond-servants in the Yüan," *Acta Asiatica*, 45 (1983): 27–48. See also Elizabeth Endicott-West, "The Yüan Government and Society," in Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6, *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 613–615: Although slave-holding was not a fundamental characteristic of the Mongols' tribal and clan-based pastoral nomadic society and economy, the Yuan period saw an increase in the number of slaves when compared to former dynasties. Most of the slaves were war captives, but also such as were taken from internal rebellions. Moreover, there existed slave markets in Dadu. Apart from Chinese

With regard to the golden head ornament, a not implausible hypothesis has been brought forward recently by Stephen G. Haw. He argues that the *bokhtakh* was very likely a keepsake from a woman with whom Marco Polo was closely related. Thus it might have been a parting gift from his wife. In accordance with a Mongol custom to reward faithful followers with women, if the Great Khan proposed some young Mongol woman to Marco Polo for marriage it must have been very difficult to refuse. To Haw, the idea can be excluded that the *bokhtakh* was a gift of Kökechin as this would not have been appropriate for a young noble woman going to be married to an Ilkhan prince to present such a valuable present to another man. Thus, it is not inconceivable that Marco Polo married during the long time he stayed in China.[314]

It is curious to note here the parallel that Bolad Akha, who by earlier Marco Polo researchers was confused with the Venetian, set up a second family after he had settled in Persia after 1286. Rashid al-Din (1247–1318) reports that Bolad Akha from the time of his stay in China had sons there who were now in the service of Khubilai Khan, but that in Persia he took as his wife (*khatun*) a certain Shirin, a former concubine of the deceased Ilkhan Abakha (d. 1281).[315]

We know that during the Yuan period Italian merchants went indeed as far as China to reside there temporarily or permanently for engaging in trade activities and that thus the Polos are not an isolated case. Carpini reports of having met merchants from Genoa, Venice and Pisa in Kiew in 1247, who had travelled *per tartaria*, and it were also merchants who had given notice of Rubroek's coming to the Mongols. Moreover, merchants advised Rubroek which way he should take, which transport means he should use and which gifts he should present to the rulers. Another example is the Venetian Giovanni Loredan, who, having just returned from China, left for India in 1338 together with five other merchants.[316] The presence of Italian merchants is confirmed by archaeological remains—that is, the two famous gravestones which were found at the foot of the Yangzhou 揚州 city walls in 1951. One was dedicated to Katerina (d. 1342),

slaves, impoverished Mongolian men and women themselves began to be exported as slaves to India and Islamic countries as early as the late thirteenth century.

[314] Haw (2006), p. 43.

[315] Allsen (2001), p. 73.

[316] Münkler (2000), pp. 56–60.

daughter of the merchant Domenico de Vilione (Ilioni), the other to Katerina's brother Antonio (d. 1344).[317]

If the three Venetians had not been in China, but had spent instead twenty-four years in one of the Venetian trading posts on the Black Sea, in Constantinople or in the Ilkhanate of Persia, would they not at intervals have returned to Venice or would they not have been seen out there by other fellow merchants? It is hardly believable, as is justly remarked by John Larner, that in such a case they would not have been readily denounced by one of the many Italian merchants residing or trading with them along the Black Sea or in Persia after they had become famous by the publication of the book.[318]

---

[317] See Van Mechelen (2001), p. 59. De Rachewiltz (1997), p. 40, claims that Vilioni was a Venetian family. Based on R. Lopez, Larner (1999), pp. 119, 211n14, says that this refers to the Ilioni family, which was from Genoa.

[318] Larner (1999), pp. 60–61.

CHAPTER TWO

PAPER MONEY IN YUAN CHINA

> [. . .] Et toutes cestes cha[r]tre sunt seellés dou seel dou grant sire. Et en fait faire si grant quantité que tuit le tresor dou monde en paieroit. Et quant cestes chartre sunt fait en la mainiere que je vos ai contés, il en fait faire tous les paiemant et les fait despendre por toutes les provences et regnes et teres la ou il seignorie. Et nulz ne le ose refuser a poine de pardre sa vie. [. . .][1]

The use and widespread circulation of paper money in Mongol China was made possible by the fact that already under the precedessors of the Yuan—the Song (960–1279) and Jin (1115–1234) dynasties—paper notes had been introduced as official currency to form part of a monetary mix. Because it suffered from chronic shortages of bronze coins, i.e. for its base currency, the Song dynasty expanded its monetary supply by the creation of bills of exchange, new forms of credit, and paper money, while at the same time pursuing a bullionist foreign trade policy.[2] Besides the revolutions in farming, water transport, market structure and urbanisation as well as science and technology, the revolution in money and credit constituted one of the five remarkable and unique developments that characterized the history of mediaeval and early modern China.[3]

While attempting to operate on a basis of a unified currency system with a bronze-coin standard, the Northern Song (960–1127) government retained a separate sphere of iron coinage in Sichuan. Such coinage was also prescribed from the 1040s onwards in a northern belt zone that was created in order to prevent the outflow of bronze coins to the enemy states of the Tangut Xixia (1038–1227) and Khitan Liao (916–1125) kingdoms. Other measures taken to increase the supply of currency were the promotion of mint metal mining, especially copper, prohibitions against

---

[1] Luigi Foscolo Benedetto, *Marco Polo, Il Milione*, Firenze: L. S. Olschki (Comitato geografico nazionale italiano; 3), 1928, p. 92.

[2] See Richard von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune: Money and Monetary Policy in China, 1000–1700*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996, p. 48.

[3] Mark Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973, pp. 113–199.

using copper for private purposes, the issue of large denomination coins, the lowering of the coins' copper content (Northern Song: 65 percent copper, 25 percent lead, 10 percent tin; Southern Song: 40 percent copper, 50 to 60 percent lead, 5 percent tin) and the production of cheap iron-lead-tin coins, known as "tin-alloy-cash" (*jiaxiqian* 夾錫錢).[4]

Bills of exchange for the transfer and exchange of cash and commodities had been known since the Tang period, especially the so-called "flying cash" (*feiqian* 飛錢) or "convenient exchange" (*bianhuan* 便換) system developed by merchants and the government in the eighth century. The reasons for the introduction of this system were a) a shortage of coins, b) bans on exports of coins in certain localities, c) tax remittances, especially on the basis of the complementary north-south flow of money arising from tax revenue on the one hand and the tea trade on the other, and d) the slowing-down of commercial activities due to the inconvenience of carrying heavy cash.[5] Such promissory notes known as *bianqian huizi* 便錢會子 (convenient-cash account notes) and *jifu huizi* 寄附會子 (remittance account notes) continued to be used in private and official transactions from the 960s onwards.

In the iron-coin zone of Sichuan "exchangelings" (*jiaozi* 交子) had probably been first issued freely as substitutes for iron coins, but were later taken over by sixteen officially recognized rich merchant houses having them circulated widely and in large quantities. When around 1022 this system broke down, the government stepped in and took over the responsibility for the paper money issued in denominations from one to ten *guan* 貫 ("strings"), later to be reduced to two denominations only—namely, 5 and 10 *guan*. Apart from a discount charged for their issue, these paper notes were declared to be fully convertible against iron coins, and their period of issue was limited to three years. These exchange notes can be considered to be the first true paper money.[6]

In 1160, with mounting military costs due to the resumption of war with the Jurchen Jin regime, the Southern Song (1127–1279) government created a new type of paper money which was first circulated within specified regions of the empire, but gradually was enlarged to include most of the Southern Song territory. In the beginning, the government issued

---

[4] Von Glahn (1996), pp. 49–51.

[5] Peng Xinwei (author); Edward H. Kaplan (transl.), *A Monetary History of China* (*Zhongguo huobi shi*), Bellingham, Washington: Western Washington University (East Asian Research Aids and Translations), 1994, vol. 1, pp. 329–331; Elvin (1973), p. 155.

[6] Elvin (1973), pp. 155–159; Peng Xinwei (1994), pp. 367–378.

these new paper notes, called "account notes" (*huizi* 會子), in relatively modest quantities of 4.66 million *guan* per annum, but nonetheless their reception on the private markets was muted so they failed to circulate at their face value. In 1166 and 1167 one to two million *guan* of hard currency was spent by the government to buy up surplus notes, a measure which established popular confidence and caused the value of the paper notes to rise, and until 1190 the *huizi* enjoyed the confidence of the market and circulated at very close to their face value.[7]

The stability in the paper currency sector came to an end with the rising military costs of the Song-Jin War of 1206–1208. While in 1169 the supply of *huizi* in circulation had been capped at some 20 million *guan* in the southeastern provinces, their amount was then allowed to soar to 139 million *guan*, and by 1233 more than 329 million *guan* were in circulation. Massive emissions of paper money were eventually also provoked by the Mongol invasions, although the government had exerted greater fiscal restraint for some time during the period from 1240 to 1264. This excessive issue of paper notes resulted in a steep depreciation of their value and rampant inflation. Officially valued at 770 bronze coins per 1 *guan* ("string") or 1,000 *wen* 文 ("coins") of paper money, the market value of *huizi* dropped to 750 coins in 1186, 620 coins in 1195, 300 coins in 1210, and a mere 50 coins in 1230.[8]

In 1154 the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) issued its own paper notes, which circulated at par with Song and Liao coins. The Jurchen rulers restricted the circulation of their paper notes to provinces along the Jin-Song border and at the same time prohibited the use of bronze coins in that region. This was responded to, in 1165–1166, by the Southern Song with the creation of its own frontier zone of low-value currencies consisting of a mix of iron coins and a new paper currency restricted to Huainan 淮南. Eventually, in the Jin realm paper currency depreciation became even more pronounced than in the Southern Song territories, reaching a point in 1213 where the flow of coins reversed its direction and thus resulted in a bronze coin drainage out of the Jin realm to the Southern Song regions.[9]

The special characteristic of the Yuan dynasty's (1271–1368) monetary policy consisted in the attempt by the Mongol rulers to impose a fiat currency on Chinese society and its economy. Within Chinese monetary

[7] Von Glahn (1996), p. 51; Peng Xinwei (1994), pp. 374–375.
[8] Von Glahn (1996), p. 53; Peng Xinwei (1994), pp. 410–413.
[9] Von Glahn (1996), pp. 52–53.

history, Yuan paper money marked a definite break from the tradition of the bronze cash currency that had underpinned the Chinese economy since the beginning of the imperial period. At the same time it also set the stage for the transition to the silver economy of the Chinese late imperial period. A decisive date was the year 1260 when the newly elected Great Khan, Khubilai (1215–1294), initiated reforms with the intention of establishing a unified monetary system, not only in his Chinese territory, but throughout the entire Mongol realm.

The regulations of 1260 were intended to establish a standard money of account by drawing gold, silver, and bronze coins into government treasuries and by replacing metallic money exclusively by paper money. Limited quantities of paper money were to be put in circulation, and the fiat money was to be backed by adequate reserves of bullion. Use of metallic money in trade was prohibited, but paper money was declared fully convertible with silver. At the same time, paper money was also made a means of state payments.[10]

---

[10] See von Glahn (1996), pp. 56–58. I can here only give a selective overview of the rich literature about the Yuan paper money history published in Chinese, Japanese and in Western languages. A short account on Yuan monetary history was published by Chan Hok-lam, "The Yüan Currency System," in David M. Farquhar, *The Government of China under Mongolian Rule: A Reference Guide*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner (Münchener Ostasiatische Studien; 53), 1990, pp. 445–460. For special studies on Yuan monetary history see especially Herbert Franke's still invaluable *Geld und Wirtschaft unter der Mongolen-Herrschaft: Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Yüan-Zeit*, Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1949, as well as the important contributions by Maeda Naonori 前田直典 in his *Genchōshi no kenkyū* 元朝史の研究 (Investigations on the History of the Yuan Dynasty), Tōkyō: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1973, p. 3–143. For other important Japanese works see Iwamura Shinobu 岩村忍, "Shiheisei to sono hōkai" 紙幣制の崩壞 (The Paper Money System and its Collapse), in his *Mongoru shakai keizaishi no kenkyū* モンゴル社會經濟史の研究 (An Investigation into Mongol Social and Economic History), Kyōto: Tohosha, 1968, pp. 471–547; Abe Takeo 安部健夫, "Gendai tsuka seisaku no hatten" 元代通貨政策の發展 (The Development of Monetary Policy during the Yuan Period), in his *Gendaishi no kenkyū* 元代史の研究 (Historical Studies on the Yuan Period), Tōkyō: Sobunsha, 1972, pp. 363–423; Takahashi Hirōmi 高橋弘臣, *Genchō kahei seisaku seiritsu katei no kenkyū* 元朝貨幣政策成立過程の研究 (An Investigation of the Process of the Establisment of Paper Money Policy during the Yuan Dynasty), Tōkyō: Tōyō shoin, 2000. The works of Iwamura and Takashima works are now also available in Chinese translations, namely, Yancun Ren 岩村忍 [Iwamura Shinobu], Tooq ai 涛海 (transl.), "Yuanchao de zhibi zhidu jiqi bengkui" 元朝的纸币制度及其崩溃 (The Paper Money System of the Yuan Dynasty and its Collapse), *Mengguxue xinxi* 蒙古学信息 (Mongolian Studies Information), 2 (1999): 7–11, and Gaoqiao Hongchen 高橋弘臣 [Takahashi Hirōmi] (author); Lin Songtao 林松濤 (transl.), *Song Jin Yuan huobishi yanjiu: Yuanchao huobi zhengce zhi xingcheng guocheng* 宋金元貨幣史研究—元朝貨幣政策之形成過程 (Research into the Monetary History of the Song, Jin and Yuan Periods: An Investigation of the Process of the Establisment of Paper Money Policy during the Yuan Dynasty), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe (*Riben Songxue yanjiu liuren ji* 日本宋學研究六人集 (Collection of Works of Six Japanese Song Researchers;

Below I will give a short chronological account of the issuance of paper money in China under the Mongols by concentrating on the period from 1275 to 1291 when Marco Polo was in China:

1223/1227: From the mid-twenties of the thirteenth century onwards Chinggis Khan had a kind of emergency paper money circulated in the military commandery of Bozhou 博州 in Shandong Province, while still allowing the Song *huizi* notes to be used, for which a certain exchange rate vis-à-vis the new paper money was established. Silk yarn was used as a reserve for the new currency the circulation of which was limited to the local area.[11]

1236: Upon the suggestion of Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 (d. 1243), chief of the Central Secretariat, the Mongols issued a limited amount of 10,000 *ding* 錠 of paper notes, called *jiaochao* 交鈔 or Exchange Notes, in North China. These notes were presumably modelled on those used by the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) the paper money of which was also called *jiaochao*. It was backed by silver,[12] but in all probability was destined to alleviate the dearth of cash coins desperately needed by the common population for their daily transactions.[13]

---

2)), 2009. For an important collection of articles of Chinese research on Yuan monetary history, including paper money, see Neimenggu qianbi xuehui 内蒙古钱币学会 (Numismatic Society of Inner Mongolia) (ed.), *Yuandai huobi lunwen xuanji* 元代货币论文选集 (Selected Articles on Yuan Monetary History), Huhehaote: Neimenggu chubanshe, 1993. See there also the bibliography on pp. 416–427 encompasing work published until 1992. Still very worthwhile to be consulted is also Peng Xinwei's classical study on Chinese monetary history, also available in English translation, as well as Quan Hansheng's contribution to Yuan paper money history. See Peng Xinwei 彭信威, *Zhongguo huobishi* 中国货币史 (A History of Chinese Currency), 2nd ed. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1958, and the English translation Peng Xinwei (1994), vol. 2, pp. 471–536; Quan Hansheng 全漢昇, "Yuandai de zhibi" 元代的紙幣 (Paper Money of the Yuan Period), *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica), 15 (1948): 1–48, repr. in his *Zhongguo jingjishi luncong* 中國經濟史論叢 (Collected Articles on Chinese Economic History), vol. 1, Xianggang: Xianggang Zhongwen daxue Xinya shuyuan Xinya yanjiusuo, Chongwen shudian, 1972, pp. 369–416.

[11] See Franke (1949), p. 35, who stated that this first local issue of Yuan paper money started somewhere between 1224 and 1227. See also Chan Hok-lam (1990), pp. 445–449.

[12] Chan Hok-lam (1990), pp. 445–446, 449–450; Gaoqiao Hongchen [Takahashi Hirōmi] (2009), p. 129.

[13] Gaoqiao Hongchen [Takahashi Hirōmi] (2009), p. 130.

1253: Another locally delimited issue of paper notes, called *xingyong jiaochao* 行用交鈔 (Circulating Exchange Notes), took place, again in limited amounts and backed by silver.[14]

1260: With the sweeping monetary reform carried out by Khubilai Khan in 1260 Yuan paper notes became the dominant form of money in North China. The introduction of paper money was probably made on the recommendation of one of Khubilai's Chinese advisers, Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠 (1216–1274), of whom it is told that he had argued that coined currency could be used only in bright (*yang* 陽) regions and paper money in dark (*yin* 陰) ones. Because the Mongols descended from the desert, they should adopt paper money.[15] Other relevant advisers mentioned in this context were Wang Wentong 王文統 (1190?–1262), Liu Su 劉肅 (1188–1263), and Shang Ting 商挺 (1209–1288).[16]

The reasons for the thorough monetary measures taken by the Mongol regime were manifold. First of all, in 1260, when Khubilai was selected Great Khan of the Mongols after Möngke's (1209–1259) death, he was not only confronted with the task of continuing the enterprise of conquering the Southern Song empire, but his selection as the supreme Khan was also challenged by his brother Arigh Böke (1219–1266). Hence the complete substitution of silver and bronze coins by paper money was considered a necessary response in tackling rising military costs as well as the large expenditures required in establishing a strong central government in Khubilai's base in North China. Already during Möngke's period silver, passing through the hands of Uighur and *ortogh* merchants, had flowed from North China to Western Asia where it was in high demand and thus fetched a profitable price. Hence silver became increasingly rare in the territory over which Khubilai Khan ruled. By issuing paper money and declaring it the only valid currency and by forcing the people to exchange it against precious metals, Khubilai also obtained the necessary means for financing the annual grants

---

[14] See Maeda Naonori 前田直典, "Gen no shihei no yōshiki ni tsuite" 元の紙幣の様式に就て (The Forms of Yuan Paper Notes), in his *Genchōshi no kenkyū*, p. 3; Franke (1949), p. 36; Gaoqiao Hongchen [Takahashi Hirōmi] (2009), p. 129.

[15] For a discussion of this rather ficticious account and its interpretation, see Chan Hok-lam [Chen Xuelin 陳學霖], "Liu Ping-chung 劉秉忠 (1216–74): A Buddhist-Taoist Statesman at the Court of Khubilai Khan," *T'oung Pao*, 53.1/3 (1967): 135–136. Liu Bingzhong made two major contributions as adviser to Khubilai—that is, the reorganization of Yuan institutions based on the Chinese model and the promotion of Chinese influence in political circles. See id., pp. 143ff.

[16] Gaoqiao Hongchen [Takahashi Hirōmi] (2009), p. 144.

(*suici* 歲賜) paid out then still in silver, gold, silk, satin, and brocade to Mongol princes and aristocrats as well as to meritorious civil officials and military officers.

Secondly, the peasants especially had no silver in their hands for paying the taxes levied then in this currency. The result of the scarcity of silver in North China was that its value rose and that peasants had to borrow it from the *ortogh* merchants at high interest rates resulting eventually in the ruin and flight of many peasant households, with serious consequences for the state's main pillar of fiscal income.

As a third reason it has to be mentioned that under these conditions silver was not suitable to serve as a common currency, not only because it was rare, but also because it was inconvenient for everyday transactions as the silver ingots had to be cut into pieces and weighed. Moreover, in the semi-feudal principalities, which were presided over by northern Chinese hereditary marquises that had submitted to the Mongols and which were in a process of being subjected to a Mongol central government, paper money was mostly used as a means of payment so that it was deemed indispensable to replace those regional types of paper money with that of the newly established central power.

Fourthly, the third and more likely candidate to fulfil the role of a means of payment in everyday transactions and as the principal currency, copper cash, was also not available in sufficient quantities, whether in the form of cash or as metal. This had already been the case under the Jurchen Jin dynasty, which relied heavily on paper money as the main currency. As a result, the use of paper money was already widespread in North China not only in spatial, but also in social terms, in the latter case extending down to the peasantry. Compared with copper cash, paper money was much easier and cheaper to produce and had the much greater potential of quickly replacing the different paper monies of the principalities. It promised to rapidly become the currency of the newly established Yuan empire, to remedy the scarcity of currency in circulation, to assist in overcoming the financial difficulties while at the same time reducing the burden of the tax payers, to generate profit for the state by the loss of a certain percentage of paper money in circulation and by its exchange against precious metals, and to be the ideal instrument in the hands of the ruler for controlling prices and to some extent also the economy. Although the introduction of paper money was a kind of emergency measure and paper notes were planned to be complemented by copper cash at a later date, paper money eventually became the only legal tender for both official and

private transactions in North China, especially after Khubilai's quelling of the rebellion of Li Tan in 1262. Plans to complement it with copper cash were eventually dropped by Khubilai, because especially during the first years of its existence paper money was a success story. In those years the reserves of gold and silver held by the regional monetary institutions (*xingyong ku* 行用庫 or Circulation Storehouses and *pingzhun ku* 平準庫 or Stabilisation Storehouses) for backing the paper notes were sufficient, price control was efficient, paper money was the means of payment for taxes, and the issue of paper notes was limited.[17]

In August/September of 1260 first *tongxing jiaochao* 通行交鈔 (Exchange Notes to Be Circulated in All [Routes]) were issued, a paper money currency based on silk. Later, *Zhongtong yinhuo* 中統銀貨 (Zhongtong [Paper] Currency [Based] on Silver), that is paper notes of five denominations and backed by gold and especially silver reserves, was created, but these paper notes circulated only on a very limited scale and were, as it seems, soon exchanged against the new *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao*.[18] The *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* 中統元寶交鈔 (Zhongtong Primordial-treasure Exchange Notes) or *Zhongtong chao* 中統鈔 (Zhongtong Notes) were put in circulation in November/December 1260, especially as a means of payment of taxes (see Fig. 3).[19] At the same time the already scarce traditional Chinese bronze currency as well as all other paper notes from the principalities were gradually demonetized and the Zhongtong notes were declared to be the only legal tender for all private and official transactions.[20]

The *Zhongtong chao* comprised ten denominations (see Table 1).[21] Herbert Franke, writing in 1949, was still undecided whether the *Zhongtong chao* had nine or ten denominations.[22] The discovery at the Baisikou Double Pagoda 拜寺口双塔 in Helan District 贺兰县, Ningxia Hui Nationality Autonomous Region, of a 300 *wen* Zhongtong paper note issued before 1286 makes clear however that the *Zhongtong chao* also comprised this denomination and that it was issued in at least

---

17 Gaoqiao Hongchen [Takahashi Hirōmi] (2009), pp. 137–146, 151.

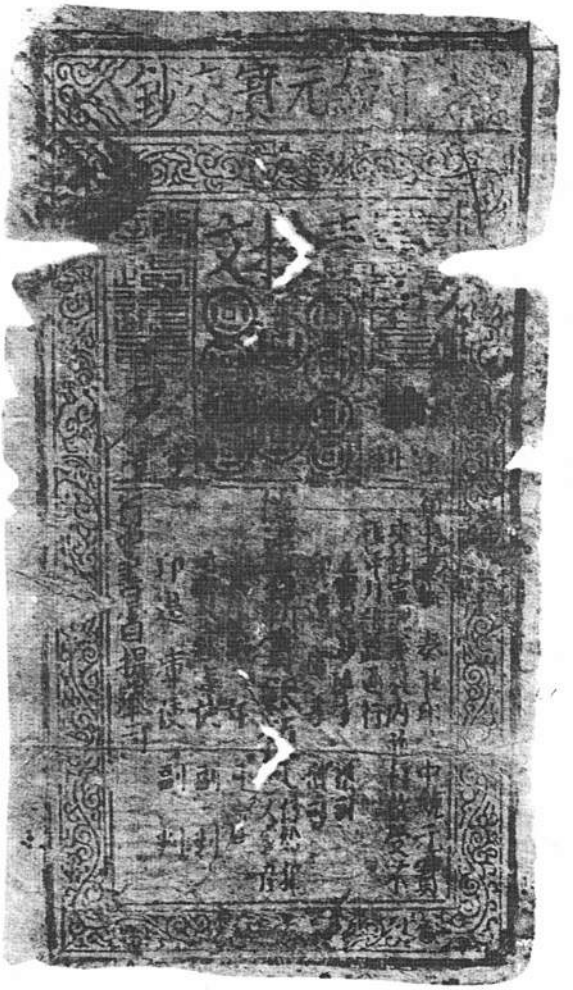
18 Franke (1949), pp. 40–41, shows that in some regions the silver-based paper notes were apparently already circulating so that measures were taken to buy them up with the new *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao*.

19 Franke (1949), pp. 37–43.

20 Richard von Glahn, "Monies of Account and Monetary Transition in China, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries," manuscript, 2009, p. 10; Gaoqiao Hongchen [Takahashi Hirōmi] (2009), p. 147.

21 Von Glahn (1996), p. 58, erroneously mentions 11 denominations.

22 Franke (1949), p. 39.



Source: Zhongguo guchao tuji, p. 54.

Note: The source does not provide a scale, but the size in which it is published, the note is more or less in accordance with the data in Table 3 (see Appendix 8), giving a height of 16.4 cm and a width of 9.3 cm. This is one of the earliest *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* notes found so far. In the fields E and C the inscriptions are in Chinese only, hence we know that this note must have been made before 1269. Another unusual aspect is that this is the Yuan paper note of the smallest denomination found so far. In field D it depicts 10 cash coins arranged in three columns of 4-2-4 coins. It carries two square vermilion seals on the surface and an oblong black split-edge seal on the upper left of the note. The filled in registration numbers in the fields E' and C' can be clearly seen. For the designations of the fields see Fig. 8.

Figure 3. Front side of an early Zhongtong 10 *wen* paper note discovered 1982 in the Wanbu Huayanjing 万部华严经塔 or White Pagoda 白塔 in Huhehot, Inner Mongolia.

Table 1. Denominations of main Yuan paper currencies in Chinese sources as well as the denominations mentioned by Marco Polo

Chinese Sources				Marco Polo	
Zhongtong yinhuo (1260–?)	*Zhongtong chao* (1260–1287; 1311–1350ff.)[a]	*Zhongtong lichao* (1275–1278 ?)	*Zhiyuan chao* (1287–1309; 1311–1350ff.)[a]	Original data[b]	Converted into Chinese currency[c]
		2 *wen*			
		3 *wen*			
		5 *wen*	5 *wen*	0.5 *tonesel*	4.7 *wen*[d]
	10 *wen*		10 *wen*	1.0 *tonesel*	9.4 *wen*[d]
	20 *wen*		20 *wen*		
	30 *wen*		30 *wen*	0.5 *gros Ven.*	26.6 *wen*
	50 *wen*		50 *wen*	1.0 *gros*	53.2 *wen*
	100 *wen*		100 *wen*	2.0 *gros*	106.5 *wen*
	200 *wen*		200 *wen*		
	300 *wen*		300 *wen*	5.0 *gros*	266.2 *wen*[e]
	500 *wen*		500 *wen*	10.0 *gros*	532.5 *wen*
1 *liang*	1 *guan*		1 *guan*	1.0 *besans*	1.0 *guan*
2 *liang*	2 *guan*		2 *guan*	2.0 *besans**	2.0 *guan*
3 *liang*				3.0 *besans*	3.0 *guan*
				4.0 *besans**	4.0 *guan*
5 *liang*				5.0 *besans**	5.0 *guan*
10 *liang*				10.0 *besans*	10.0 *guan*

Sources: See Franke (1949), pp. 37-44, 80; Maeda Naonori (1973), "Gen no shihei no yōshiki ni tsuite," p. 3; Table 3 in Appendix 8; Appendix 1, V 1 and V 2.

Notes:

[a] Underlined entries designate those denominations for which we have also material remains. See *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 35-76, as well as Table 3 in Appendix 8.

[b] See the Franco-Italian manuscript version (V 1) and the early French version (V 2) in Appendix 1. The figures with an asterisk are only in the early French version (V 2).

[c] The conversions are based on the conventions and calculations in the Tables of Equivalences below.

[d] These figures are based on the silver value (90 g) of a *livre tournois* during the period from 1226 to 1290. Taking the silver value (72 g) of the *livre tournois* during the period from 1291 to 1300 the resulting figures would be 3.75 and 7.5 *wen* respectively.

[e] Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 427, suggests that "5 *gros*" may be an error for "4 *gros*," as the latter with an equivalence of about 213 *wen* fits better the value of 200 *wen*. On the one hand, this interpretion cannot be totally ruled out, but on the other hand the value of 5 *gros* may stand for 300 *wen*.

Tables of Equivalences

1 *liang* 兩 silver during the Yuan period = 40 g

See Appendix 6.

1 *guan* 貫 paper money	1 *liang* 兩 paper money
1 *guan* or *liang* paper money	1,000 *wen* 文 paper money

1 *guan* paper money theoretically equals 1 "string [of 1,000 'one-unit coins' (*wen*)]." 1 *wen* 文 paper money theoretically represents 1 "one-unit coin" of copper cash. 1 *liang* paper money theoretically stands for 1 "ounce" of silver or 1 string of 1,000 "one-unit coins" of copper cash. It is assumed here that perhaps out of demonstrational convenience Marco Polo equalled 1 *guan* of paper money with 1 *liang* of silver. Actually the exchange rate in 1282 and 1287 was about 1 *guan* of paper money to 0.5 *liang* of silver. See Franke (1949), pp. 58, 78.

value of a *livre tournois* in silver, 1226–1290	90.0 g
value of a *livre tournois* in silver, 1291–1300	72.0 g

1 *livre tournois* = 240 *deniers tournois*	90.00 g
1 *denier tournois* (*tonesel*), 1226–1290	3.75 g
1 *denier tournois*, 1291–1300	3.00 g

See "Conversion de monnaies d'avant la Révolution en valeur actuelle," in http://www.histoirepassion.eu/spip.php?article36 (accessed May 24, 2012)

Average silver weight of Venetian *grosso* = 2.13 g

See Appendix 3.

Gold weight of a Byzantine *bezant* = 4.5 g

See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/124716/coin/15971/Coinage-in-western-continental-Europe-Africa-and-the-Byzantine-Empire (accessed May 24, 2012)

Assumed exchange rate gold to silver = 1 to 8.7

For the exchange rate between gold and silver a ratio of 1 to 8.7 was assumed so that 1 *bezant* would be equivalent to 1 *liang* of silver. This is well within the range of gold-silver exchange rates during the Yuan period. See, e.g. Yang Lien-sheng, *Money and Credit in China: A Short History*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1952, p. 48, listing the following exchange rates for the Yuan period: 1282, 1 to 7.6; 1287, 1 to 10; 1309, 1 to 10.

ten denominations.[23] The official relationship between *Zhongtong chao* and silver was set at 2 *guan* 貫 ("strings") of *Zhongtong chao* = 1 *liang* 兩 ("ounce") of silver.[24] In the long run, *Zhongtong chao* established itself as the principal form of paper currency which is demonstrated by the fact that prices reported in historical documents are indicated predominantly in this form of currency.

1275: From 1275 to 1278 three additional small denominations of *Zhongtong chao* were issued which were called *Zhongtong lichao* 中統釐鈔 (Zhongtong Fractional Notes; see Table 1). However, probably because these denominations became too small for the rising prices under inflation, the printing of these paper notes was discontinued in 1278.[25]

1275/1276: With the conquest of South China in 1275/76 the production of paper notes was substantially increased (see Tables 8 and 9). Apart from covering additional military costs, the intentions of that expansion in the issue and circulation of paper notes were in many respects similar to those in 1260 in the north—namely, strengthening the unification of the territory by replacing the former kinds of money by the currency of the new regime, facilitating and re-invigorating the flow of goods from the highly productive Jiangnan region to North China, especially to the Yuan capital in Dadu, and extracting silver, gold and other precious items held in the former Southern Song territories in exchange for Yuan paper money. As has already been mentioned above, silver and gold were in high demand of the Yuan rulers who partly spent these precious metals for luxury purposes but, at least in the beginning, also for the "annual grants," with which they rewarded the Mongol nobility and meritorious officers and officials. But apart from this, much silver was exported to silver- and gold-hungry Western Asia by Uighur and *ortogh* merchants who made great profits with this arbitrage business.

---

[23] Neimenggu qianbi yanjiuhui 内蒙古钱币研究会 (Inner Mongolian Numismatic Research Institute) and "Zhongguo qianbi" bianjibu《中国钱币》编辑部 ("China Numismatics" Editorial Department) (eds.); Cai Mingxin 蔡明信 (transl.), *Zhongguo guchao tuji* 中国古钞图辑 (A Compilation of Pictures of Chinese Ancient Paper Money), Beijing: Zhongguo jinrong chubanshe, 1992, p. 53. Henceforth, this important work depicting Chinese ancient paper money will be indicated as *Zhongguo guchao tuji*.

[24] See Franke (1949), pp. 38–39. As is made clear by von Glahn (2009), p. 10, though *Zhongtong chao* was denominated in bronze coins, it was not convertible with bronze currency, but with silver and gold.

[25] Franke (1949), p. 43 (erroneously dating the beginning of the issue of these low-value paper notes to 1273); Herbert Franz Schurmann, *Economic Structure of the Yüan Dynasty: Translation of Chapters 93 and 94 of the Yüan shih*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1956, p. 139.

Moreover, it is well known that the Mongol rulers and nobility also profited by these transactions as they lent silver to these merchants, for which they received substantial interest payments.[26]

When the Mongols conquered Jiangnan and other regions, they first permitted the Song currencies to continue to be used. But very soon the Yuan government decided to buy up and demonetize the Song paper notes and to exchange these against Yuan Zhongtong paper money, as it had done in North China with the regional paper notes that had circulated in the semi-feudal principalities. In Jiangnan, 50 *guan* of the depreciated Song *huizi* notes were exchanged against 1 *guan* of the new Zhongtong paper money. The intentions of this exchange measure consisted in stabilizing the markets and the economy and in enhancing the process of social pacification, thus preparing the ground for the establishment of an effective system of taxation. And just as in the North, further measures and regulations taken were the prohibition of the use of copper and iron cash coins as well as of private transactions in silver and gold. In order to promote the use and circulation of Zhongtong paper notes, monetary institutions (*xingyong ku* and *pingzhun ku*), moreover, began to be set up in many places.[27]

As we will see in chapter II.4.2.5, however, the monetary unification of South China was less complete than in the north. It was most successful in the provinces along the Yangzi River, because a military and administrative presence was strong there and because these provinces already had a long and ingrained tradition of using paper money in both private and official transactions under the Southern Song. Hence the establishment of regional monetary institutions (*xingyong ku* and *pingzhun ku*), the gradual demonetarization of former paper notes, the prohibition of using copper or iron cash as money, the forbidding of private transactions in gold or silver, and the enforcement of the adoption of Yuan paper notes proceeded more or less smoothly. However, more to the South, where Yuan rule was more fragile, the monetary penetration was less complete or was belated so that people there continued to use other forms of money, especially copper cash.[28]

1287: In order to cope with the growing inflation of prices and the depreciation of paper notes a new type of paper money was circulated from

[26] Gaoqiao Hongchen [Takahashi Hirōmi] (2009), pp. 286–294, 318.
[27] Gaoqiao Hongchen [Takahashi Hirōmi] (2009), pp. 294–302.
[28] Gaoqiao Hongchen [Takahashi Hirōmi] (2009), pp. 291–294, 302–318.

1287 onwards, namely the *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao* 至元通行寶鈔 (Zhiyuan Treasure Notes to Be Circulated in All [Routes]) or *Zhiyuan chao* 至元鈔 (Zhiyuan Notes; see Fig. 4). They are said to have been issued in eleven denominations, the same ones as the *Zhongtong chao* plus a 5 *wen* note.[29] The reason given for the issuance of small denominations was that there existed a dearth of small currency among the population, and because this hindered payment transactions.[30] The Yuan devalued the *Zhongtong chao* by 80 percent, while pegging the *Zhiyuan chao* to the original value of the *Zhongtong chao*, i.e. 2 *guan* = 1 *liang* of silver. But while the *Zhongtong chao* remained convertible, the *Zhiyuan chao* was not. As a matter of fact, the regulations of the 1287 monetary reform prohibited private trade of gold and silver as well as unregistered production of gold and silver items.[31] It seems that the monetary reform of 1287 was quite successful as prices remained relatively stable until the beginning of the thirteenth century.[32] No Zhongtong notes were printed in the period from 1288 to 1309, but only Zhiyuan notes.[33]

1309–1310: Bills called *Zhida yinchao* 至大銀鈔 (Zhida Silver Notes) were issued in thirteen denominations during these years. Private trade in gold and silver was prohibited. Moreover, in 1310 bronze coins were cast to serve as small denominational money along with paper currency.

1311–1360s: With the accession of the Emperor Renzong in 1312 all the monetary and financial measures of the preceding emperor were nullified, which included the demonetarization of the Zhida Silver Notes and the Zhida bronze coins. Gold and silver were permitted to be bought and sold privately. From 1311 onwards both *Zhiyuan chao* and *Zhongtong chao* were printed again and remained the chief paper currencies in circulation in the Yuan realm, with Zhongtong paper money as the principal measure of value for goods.[34] These two types of paper notes were also those which were current during Marco Polo's stay in China.

---

[29] Schurmann (1956), p. 139.

[30] Franke (1949), p. 80.

[31] See Schurmann (1956), p. 135, based on Franke (1949), pp. 57–59; von Glahn (1996), pp. 61–63.

[32] For more on inflationary trends see chapter II.5.

[33] Franke (1949), p. 81.

[34] Franke (1949), pp. 85–93; Schurmann (1956), p. 135; von Glahn (1996), p. 66; Maeda Naonori (1973), "Gen no shihei no yōshiki ni tsuite," p. 3.

Source: *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 4.

Note: In comparison with an original Zhiyuan 1 *guan* note, the size in which this note is published in the source is too small, because a Zhiyuan 1 *guan* note is about 30 cm high and 21 cm wide (cf. Table 3 in Appendix 8). This is one of the four *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao* notes of the denomination of 1 *guan* that has been found so far. Typically, Zhiyuan notes only carry Phags-pa inscriptions in the fields E and C. Another characteristic of Zhiyuan notes is that in field D the strings of cash are depicted in a vertical direction (contrary to the horizontal direction on Zhongtong notes), here in two columns of 5 sub-strings each. The remains of the two square vermilion seals are still clearly seen, as well as of the oblong black split-edge seal on the upper left.

Figure 4. Front side of a Zhiyuan 1 *guan* paper note excavated in 1983/1984 in Heicheng 黑城 (Khara Khoto), Inner Mongolia.

Eventually, in 1350 a new type of *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* was issued.[35] As we will see later, in chapter II.4.A.e-f, and as it is explained in Fig. 5, historical relics of these later Zhongtong notes can be clearly distinguished from earlier issues. While the whole Yuan reign was characterized by varying periods of mild and severe inflation, it was not before 1350 that a hyperinflation of prices and a dramatic depreciation of paper notes set in that lasted until the fall of the Yuan dynasty in 1368.

Figure 5a

[35] Maeda Naonori (1973), "Gen no shihei no yōshiki ni tsuite," p. 3.

Figure 5b

Source: Zhongguo guchao tuji, pp. 49–50.

Note: The reproduction as given in the source (which does not provide a scale) is certainly smaller than the original which, according to the data provided in Table 3 (Appendix 8), may measure about 28 cm in height and about 19 cm in width. This is a late *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* note printed from 1350 onwards, because it not only carries both Chinese and Phags-pa inscriptions in the fields E and C, but because the oblong black seal on the reverse side states that this note was printed in the Zhizheng reign-period (1341–1370): *Zhizheng yinzao yuanbao jiaochao* 至正印造元寶交鈔 or "Primordial-treasure Exchange Note printed in the Zhizheng [reign-period]." The front of the note is impressed with two square vermilion seals and with an oblong black split-edge seal on the upper left part of the paper. At least on the right side the registration number has been filled in field C'. The note's reverse side carries an oblong black seal with an ornamental border on top, a square vermilion seal below, and an oblong black split-edge seal at the upper left. Five cash sub-strings are depicted in a horizontal arrangement on the front, as is typical for Zhongtong notes, while the arrangement of the five sub-strings in the black oblong seal on the reverse consists of four sub-strings forming an "X", with a fifth horizontal string as a beam above.

Figure 5. Front and reverse side of a late Zhongtong 500 *wen* paper note discovered 1965 in Xianyang City 咸阳市, Shaanxi Province.

1. Marco Polo on Yuan Paper Money (1275–1291)

> Il faut remarquer en passant, qu'il n'y a aucune mémoire dans la Chine, & qu'on ne trouve aucune marque dans les Livres, qu'on se soit jamais servy de monnoyes de papier dans ce Royaume, comme Marc Polo le dit dans son second Livre, Chapitre dix-huitième. Mais parceque Marc Polo est un Auteur digne de foy, je veux expliquer icy ce qui peut avoir esté cause qu'il se soit trompé. [...][36]

After our short introduction to the monetary history of the Yuan period, let us now see what Marco Polo has to say on paper money, the main currency under the Mongols. Indeed, it has often been remarked that the Venetian traveller mentioned the use of paper money in a rather formulaic way in many of the places described by him. So far, however, it has gone unnoticed that these formulaic references to paper money are interesting by themselves, because they show a spatial pattern which is revealing when compared with information gathered from Chinese sources. We will come back to this later in chapter II.4.B.f. Besides this, Marco Polo devotes a special chapter to the manufacture of the famous paper money and its role in the monetary, economic, commercial and financial domains of the Yuan empire. When analysing the content of the paper money chapter in the most relevant manuscript and printed versions, i.e. the Franco-Italian manuscript (V 1), the early French text (V 2 (B1)), the Pipino version (V 4), and in Ramusio's rendering (V 11),[37] the following categories of information are obtained:

a) The emperor's mint is in Cambaluc is (V 1, V 2, V 4, V 11).
b) The art of producing and using paper money is compared to an arcane technique or alchemy (V 1, V 2, V 11).

---

[36] See R. P. Gabriel de Magaillans, *Nouvelle Relation de la China, Contenant la description des particularitez les plus considerables de ce grand Empire*, [1668], Paris: Chez Claude Barbin, 1688, p. 168. The explication offered by Gabriel de Magalhães (1609–1677) is that Marco Polo mixed this up with the imitations of cash, gold and silver monies made of paper paste and offered to the dead by burning. Though de Magalhães also mentions *Chao* or notes once issued by the emperor to pay his officials and soldiers, he then continues saying that these notes had not been accepted by the people and thus had not been used for a number of centuries.

[37] For the original texts of these most important Marco Polo versions see Appendix 1. Note, however, that in one of the important early Marco Polo versions, the Z manuscript of Toledo, the chapter on paper money was not included.

c) The raw material for making paper money is fine white bast which lies between the wood and the thick outer bark of the mulberry tree (V 1, V 2, V 4, V 11).
d) The paper produced in this way is black (V 1, V 2, V 11).
e) Sheets used for the production of paper money are cut into (oblong) pieces of different sizes, in accordance with the denominational system (V 1, V 2, V 4, V 11).
f) Up to thirteen denominations of paper money are mentioned (V 1, V 2, V 4, V 11).
g) On each paper note a number of officials (write their names and) put their seals (V 4, V 11).
h) A (vermilion) seal of the Great Khan is impressed on the paper notes (by the chief officer deputed by the Great Khan) (V 1, V 2, V 4, V 11).
i) Forgers are punished by the death penalty (V 4, V 11).
j) All official payments on the Khan's account, (especially military pay and officials' salaries), are to be made by these pieces of paper (V 1, V 2, V 4, V 11).
k) In all of the Khan's dominions, i.e. the kingdoms, provinces, and territories over which his sovereignty extends these pieces of paper are current (V 1, V 2, V 4, V 11).
l) All sales and purchases of goods have to be carried out by means of these notes. (No other money from elsewhere can be used for this purpose) (V 1, V 2, V 4, V 11).
m) The paper money is convenient because it is light and thus can be carried along easily on journeys (V 1, V 2).
n) Anybody who refuses to accept the notes does so on pain of death (V 1, V 2, V 4, V 11).
o) If the notes get spoilt, the people can carry them to the mint and obtain new pieces in exchange by paying a small amount of three percent (V 1, V 2, V 11).
p) Merchants arriving from India or other countries and bringing with them gold, silver, gems or pearls are forced to sell these precious products to the emperor (V 2).
q) Several times a year merchants from various regions present gold, silver, gems, pearls (and cloth of gold and silk) to the emperor (V 1, V 4, V 11).
r) (Twelve) experts appraise the articles brought by these (foreign) merchants and without any delay pay a liberal price in paper money (V 1, V 2, V 4, V 11).
s) The value of such articles brought to the court by merchants several times in the year amounts to 400,000 *bezants* (V 1).

t) The foreign merchants use the paper money to buy goods in the empire, which they then export (V 1, V 2, V 4, V 11).
u) Gold, silver, gems and pearls are handed over to the Cambaluc mint (also by the population) as a result of several orders issued within one year. The people receive a handsome price for these precious goods (V 1, V 2, V 4).
v) The emperor (is the only purchaser of such items and thus) accumulates all these precious goods in his treasury. His wealth is endless, while he spends almost nothing to produce paper money. He has more treasure than all the kings in the world (V 1, V 2, V 4, V 11).
w) If a "Baron," or anyone else, needs gold, silver, gems or pearls for making plates, girdles or the like, he goes to the mint where he can buy these items with paper money (V 1, V 2, V 4, V 11).

The most important early manuscripts—the Franco-Italian version (V 1) and the early French text (V 2 (B1)) (see Appendix 1)—do not differ dramatically in their presentation of the types and functions of Yuan paper money. Both these are, moreover, very detailed in their descriptions. One major difference to be found, however, is that the early French text is more precise and consistent in the depiction of the Great Khan's monopoly over gold, silver, precious stones and pearls than the Franco-Italian version. The latter does not indicate clearly that foreign merchants were forced to sell their gold, silver, precious stones and pearls to the the Khan. In contrast to the early French version (V 2 (B1)) stating explicitly that merchants from India and other countries had to hand over to the Khan their gold, silver, gems and pearls and receive in exchange paper money which they would use to purchase merchandise in the country, the Franco-Italian manuscript (V 1) speaks of people in general who gladly accepted and used paper money to buy goods as well as gold, silver, precious stones and pearls. In this respect, both the Pipino (V 4) version and Ramusio's rendering (V 11) follow the wording of the less explicit Franco-Italian manuscript. In addition, the Franco-Italian text (V 1), Pipino's version (V 4) as well as Ramusio's rendering (V 11) all say that merchants from various regions [of China]—rather than foreign merchants from India and other countries like in the early French version (V 2 (B1))—presented several times a year gold, silver, precious stones, pearls as well as cloth of gold and silk to the Great Khan which were then evaluated by the ruler's experts and generously remunerated in paper money.

Eventually, it should also be mentioned that there are cases in which information is contained in only one of the Marco Polo versions. Up to

thirteen denominations of paper money are listed only in the early French version (V 2 (B1)) and the notion that the value of gold, silver, precious stones, pearls and cloth of gold and silk presented to the Khan by merchants several times in the year amounted to 400,000 *bezants* can only be found in the Franco-Italian version (V 1) of the texts under discussion here (V 1, V 2, V 4, V 11). Paper money being used for paying military rations and officials' salaries is mentioned explicitly only by Pipino (V 4) and, subsequently, by Ramusio (V 11). Ramusio is unique in stating that the form of the paper money was oblong, i.e. longer rather than wider, and that the final seal impressed on the paper note by the chief officer deputed by the Khan was in vermilion (V 11).

As a next step in our investigation we will now see what other Western, Persian and Arabic mediaeval authors reported about Yuan paper money, in order for us to be able to carry out a quantitative and qualitative comparison between them and then to undertake a final evaluation on the basis of the data which are provided by Chinese primary sources.

2. Other Western, Persian and Arabic Mediaeval Authors on Yuan Paper Money

> [...] Jch chan nicht wol gesagn vnd volsagn seinen reichtúm vnd grosse vnd wunderlichew frewd chúrczweil, <di> da ist. Ez ist vngelawplich den, die sémlichß nicht habnt gesehn. Er hatt auch vnmazzn grósß schécz vnd hórt, wann allez daß gold vnd silber, daz in sein lant ch[v́]mpt, daz gevelt zehant in sein chamer, wann ez gett chain múnzz in seinen landn dann von charrten vnd von hewttn alß pírmeít. Da slecht man sein zaichn auff. Also beleibt jm der hórt. [...][38]

In Appendix 2 I have listed passages of other Western, Persian and Arabic mediaeval authors who reported on paper money during the Yuan (1271–1368) and early Ming (1368–1644) periods. If we compare the information provided by these authors with the data available in the Marco Polo texts, we can readily see that they provide dramatically less detail on the Yuan paper currency than the Venetian. Even if we take them all together, they

[38] See Gilbert Strasmann, *Konrad Steckels deutsche Übertragung der Reise nach China des Odorico de Pordenone*, Gießen: Erich Schmidt Verlag (Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit; 20), 1968, p. 115.

cover only about one half of the themes raised by the Venetian traveller. Moreover, as we will see later when comparing these sources of information with the reports culled from Chinese sources, other authors are in some cases much less detailed and less correct than Marco Polo. The following thematic breakdown can be obtained from a discourse analysis of the texts of other mediaeval writers:

b) The usefulness and circulation of paper money is compared with a kind of "philosopher's stone" (Ra 1).
c) The raw material for making paper money comes from the mulberry tree (O 3, F 1). See, however, the French translation of Odorico da Pordenone's account (O 5) which says that paper money is made from the bark of the mulberry tree—in the manner in which a silkworm produces silk! Mandeville's book of the late fourteenth century speaks of money made of leather, paper (M 1, M 2) or of barks of trees (M 2).
e) Hayton the Armenian (?–ca. 1320), writing in 1307, mentions oblong pieces of paper notes which varied in value according to the marks they bore (Ha 1). This was probably copied by Mandeville (M 1).
f) Several, i.e. up to seven denominations of paper money are mentioned (S 1, F 1). However, Pegolotti, in about 1340, appears to mention only three (P 1).
h) A (red) seal (bearing the name) of the emperor or king is impressed on the paper notes (Ha 1, S 1, F 1, P 1, I 1).
i) Those forging paper money were punished by death (S 1).
j) All royal grants are made in paper money (S 1).
k) Paper money is the only currency in the empire (O 5, J 1, M 1). They do not use gold and other metals except for ornaments and purposes of show (Ha 1, M 1).
l) Sales and purchases of goods are carried out by means of these notes (I 1).
n) Nobody refuses to accept the paper notes (P 1, I 1).
o) If the notes get spoilt, the people can carry them to the mint and obtain new pieces in exchange by paying a small amount. In about 1330, the archbishop of Soltania mentioned a deduction of three percent (S 1). Ibn Fadlallah Al-'Umari (d. 1338) spoke of a "slight loss" incurred by the exchange transaction (F 1), while Ibn Battuta, in about 1347, insisted—erroneously—that no expenses were incurred whatever, because the people making these notes were paid by the emperor (I 1). No fees are mentioned by Hayton the Armenian in 1307 (Ha 1), nor by Mandeville (M 1), the latter probably copying the first.

p) Merchants arriving from foreign countries have to leave their gold, silver, and precious stones (S 1) in the hands of the Great Khan (M 1). Pegolotti, in about 1340, speaks especially of silver which merchants have to sell to the lord of Cathay and for which they receive paper money in exchange (P 1).
t) The foreign merchants then use the paper money to buy goods in the empire, especially silk (P 1) or "spices, silk, cloths of silk and cloths of gold" (S 1).
v) The emperor accumulates all the wealth in his hands (O 5), especially due to the paper money regime (S 1).

In addition to this much lower degree of precision and coverage, it appears that at least one of the other writers had based his report on Marco Polo's account. This was the Archbishop of Soltania whose account of about 1330 is very similar to that of the Venetian traveller. He not only mentioned a red token in the middle of the paper notes, some of their denominations and the exchange of worn-out notes for new ones incurring a fee of three percent, but also that foreign merchants had to hand over their gold, silver and precious stones before they could purchase Chinese goods (S 1).

In comparison to Marco Polo's detailed and rather comprehensive description of Yuan paper money, other Western, Persian and Arabian travellers do not give much additional or different information. A summary account of additional—though not always correct—information reads as follows:

1) Willem van Rubroek reports that the money, made of *carta de wambasio* (paper), has the breath and length of a palm [which, we may mention here, is wrong as they were not square but of an oblong shape] and bears lines stamped on it as on Mangu's seal. Moreover, he says that the paper is yellow [instead of black, as mentioned by Marco Polo] (R 1). Hayton the Armenian speaks of paper notes in square form (Ha 1). Paper notes being as big as the palm of the hand are also indicated by Ibn Battuta (I 1).
2) Odorico da Pordenone mentions that a *balis* of paper money, i.e. five notes of paper money, is worth a florin and a half (O 1, O 3 to O 6).[39]

[39] In some of the Latin manuscript versions (O 3) it is, however, stated in chapter LXIII that a *balis* consists of two paper notes, instead of the usual five ones (see chap. XLVIII, O 3).

3) Pegolotti also has a statement on the value of paper money. He says that in Cathay four pieces of this money, called *balishi*, are worth one *sommo* of silver (P 1, P 2).[40] Again, this is wrong as *balish* was not the name of the paper money, but was a unit-of-account used for silver, gold or paper money and was synonymous with the Chinese *ding* (1 *ding* 錠 = 50 *liang* 兩).[41]
4) Ibn Battuta wrote that twenty-five of the paper notes were called *bálisht*, which was as much as "a dínár" (I 1).

In other words, other Western, Persian or Arabic authors did, indeed, not offer much new insight into Yuan paper currency in comparison with the information provided by Marco Polo. Moreover, with the exception of the Franciscan friar Willem van Rubroek who had visited the eastern parts of the world during the years from 1253 to 1255 the reports of all the other mediaeval writers were later than Marco Polo's account. Folker Reichert claims that all the Western accounts focus on the creation of wealth by the quasi-alchemical art of the Great Khan who knows the secret of how to transform something as valueless as paper into something as precious as gold and silver. The authors of these accounts stressed the way in which the Yuan ruler obtained all the riches of the world by forcing his subjects and foreign merchants to exchange pearls and precious stones for paper money. None of these writers, however, grasped the economic meaning of paper money.[42] This characterisation does not do full justice to Marco Polo's account. While he certainly did not provide a full-fledged and complete economical and monetary analysis (which due to the lack of experience in paper money systems he and other authors could have hardly undertaken), he at least mentioned a few topics going beyond the themes of alchemical art and wealth-accumulation, when stating that all official payments on the Khan's account, especially military pay and officials' salaries, were made in paper money (j), all transactions in buying and selling goods had to be carried out in these notes (l), that these notes were current in all the Great Khan's territories (k), and that they were convenient because of their lightness and could be carried along easily on journeys (m). Given this fact and in consideration of his much higher degree of precision and coverage of the topic of paper money, it seems

[40] Yule thinks that the *sommo* was a silver ingot weighing 8.5 Genoese ounces. See the notes to P 2 in Appendix 2.
[41] See Appendix 6. Cf. also the footnote of Yule to I 1 in Appendix 2.
[42] Reichert (1995), p. 339.

strange to assume that all the others had been in China, while just the most precise, detailed and consistent reporter had not got further than Constantinople or the Crimea and had based all his descriptions on family knowledge and other materials, especially Persian guidebooks, maps and histories.[43]

3. The Short-lived Issue of Yuan-style Paper Money in Persia in 1294

> Its usefulness is beyond words to describe; the *ch'ao* in circulation in that Empire [i.e. China] is a kind of 'philosopher's stone'; if one were to find it [the philosopher's stone], then it would not be worth one-hundreth of it [i.e. the *ch'ao*]. It is deemed impossible to bring *ch'ao* into circulation in our country [Persia].[44]

An interesting episode of transcultural dimension occurred in Persia in 1294 where one of the successors of the Ilkhan Hülegü (ca. 1217–1265), Gaykhatu (r. 1291–1295), made a short-lived attempt to introduce Yuan-style paper money in Persia. The proposal to do so basically came from the then powerful and unscupulous Vizier Sadr al-Din who was made responsible for financial affairs by Gaykhatu. This fascinating, but disastrous attempt of the Persian Ilkhan has been described in great detail by Karl Jahn (1938) so that we can limit ourselves here to a short analysis of the characteristics of this dramatic monetary intervention. Obviously there existed close relationships between the Mongol empires in China and in Persia so that it is hardly surprising that the Persians were inspired by the circulation of paper notes in the Yuan empire. It is interesting to see in which way and to what degree the Persian ruler and his adviser attempted to implement the Yuan-style paper notes which they called Chao, which was nothing other than a transliteration of the Chinese *chao* 鈔. The purpose of the introduction of this currency was declared to be "the eradication of poverty and misery and the abolition of the differences between the rich and poor," thus to bring about eternal glory to the empire. In the following the most important elements of this transcultural transmission

---

[43] For this assumption see Wood (1995), p. 149.

[44] See Rashid al-Din, *Tanksuqnama-i ilkhan dar funum-i 'ulum-i khita'i* (The Prescious Work of the Ilkhan on the Various Branches of Khitay Learning), ca. 1295–1304, as quoted in Karl Jahn, "Rashid al-Dīn and Chinese Culture," *Central Asiatic Journal*, 14 (1970a): 146.

will be enumerated, in accordance with the topics identified by discourse analysis carried out in the Marco Polo text:

a) For the production and issue of paper money so-called Chaokhane or Paper Note Offices were established which employed a number of persons such as administrators, secretaries and accountants as well as workers responsible for the production of paper money. It is possible that the paper notes were made by blockprinting, with the help of Chinese who then lived in the Chinese quarter of the capital Tabriz.
c) It is unclear which paper was used for the production of the paper notes. The raw material could have been either papyrus or linen and hemp, but also the bark of *Broussonetia papyrifera* (paper mulberry tree, in Chinese *chu* 楮), *Morus alba* (white mulberry tree), or *Morus nigra* (black mulberry tree).
e) The notes were oblong in shape and carried some Chinese characters along the frame. On the top of both sides they carried a Muslim formula of avowal (Shahada) and below it Gaykhatu's honorary name Irendjīn Dūrdjī, i.e. "Precious Stone" or "Precious Sceptre."
f) In a circle in the middle of the note the value of the paper money was indicated in figures. The denomintions covered a range from half or one *dirham* up to ten *dinar*.
h) A red stamp was impressed on the notes by means of the jaden state seal, the *āl*, with which the rulers were invested.
i) At the bottom of the note an inscription declared the following: "The Pādišāh of the World introduced this blessed paper money into the empire in the year 693 [1294]. He who counterfeits or falsifies it will be executed together with wife and children and his property will be confiscated by the State."
j) Administrators, officials, [and certainly also the military] were to be paid in paper money according to their merits and ranks.
l) Paper money should have replaced all metallic money in the whole empire. The only exemption was granted to merchants responsible for the trade with foreign regions. In order to enable them to carry on their business, they were allowed to obtain metallic money against payment of paper notes.
n) Those who refused paper money were to be executed on the spot.
o) Spoilt notes can be exchanged against new ones in the Paper Note Offices against a fee of 10 percent. This was more than three times the amount that was demanded in China for this purpose.

v) All precious metals should flow into the treasury of the Ilkhan or the public fisc. Every trade requiring gold and silver was to be prohibited. Craftsmen producing precious goods made out of gold and silver had to receive these metals from the mint.
w) The only exception in the use of gold was for dresses which were reserved for the most high-ranking emīrs and the Ilkhan.

After its introduction in September 13, 1294, it took only a few months until this monetary experiment had to be revoked from November of the same year onwards. The reasons for its abolition were a tremendous and galloping rise in prices, a paralysing of trade and traffic, violent upheavals and refusals to accept the paper notes, the depopulation of cities, and a dramatic loss in tax income.[45]

With the exception of Marco Polo, the historical record that describes the luckless Persian monetary experiment is the most detailed and consistent non-Chinese account we have on the issue and circulation of Yuan-style paper money. The nature of this record is different from Marco Polo's however as it refers to a real and radical monetary measure, the implementation of which was attempted. The basic model for this measure was unmistakably the paper money circulating in Yuan China which was adapted in several respects to its new environement. While Sadr al-Din and others were the ones proposing the introduction of Yuan-style paper money in Persia, the information was coming from Bolad Akha (Bolad Aqa), the same man whose Chinese name (Boluo) prompted Guillaume Pauthier (1801–1873)—wrongly as it turned out—to identify him with Marco Polo. Bolad Akha had served Khubilai Khan since the mid-1260s

[45] See Karl Jahn, "Das irānische Papiergeld: Ein Beitrag zur Kultur- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Irān's in der Mongolenzeit," *Archiv Orientální*, 10 (1938): 309–340. See also the revised English version published in 1970, i.e. Karl Jahn, "Paper Currency in Iran: A Contribution to the Cultural and Economic History of Iran in the Mongol Period," *Journal of Asian History*, 4 (1970): 101–135. Cf. also the short accounts of Bertold Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran: Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220–1350*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, pp. 251–252, and Peter Jackson, "Paper Currency Issued in Mongol Iran in 693/1294," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Online Edition, 15 June 2010, available at www.iranicaonline.org, as well as Hammer-Purgstall's translation of Wassafs account (W 2) in Appendix 2. Another short-lived attempt to introduce paper money was undertaken by Mahomed Túghlák of Delhi in 1330–1331. See Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices on China*, New Edition, Revised throughout in the Light of Recent Discoveries by Henri Cordier, *Vol. III: Missionary Friars—Rashíduddín—Pegolotti—Marignolli*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1914, p. 150n2.

before he was sent, in 1283, on an official mission to Persia. Previous to the paper money experiment he had been summoned to the Ilkhan's court to explain the Yuan monetary system which, according to Rashid al-Din's account, he did in the following words:

> *Chāw* is paper which has the sovereign's seal [*tamgha*] on it and it circulates throughout Khitāī in place of minted coins and the ready money there are ingots [*balish*] and it is received by the imperial treasury.[46]

As there is clear evidence of the existence of Chinese seals used by the Persian Ilkhans (see Fig. 6), we may readily assume that the red seal affixed on the paper notes (h) was in Chinese.[47] Moreover, there can hardly be any doubt that Bolad also informed the court that the paper money was made of the bark of the mulberry tree. As Thomas T. Allsen writes, Bolad Akha was a long-term resident in China and had thus personal experience with the Yuan monetary system and the paper bills. In January 27, 1281 (Zhiyuan 18/1/*guimao*), just before Bolad left for Persia, Khubilai "transferred paper money (*chao* 鈔), gold and silver to Bolad (Boluo) to be handed over to needy people."[48] It is therefore almost certain that specimens of Chinese paper money were available in Persia before and during the period of the paper money experiment. Chinese sources also show Bolad as an enthusiastic supporter of printing, especially of printing closely associated with government-sponsored publications. This, as well as the fact that Rashid al-Din gave the fullest and most detailed account about methods of Chinese printing in any language, including Chinese, thus strongly suggests that also in the Persian case the Chinese type of blockprinting was used for the production of paper bills.[49]

Apart from the wrong identification of Bolad Akha with Marco Polo by former scholars, Marco Polo is linked with the disastrous Persian paper money in still another way. According to Philippe Ménard's reconstruction of the return travel of the Polos from China to Venice, it is highly probable that the Polos, as part of the envoy delivering Lady Kökechin to Ghazan, were in Persia during these turbulent monetary events. Marco Polo does not, however, mention these events, because, in the view of the eminent French mediaevalist and Marco Polo specialist, his book was

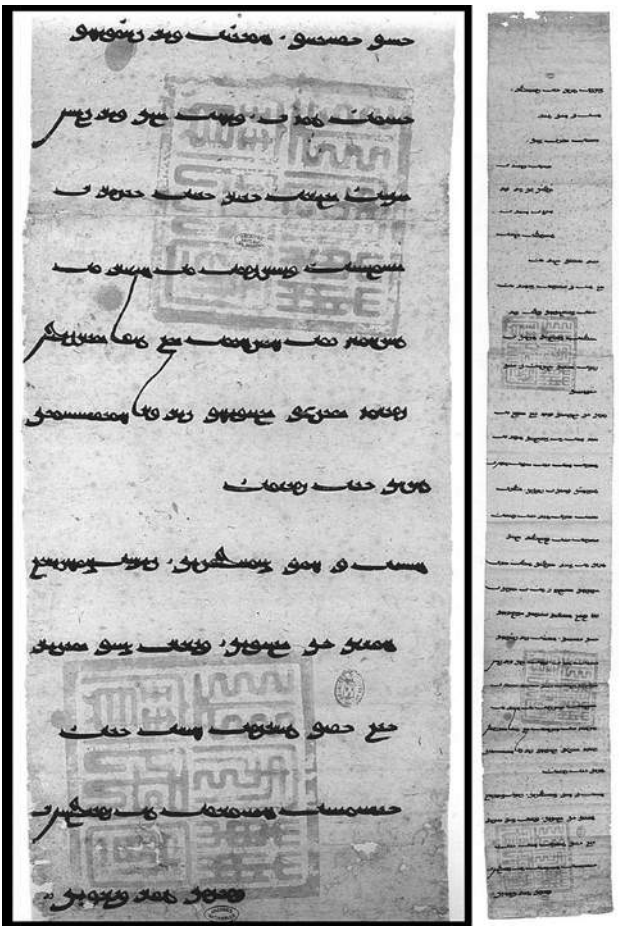
---

[46] Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, p. 177, referring to Karl Jahn, *Rashid al-Dīn, Ta'rīkh-i mubārak-i Ghazani*, 's-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1957, vol. 1, p. 87.

[47] See also Jahn (1970), "Paper Currency . . .," p. 127n112.

[48] *Yuanshi*, vol. 1, chap. 11, p. 229.

[49] Allsen (2001), pp. 177–180.



Source: French National Archives (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Museum_of_French_History) (accessed May 24, 2012).

Note: The seals read *Fu guo an min zhi bao* 輔國安民之寶 (Treasure of the upholder of the state and the purveyor of peace to the people). For the same seal in a letter of Ilkhan Ghazan (1271–1304) to Pope Boniface VIII (1235–1303) from 1302 see Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben: Das Weltreich der Mongolen*, München: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Hirmer Verlag GmbH, 2005, p. 280. See there also, on p. 281, a Chinese seal in a letter from Öljeitü (1280–1316) to Philip IV of France (1268–1314) from 1305. For another Chinese seal in probably the same letter of the Ilkhan Ghazan to Pope Boniface VIII from 1302 see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ghazan (accessed May 24, 2012). It reads *Wangfu ding guo li min zhi bao* 王府定國理民之寶 or "Treasure certifying the authority of his Royal Highness to establish a country and govern its people." I would like to thank Alexander Jost for having provided me with this information on the seals used by the Persian Ilkhans.

Figure 6. Chinese seals in a letter of the Persian Ilkhan Arghun (ca. 1258–1291) to Philip IV of France (1268–1314)—called "the Fair"—from the year 1289.

after all not dedicated to the Persia of Gaykhatu and Ghazan, but to the China under Khubilai Khan.[50]

The transcultural Persian paper money experiment offers interesting material for our comparisons, because it provides some insight into the process of transmission of knowledge and practice of the Yuan paper money regime to other parts of the Mongol empire. In contrast to the emulation of the Yuan paper money regime in Persia and the role that Bolad Akha played in this transmission and implementation, Marco Polo was simply describing and explaining to his readers what he perceived to have been the main characteristics of the production, functions and distribution of Yuan paper money. Transmission of knowledge and practice was certainly easier from the Yuan empire to the Persian Ilkhanate than from China to Europe, which may prompt us to have even more esteem for those Western travellers and writers whose reports proved to be detailed and accurate.

After having now traversed and evaluated the available reports on Yuan paper money bequeathed by the Venetian and other mediaeval Western, Persian and Arabic writers, let me now present the results in a visualised form in Table 2. This table makes clear that the single author Marco Polo is much more comprehensive and detailed than all other eight mediaeval authors describing Yuan paper money taken together, and including the report that we have about the Persian paper money experiment of the late thirteenth century. As a next step, let us now take a close look at what is known from Chinese sources on the topics mentioned by Marco Polo.

4. Chinese Sources on Paper Money during the Yuan Period (1271–1368)

> [...] Mais les savants calculs montrent à l'évidence que la question fondamentale est celle des unités et des équivalences utilisées, et que les données auraient été exactes si elles avaient été exprimées en *liang* ou en *chao*, la monnaie papier, et non transcrites en or ou en saggi vénetiens. [...][51]

[50] Cf. Ménard (2008), p. 197.
[51] See Faucon (2008), p. 106.

Table 2. Coverage of paper money topics by Marco Polo and other mediaeval Western, Persian and Arabic authors

Topic	Authors		
	Marco Polo (1275–1291) on Yuan paper money	Western, Persian and Arabic authors on Yuan paper money	Persian authors on the Persian paper money experiment in 1294
a	■		■
b	■	■	
c	■	■	■
d	■		
e	■	■	■
f	■	■	■
g	■		
h	■	■	■
i	■	■	■
j	■	■	■
k	■	■	
l	■	■	■
m	■		
n	■	■	■
o	■	■	■
p	■	■	
q	■		
r	■		
s	■		
t	■	■	
u	■		
v	■	■	■
w	■		■

Sources: See text and Appendices 1 and 2.

On the basis of the discourse analysis of the Marco Polo text undertaken above, I will investigate in this chapter a number of topics that will allow us to compare the data extracted from Marco Polo's account with relevant information obtained from Chinese sources. Two major types of Chinese sources can be distinguished: namely sources of the traditional type—like historiography, laws, precedents and administrative regulations and literary accounts—and historical relics, especially remains of Yuan paper notes. The themes to be presented can be subsumed under two large issues: namely, aspects of the production of paper money on the one hand and aspects of its circulation on the other. Although these two issues cannot always be neatly differentiated from each other and sometimes overlap to a considerable extent, such a separation lends itself to a much easier examination for our comparative purposes and for the sake of the reader's convenience. Important modern research, as has been carried out by Japanese, Chinese and Western historians, has been taken into account as far as possible. As we will see in the course of this investigation, Marco Polo's account of paper money is in almost perfect consistency with the information provided by Chinese sources.

4.1. *Aspects of Production*

> On l'avoit employé avec aussi peu de succès sous la dynastie des Yuen: Marc Paul Gentilhomme Venitien, qui en parle au 18. Chapitre de son second Livre, s'est trompé lorsqu'il a dit, que pour faire le papier qui étoit le corps de cette Monnoye, on se servoit de l'écorce de meuriers. Les Chinois n'ont garde de détruire des arbres qui leur sont si précieux: c'est de l'écorce de l'arbre nommé *Cou Tchu* qui est assez inutile, & qui ressemble au sureau par l'abondance de sa séve, qu'on fait une sorte de papier plus fort que celui qui se fait de bambou, & c'est de cette écorce que se faisoit le papier dont il s'agit.[52]

In the sub-chapter dealing with aspects of production I will speak mainly about the institutions producing the notes, the kinds of paper serving as

[52] See Jean-Baptiste du Halde, *Description geographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'Empire de la China et de la Tartarie chinoise, enrichie des cartes générales et particulieres de ces pays, de la carte générale & des cartes particulieres du Thibet, & de la Corée, & ornée d'un grand nombre de figures & de vignettes gravées en taille-douce*, Paris: P. G. Le Mercier, 1735, vol. 2, p. 167. I would like to thank to Beatriz Puente-Ballesteros for having pointed out this passage to me.

raw material, the printing technique, as well as about the Yuan paper notes' colours, forms and sizes, designs and legends, seals and inscriptions, and their denominations. In 1949, when Herbert Franke was writing his work on money and economy in China under the Mongols—still the best account of the Yuan monetary regime in any Western language—only the paper notes excavated by P. K. Kozlov in Khara Khoto in 1907 and 1908 were known.[53] In the past decades, however, dozens of Zhongtong and Zhiyuan paper notes have been found and published, which allows us to re-examine the indications made by Marco Polo on the manufacture and form of Yuan paper notes.

4.1.1. *The Imperial Mint in Cambaluc*

Marco Polo mentions the imperial mint in Cambaluc, the capital of the Yuan empire in present-day Beijing, as being the institution responsible for the production of paper money (a). As a matter of fact, in 1260, with the introduction of the Zhongtong paper notes, the principal agency responsible for the production and distribution of paper money became the Supervisorate of Exchange Notes for All Routes (*zhulu jiaochao tijusi* 諸路交鈔提舉司) which, in all probability, was set up in the Branch Secretariat (*xing zhongshu sheng* 行中書省) of Yanjing 燕京.[54] Hence Franke erred when assuming that the *Branch Secretariats*, i.e. in the plural, were ordered to produce paper money,[55] because, according to Maeda Naonori's study, this order referred then to the Branch Secretariat of Yanjing only.[56] Moreover, with the issuing of Zhongtong notes, all the formerly existing monetary Supervisorates (*tijusi* 提舉司) in the Branch Secretariats were

---

[53] See Franke (1949), p. 43. In the German translation, however, no illustrations of the Yuan paper notes can be found. See P. K. Kozlow, *Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Chara-Choto: Die Expedition der Russischen Geographischen Gesellschaft, 1907–1909*, transl. by L. Breitfuß and Paul Gerhard Zeidler, Berlin: Verlag Neufeld & Henius, 1925, especially, pp. 45, 242. Illustrations of the Kozlov paper money finds can, however, now be seen in *Zhongguo guchao tuji*.

[54] Cf. Maeda Naonori 前田直典, "Gendai ni okeru shō no hakkō seido to sono ryūtsū jōtai" 元代における鈔の發行制度とその流通狀態 (The System of Issuing Paper Notes and the Conditions of their Circulation during the Yuan Period), in his *Genchō no kenkyū*, pp. 45–47.

[55] *Yuanshi* 元史, by Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–1381) (1310–1381), ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976, vol. 15, chap. 206, p. 4594; Franke (1949), p. 39.

[56] Takahashi Hirōmi, in his book about the paper currency regimes of the Song, Jin and Yuan dynasties, confirms the interpretation of Maeda Naonori. See Gaoqiao Hongchen [Takahashi Hirōmi] (2009), p. 138. Similar to Franke, Iwamura Shinobu (1968), p. 483, appears to assume that Zhongtong paper money was issued both by the Metropolitan Secretariat and the branch Secretariats.

abolished.[57] During this period, the production and distribution of paper money basically worked in the following way: The metropolitan Supervisorate of Exchange Notes for All Routes, or the Storehouse for Printing [Treasure Notes] (*yinzao* [*baochao*] *ku* 印造寶鈔庫) subordinated to it, transferred the notes to another metropolitan institution, the Storehouse for Primordial-treasure Exchange Notes (*yuanbao jiaochao ku* 元寶交鈔庫), from where it was sent to the Circulation Storehouses (*xingyong ku* 行用庫) of the Metropolitan Region (*fuli* 腹裡) or of the Branch Secretariats (*xing zhongshu sheng* 行中書省, *xingsheng* 行省).[58]

Some paper money was, however, also locally or regionally produced under specific circumstances, as we know from scattered references. One such situation occurred in May 1272 (Zhiyuan 9/5/*wuwu*) when the Transport Commissioner (*zhuanyunshi* 轉運使) in Helin 和林 (Mongolia)[59] was ordered to serve concurrently as Commissioner for Supervising Exchange Notes (*tiju jiaochao shi* 提舉交鈔使), and eight years later, in April 1280 (Zhiyuan 17/3/*xinwei*), when a Supervisorate of Exchange Notes (*jiaochao tijusi* 交鈔提舉司) was established in the Weiwu 畏吾 region. The establishment of these agencies producing paper notes has to be seen in the context of the military and logistic needs created by Kaidu's 海都 (1230–1301) opposition to Khubilai's reign.[60] However, when, after Kaidu's death, the Yuan empire had brought the Chagatai Khanate in Eastern Turkestan and Central Asia under its control, both supervisorates might have been closed again.[61]

Further particular requirements for the establishment of regional institutions for the production of paper money were created by the Mongol conquest of Central and South China in 1275, not only in order to provide a means of payment for the invasion armies, but also for the introduction of paper money and the replacement of Song currencies in the newly conquered territories. In April/May 1276 (Zhiyuan 13/3*)[62] a Pacification Commission (*xuanweisi* 宣慰司) was set up in Jining Route 濟寧路, and three months later, in July/August (Zhiyuan 13/6), a Provisional

---

[57] Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 47.

[58] See Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," pp. 69–70. For a description of these and other Yuan monetary institutions see below.

[59] Cf. Tan Qixiang 譚其驤 (chief ed.), *Zhongguo lishi dituji* 中国历史地图集 (The Historical Atlas of China), Shanghai: Ditu chubanshe, 1982, vol. 7, 3–4, 2/6.

[60] *Yuanshi*, vol. 1, chap. 7, p. 141, and vol. 1, chap. 11, p. 223; Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," pp. 50, 53–54.

[61] Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 54.

[62] The asterix denotes an intercalary month.

Ministry of Revenue (*xing hubu* 行戶部) in Daming Prefecture 大名府, both with the special commission to print paper notes. When, however, the mint in Dadu 大都 (Beijing) then increased its output dramatically, these two institutions were closed again only one year later, in August 1, 1277 (Zhiyuan 14/7/*wuzi*).[63]

Another similar monetary agency that had been set up before the monetary reforms of 1287 was the Supervisorate for Exchange Notes of Sichuan and Zhongxing (*Sichuan Zhongxing jiaochao tijusi* 四川中興交鈔提舉司)[64] or the Supervisorate [for Exchange Notes] for Shaanxi, Sichuan, Xixia and Zhongxing Routes (*Shaanxi, Sichuan, Xixia, Zhongxing deng lu* [*jiaochao*] *tijusi* 陝西四川西夏中興等路[交鈔]提舉司), the latter name being mentioned in the year 1282.[65] Eventually, in the context of the Zhiyuan monetary reforms the Supervisorate for Exchange Notes for the Four Provinces of Jiangnan (*Jiangnan sisheng jiaochao tijusi* 江南四省交鈔提舉司) was established in September 15, 1287 (Zhiyuan 24/8/*yichou*).[66]

Apart from textual sources archaeological relics also indicate that some paper money printing was carried out outside of the capital. According to Table 3 (Appendix 8) blocks for printing paper notes were excavated in Pingshanxian 平山县 in Hebei, Fuzhou 福州 in Fujian, Jieyangxian

---

63 *Yuanshi*, vol. 1, chap. 6, pp. 181, 183, 191; Franke (1949), p. 55; Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 50.

64 Cf. Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 50, referring to *Xinbian gujin shiwen leiju waiji* 新編古今事文類聚外集 (Outer Part of the Newly Compiled and Classified Collection about Events and Writings in Past and Present), by Fu Dayong 富大用, printed by Luling Wuxi shuyuan 廬陵武溪書院, 1326, chap. 9.

65 *Yuanshi*, vol. 7, chap. 82, p. 2042; Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," pp. 51–52.

66 *Yuanshi*, vol. 2, chap. 14, p. 299; Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," pp. 51–52. For arguments, that the Jiangnan Supervisorate was one institution responsible for four routes, and not that in each of the four routes one supervisorate existed, see Maeda Naonori, ibid., pp. 52–53. The same holds true for the Shaanxi, Sichuan, Xixia and Zhongxing Supervisorate. Another source mentions that a Supervisorate for [Exchange] Notes for Jiangxi (*Jiangxi* [*jiao*]*chao tijusi* 江西[交] 鈔提舉司) existed at some point of time during the Zhiyuan reign-period, but Maeda Naonori thinks that Jiangxi is a writing error for Jiangnan. Cf. Maeda Naonori, ibid., pp. 51–52, referring to *Shenzhai ji* 申齋集 (Collected Writings of Shenzhai [i.e. Liu Yueshen]), by Liu Yueshen 劉岳申 (1260–ca.1368), ed. electronic version of *Siku quanshu* of the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin), chap. 9, "Xiangyin zhizhou Cui Jia zhi mu zhiming" 湘陰知州崔架之墓誌銘 (Epitaph for the Tomb of Cui Jia, Prefect of Xiangxin). Maeda is also critical regarding the account in a later Ming source, the *Caomuzi*, chap. 3B, *zazhipian* 雜制篇, p. 76, that Zhu Xuan 朱瑄 and Zhang Bi 張璧 were granted the privilege to print their own paper money (cf. Franke (1949), p. 107; Schurmann (1956), p. 135). He thinks that the *Caomuzi* is unreliable and that Zhu and Zhang were probably involved in the production of paper money of the Jiangnan Supervisorate for Exchange Notes. Moreover, he corrects the names of the two protagonists (Zhu Qing 朱清 → Zhu Xuan 朱瑄; Zhang Xuan 張瑄 → Zhang Bi 張璧). See Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 54.

揭阳县 and/or Jiexixian 揭西县 in Guangdong, Cixian 磁县 in Hebei, and Yunxian 郧县 in Hubei. All of them were for Zhiyuan paper notes (1287–ca. 1350) and thus of a relatively late period. Moreover, with the exception of the Pingshanxian and Fuzhou finds, all the other printing blocks appear to be of unclear, dubious or unofficial origin.[67]

The historical account given above makes clear that centralisation had been a conspicuous aspect in the paper money regime of the Mongols since 1260. Although under specific political and military conditions other regional institutions for the production of paper money had been set up during Marco Polo's stay in China, some of them operated only for a limited period. Moreover, there can be no doubt that the metropolitan paper money supervisorate remained the most important institution in this respect, overshadowing all the regional supervisorates in its output capacity and raising its production in case of necessity. Hence, the relevance of the capital mint for Yuan paper note production is beyond doubt.

Given the fact that none of the other Western, Persian, or Arabic authors mentioned any of the Yuan monetary institutions, the Venetian traveller should not be blamed for having concentrated only on the capital's paper money issuance and not having made reference to the apparently few—and in some cases far-away—regional paper money production supervisorates. Moreover, it should also be underlined that even Yuan sources are almost silent in offering information about regional supervisorates. While on the one hand this may be due to the destruction and loss of historical evidence, it is, on the other hand, also indicative of the fact that during Marco Polo's time in China production of paper notes by regional supervisorates—though not to be neglected—had by no means the same importance as that of the capital.

4.1.2. *Paper*

Marco Polo provides a uniquely detailed description of the use of the fine bast or skin lying between the wood and the thick outer bark of the white mulberry tree (*Morus alba*) as raw material for the production of the paper used for the Yuan notes (c). As is well known in Marco Polo research, the use of this bark bast for making paper notes had been doubted first by Jean-Baptiste du Halde in 1725[68] and later, in 1876, also by Emil Bretschneider. In 1919, however, Berthold Laufer has published a

[67] For more details see Table 3 in Appendix 8.
[68] See the quotation above.

Source: Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, manuscript without title, MS. fr. 5219 (C3), folio 75; Philippe Ménard, *Marco Polo: À la découverte de l'Asie*, Grenoble: Éditions Glénat, 2009a, p. 128. Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

Note: The illustration of the manufacture of paper money is totally imaginary. On pieces made of mulberry bark craftsmen imprint the seal of the Great Khan with the help of a hammer and an oblong seal die. This picture was apparently inspired by western coinage technology which was then fancifully transferred and adapted to the Yuan paper money production.

Figure 7. Production of paper money in the Great Khan's empire, French mediaeval illustration of the early sixteenth century.

note clearly demonstrating that the bark of the mulberry tree was not only one of the raw materials for making paper in China, but was also explicitly used for the production of the paper notes of the Ming who followed the practice of their predecessors, the Mongols. The "History of the Ming" (*Mingshi*) states the following on the production of paper money:

> Mulberry-pulp is taken as material. The stipulated oblong size measures 1 *chi* in height and 6 *cun* in width and they are dark-blue in colour.
>
> *Yi sangrang wei liao, qi zhi fang gao yi chi, guang liu cun, zhi qingse.*
> 以桑穰為料, 其制方高一尺, 廣六寸, 質青色.[69]

[69] *Mingshi* 明史 (History of the Ming [Dynasty]), comp. by Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al., begun in 1646, completed in 1736, first printed in 1739, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974, vol. 7, chap. 81, p. 1962.

Chinese historians claim that in 1276, after the Song had been defeated and the empire unified by the new dynasty, not only the printing process was reformed by using bronze plates instead of wooden ones, but that also the raw material for the paper was changed. While before notes were made out of silk floss paper or in some cases consisted of woven damask silk or brocade, paper made from mulberry bark was generally used thereafter.[70]

In Heicheng 黑城 (Khara Khoto) of Ejin Qi 额济纳旗 in Inner Mongolia large amounts of mainly Zhiyuan paper notes have been found. The colour of the paper of these notes was either grey or greyish black. Li Yiyou assumes that the grey notes have been made out of the bark of the mulberry tree. These notes were more durable than the greyish-black ones for which presumably the bark of the elm tree (*yushu* 榆树) had been partly or wholly used. Because of the high content of glue these notes had turned black after having been in circulation for some time.[71]

Chen Bingying states that because the Yuan issued more and more paper money, the supply of bark of *Morus alba* became precarious so that fibres from elm tree bark, cotton, and hemp were admixed. He notes, moreover, that in 1965 the Xianyang Paper Industry (Xianyang zaozhichang 咸阳造纸厂) and the Investigation Office of the Light Industry of Shaanxi (Shaanxisheng qinggongye yanjiusuo 陕西省轻工业研究所) carried out a microscopic investigation of the Zhiyuan and Zhongtong paper notes discovered in Xianyang 咸阳 and that they came to the conclusion that these notes consisted of fibres of *Morus alba*, but that the paper also contained "bark dredges."[72]

While it may well be that paper money during the Yuan period was not made exclusively from the bark of *Morus alba*, but that in some cases the bark of *Broussonetia papyrifera* (paper mulberry tree, *chu* 楮) or even

---

[70] See Ye Yumei 叶玉梅, "Shixi Qinghai Chaidamu pendi chutu de Yuan'chao'" 试析青海柴达木盆地出土的元"钞" (A Preliminary Analysis of the Yuan "Paper Notes" Excavated in the Quaidam Basin in Qinghai), *Qinghai shehui kexue* 青海社会科学 (Qinghai Social Sciences), 6 (1994a): 114.

[71] See Li Yiyou 李逸友, "Yuandai caoyuan sichou zhi lu shang de zhibi: Neimenggu Ejinaqi Heicheng chutu de Yuanchao ji piaojuan" 元代草原丝绸之路上的纸币—内蒙古额济纳旗黑城出土的元钞及票券 (Paper Money on the Grassland Silkroad during the Yuan Period: Yuan Paper Notes, Vouchers and Certificates Excavated in Heicheng of Ejin Qi, Inner Mongolia), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu* 内蒙古金融研究 (Finance Research of Inner Mongolia), 2 (2003): 11.

[72] Chen Bingying 陈炳应, "'Make Boluo youji' zhong de Yuanchao"《马可·波罗游记》中的元钞 (Yuan Paper Money in *Marco Polo' Travels*), *Gansu jinrong* 甘肃金融 (Gansu Finance), 11 (1998a): 59–60.

hemp was added, there can be no doubt that the principal raw material used by the Mongols was indeed the bark of the white mulberry tree.[73] Yuan sources themselves are mute about this issue, but Marco Polo's account is corroborated also by Odorico da Pordenone (1286–1331) (O 3, O 5) as well as by Ibn Fadlallah al-'Umari (d. 1338) (F 1). Moreover, reports on excavated or otherwise preserved Yuan paper note specimens occasionally indicate that the paper notes were made of mulberry bark, though without providing details on any chemical analysis.[74]

Marco Polo is also quite precise when describing the colour of the paper notes as being "black" (d). This is not only similar to the "History of the Ming" which uses the term "dark-blue" (*qing* 青), but is also corroborated by Yuan sources which referred to the paper notes as being "crow blue" (*yaqing* 鴉青), a term used colloquially as a metaphor for money during the Yuan period. Thus, in the Yuan drama "In Return for Dispersing his Wealth, Heaven Bequeaths an Heir in Old Age" (*San jiacai tian ci laosheng er* 散家財, 天賜勞生兒) of Wu Hanchen 武漢臣 (13th century) money (*qian* 錢) is called *yaqingshen* 鴉青神 or the "crow-blue spirit."[75] The existence of a special type of dark paper is confirmed by the early fourteenth-century *Mishu jianzhi* 祕書監志 (Revised Record of Secret Books) of Wang Shidian 王士點 and Shang Zhiweng 商企翁 who list a "crow-blue paper" (*yaqingzhi* 鴉青紙).[76] Moreover, in the context of the production of paper notes undertaken by Zhu Xuan 朱瑄 and Zhang Bi 張璧 in 1286 it is said that these notes have been blacker and the vermilion seals redder than in the case of the officially manufactured money (*chaose bi guanzao jia hei, yinzhu jia hong* 鈔色比官造加黑, 印硃加紅).[77]

---

[73] Cf. Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran, with Special Reference to the History of Cultivated Plants and Products*, Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History (Field Museum of Natural History Publications 201; Anthropological Series Vol. XV. No. 3), 1919, pp. 561–562; Tsien Tsuen-Hsuin, *Paper and Printing*, part I of vol. 5 of Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilisation in China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 58–59; Haw (2006), p. 144.

[74] See Feng Lirong 冯丽蓉, "Wuxishi bowuguan cang 'Zhiyuan tongxing baochao' " 无锡市博物馆藏《至元通行宝钞》 (The *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao* Stored in the Wuxi City Museum), *Zhongguo qianbi* 中国钱币 (China Numismatics), 3 (1989): 44.

[75] See Maeda Naonori, "Gen no shihei no yōshiki ni tsuite," p. 5. Maeda correctly pointed out that *qian* does not mean "cash coins" here, but "money" in general. See also von Glahn (2006), p. 89, who, however, interprets *yaqing* as bluish-grey, probably on the basis of photographic reproductions of surviving specimens of Yuan paper notes in *Zhongguo guchao tuji*. The *Zhongwen dacidian*, vol. 10, p. 1071, gives the meaning "dark blue."

[76] *Mishu jianzhi*, 1341–1367, ed. electronic version of *Siku quanshu* of the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin), chap. chap. 3 (*zalu* 雜錄); Maeda Naonori, "Gen no shihei no yōshiki ni tsuite," p. 5.

[77] See *Caomuzi*, chap. 3B *zazhipian* 雜制篇, p. 76.

In contrast to this, Willem van Rubroek, however, reported that the paper was yellow. Different indications made by various authors may have their origin not only in the individual perceptions of colours by these observers, but may also have been due to the use of different papers for the manufacture of paper notes at various periods. Thus, Pang Wenxiu distinguishes three kinds of paper: a) greyish-black paper, which is thin and soft and guaranteed printing of high quality; b) bluish-grey paper, which is thick and fluffy and thus only allowed printing of medium quality; c) deeply grey paper being coarse, containing large fibres and grains and thus resulting in imprints of deficient quality only. According to his analysis, surviving paper money specimens of the early Yuan period are of superior properties than those of the mid and late Yuan.[78]

4.1.3. *Printing*

Until 1276 paper money was printed by means of woodblocks: thereafter with copper—or rather: bronze—plates.[79] Marco Polo did not explicitly mention woodblock printing in China, but, as Hans-Wilm Schütte writes, he was the only one of the Western [as well as Persian and Arabic] writers who gave a description of the manufacture of paper money. Hence, Schütte concludes, Marco Polo must have been familiar with the printing of paper money from copper plates, and thus also with woodblock printing in China in general.[80] As a matter of fact, all the important Marco Polo manuscripts and renderings examined more closely by me (V 1, V 2, V 4, V 11) do not refer to the printing of the paper notes themselves, but mention that notes were sealed with the seal of the Great Khan. In addition, the Pipino version (V 4) and Ramusio's rendering (V 11) state that the notes were also imprinted with the seals of the responsible officials (g).

Jin (1115–1234), Yuan and Ming (1368–1644) notes differed in several respects from paper notes of the Song dynasty (960–1279). As Richard von Glahn has shown, Song paper money showed complex narrative scenes or iconic emblems, with at least six printing plate and/or seal impressions on both sides of the bill and three-colour printing. They were issued with limited terms of expiry, and thus each issue carried modifications in design.

---

[78] Pang Wenxiu 庞文秀, "Yuanchao banbie zakao (xia)" 元钞版别杂考 (下) (An Investigation into Printing Differences of Yuan Paper Notes (Part Two)), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu* (Finance Research of Inner Mongolia), 4 (2003): 73.

[79] See *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 93, p. 2370; Schurmann (1956), p. 139. Franke (1949), p. 44, erroneously gives 1274 as the date for the use of copper or bronze plates.

[80] Schütte (2008), p. 41.

The Jin, Yuan and Ming notes, in contrast, were manufactured using only one single plate for the face illustrations plus several seals imprinted to both the face and reverse side. Late Jin as well as Yuan and Ming paper notes were intended to circulate without any time limit so that the format of these bills remained essentially unchanged.[81] A detailed description of the imprints, seals and inscriptions on Yuan paper notes will follow below.

4.1.4. *Form and Size*

The Venetian traveller mentioned that the black paper that was used for the paper notes was cut into pieces of different sizes in accordance with the denominational system (e), with Ramusio (V 11) adding that these pieces were oblong. The latter differs from Willem van Rubroek who wrote that the money made of *carta de wambasio* (paper) had the breath and length of a palm and bore lines stamped on it as on Mangu's seal. Moreover he said that the paper was yellow (instead of black, as mentioned by Marco Polo) (R 1). Paper notes being as big as the palm of the hand were also indicated by Ibn Battuta (I 1). Again, the Marco Polo texts examined here are more precise and detailed than anything else that was written on Yuan paper money by other Western, Persian or Arabic authors. Not only is the Ramusio version correct in stating that the paper notes were oblong, but surviving specimens of Yuan paper notes make clear that they differed in size according to their denomination.

When taking a look at the data in Table 3 (Appendix 8) there is an undeniable tendency that the larger the denominational value, the larger the size of the notes or of the printed area. This is especially clear in the case of places where several pieces of one type of paper notes were found. One such instance is Wuxi in Jiangsu where 15 Zhiyuan 500 *wen* and 18 Zhiyuan 200 *wen* notes were discovered in a single tomb. As far as could be reconstructed, all the 500 *wen* notes were larger in height and width than the 200 *wen* notes, both with regard to the sizes of the paper as well as of the printed areas.[82] Basically the same can be observed for the sizes of Zhiyuan printing plates stored in the Osaka Mint Reception Hall (Senpukan) and the dimensions of both the paper and the printing area of the

[81] See Richard von Glahn, "Re-examining the Authenticity of Song Paper Money Specimens," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, 36 (2006): 89, 105–106, which is the best analysis of Song paper note remains in any Western language.

[82] See the detailed table in Feng Lirong (1989), p. 45, as well as our Table 3 in Appendix 8.

late Zhiyuan notes of Heicheng (Khara Khoto). The same holds true for the height and width of the paper of the Zhongtong 1 *guan wensheng* and 500 *wen* notes discovered at the Germu Farm in Qinghai. Leaving aside unofficial, dubious and uncertain cases, such as the Zhiyuan printing plates of Cixian in Hebei and the double-sided Zhiyuan printing plate of Yunxian in Hubei, only one very minor deviation can be found—namely, that of Huarong in Hunan, where the sizes of the paper amounted to 27.0 cm in height and 18.5 cm in width for the Zhiyuan 500 *wen* note, while in the case of the Zhiyuan 300 *wen* note the measures were 25.2 and 18.9 cm respectively. This, however, only refers to the sizes of the paper. It may well be that the relation between the height and width of the printing areas differed—namely larger in the case of the 500 *wen* note and smaller for the 300 *wen* note. At any rate, the paper for the 50 *wen* note was again clearly smaller than that for the 500 and 300 *wen* notes.

In general, it appears justified to assume that different sizes of Zhongtong and Zhiyuan paper notes were stipulated. In addition, we may also conjecture that, in temporal and spatial terms, there existed differences in the sizes for one type of paper money, i.e. Zhongtong or Zhiyuan notes. In other words, Zhiyuan notes may have been produced in slightly different sizes from one year or period to the next, perhaps also as a marker for the identification of a specific issue. Moreover, a regional supervisorate may have issued Zhiyuan notes in a slightly different size than the metropolitan supervisorate or another regional supervisorate.

A few examples will suffice to expound the temporal differences in paper sizes of Yuan notes found in one and the same area:

- The height and width for 15 Zhiyuan 500 *wen* notes found in Wuxi in Jiangsu varied between 27.5 and 27.8 and between 18.5 and 19.0 cm respectively for the paper. As to the printing area the differences amounted to even 24.8–25.5 cm for the height and 16.3–16.8 cm for the width.
- In the case of the 18 Zhiyuan 200 *wen* notes of Wuxi the different measures for the paper were 24.0–24.4 for the height and 15.6–16.1 cm for the width, for the printed area 22.1–22.4 and 14.0–14.3 respectively.[83]
- In Heicheng (Khara Khoto) the paper of the Zhongtong 1 *guan wensheng* notes measured between 29.0 and 30.0 cm in height and 20.0–21.1 cm in width.

[83] Cf. Feng Lirong (1989), p. 45.

– The paper measures for the Heicheng Zhiyuan 2 *guan* notes amounted to a range of 29.7–30.5 cm for the height and 22.0–22.5 cm for the width.[84]

Concerning size variations of a specific type of paper money found—and perhaps also produced—in different areas we may best refer to the Zhiyuan 2 *guan* paper notes. According to the data collected in Table 3 (Appendix 8), the sizes of the printed area of such a note could be as large as 28.5 cm in height and 20.7 cm in width as in the case of a printing plate stored in Shanghai, or they could be as small as 25.0 cm and 19.8 cm respectively, as in the case of the Zhiyuan paper note found in Ta'ersi in Qinghai.

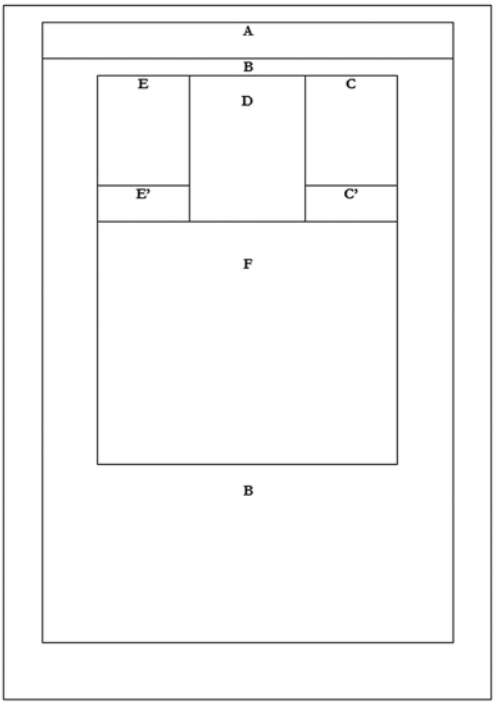
Another, though minor, question to be discussed here is whether with diminishing denominational value the height of Zhongtong and Zhiyuan paper notes became larger in proportion to their respective widths. The existence of such a tendency was claimed by Maeda Naonori in his early investigation on the form and characteristics of surviving Yuan paper notes.[85] As is obvious from Table 3 (Appendix 8)—especially in the cases of Yuanlingxian and Huarong in Hunan, Wuxi in Jiangsu, Germu in Qinghai, the Senpukan printing plates and the paper notes of Heicheng (Khara Khoto)—such a general tendency clearly existed with regard to both the size of the paper and that of the printing area, though it should not go unmentioned that even in these cases sometimes a note of a lower value seems to be less high in proportion to its width than the note of the next higher denomination.

4.1.5. *Blockprint Face Designs and Legends*

In this and the following sections I will give a complete account of the blockprint face designs and legends as well as of the seals and inscriptions to be found on surviving specimens of Yuan paper notes. The discovery of a number of Zhongtong and Zhiyuan notes in various parts of China in recent decades not only complements our knowledge on Yuan monetary history, but also throws some new light on relevant statements in *Le devisament dou monde*. As is well-known, the Yuan paper notes were similar to those issued by the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) and, in turn, served as

[84] For Heicheng see Table 3 in Appendix 8.

[85] See Maeda Naonori, "Gen no shihei no yōshiki ni tsuite," pp. 6–7.



Source: Maeda Naonori, "Gen no shihei no yōshiki ni tsuite," p. 8.

Figure 8. Legend areas on the front side of Yuan paper notes.

model for the paper money of the early Ming (1368–1644). For the reader's orientation, we refer in the following to Fig. 8, denoting in Latin letters the different fields of the legends on Yuan paper notes.

A) In this area Zhongtong paper notes bear the legend *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* 中統元寶交鈔 (Zhongtong Primordial-treasure Exchange Note), Zhiyuan notes *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao* 至元通行寶鈔 (Zhiyuan Treasure Note to Be Circulated in All [Routes]). Left and right of the legend there is a cloud (*yunqi* 云气) pattern in the case of the Zhongtong notes, and a flame (*huoyan* 火焰) pattern in the case of Zhiyuan notes. Some numismatists call the latter also a pattern of "brilliant juwels and radiant pearls" (*zhuguang baoqi* 珠光宝气, *baozhu guangmang* 宝珠光芒). Note that the designations of such patterns are all of modern origin and not such as coined by Yuan contemporaries. As has been already indicated above, Zhongtong notes were printed from 1260 to 1287, and then again

from 1311 to at least 1356. Zhiyuan notes were issued from 1287 to 1308, and again from 1311 to at least 1353.[86]

B) The patterned frame which is below area A and which surrounds the remaining part of the note is described in different ways by various authors. Maeda Naonori identifies on the Zhongtong 2 *guan wensheng* and 1 *guan wensheng* notes and on the Zhiyuan 2 *guan* notes a dragon in the right and left column each, the remaining parts being made up of honeysuckle (*suikazura* 忍冬) arabesques. In the Zhiyuan 100 *wen* notes the whole frame is filled up with honeysuckle arabesques.[87] Other authors speak of sunflower (*xiangyanghua* 向阳花, *kuihua* 葵花),[88] lotus (*hehua* 荷花), and chrysanthemum (*juhua* 菊花) patterns,[89] but also of dragon, phoenix and cloud designs.[90]

A first, though certainly just a preliminary, attempt at a comprehensive account of the various designs on Yuan paper notes has been recently undertaken by Pang Wenxiu. According to his categorization early Zhongtong 500 *wen* notes show oblique thunder (*xiejiao lei* 斜角雷) pattern, followed on later notes by "happy flower" (*bao xiang hua* 宝相花), "herbs, trees and flowing water" (*caomu liushui* 草木流水), cloud (*yunqi* 云气), and *Ocimum sanctum L.* (*huicao* 蕙草) pattern. Early Zhongtong 1 *guan* notes have a "plain thunder" (*danlei* 单雷) pattern, changing to "herb and trees" (*caomu* 草木), *Ocimum sanctum L.* (*huicao* 蕙草), and "winding dragon" (*chanlong* 缠龙) pattern. Changes of patterns are, however, much more frequent in the case of Zhiyuan notes. Taking the Zhiyuan 2 *guan* notes as an example, he enumerates such patterns as "winding dragon" (*chanlong* 缠龙), "flowing water" (*liushui* 流水), "herbs and trees" (*caomu*

[86] See also Franke (1949), pp. 101–103.

[87] Maeda Naonori, "Gen no shihei no yōshiki ni tsuite," pp. 8–9.

[88] Zhang Ziying 张子英, "Cixian faxian 'Zhiyuan tongxing baochao' tongban ji tongyin" 磁县发现《至元通行宝钞》铜版及铜印 (Bronze Seals and Bronze Plates for *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao* discovered in Cixian), *Zhongguo qianbi*, 1 (1993): 36, for the Zhiyuan 300 *wen* printing plate of Cixian, and Li Zhengxin 李正鑫, "Hunan Huarong chutu Yuanchao" 湖南华容出土元钞 (Yuan Paper Notes Excavated in Huarong, Hunan), *Zhongguo qianbi* (China Numismatics), 4 (1994): 34, for the Zhiyuan 300 *wen* note of Huarong.

[89] Li Zhengxin (1994), p. 35, for a Zhiyuan 500 *wen* note of Huarong.

[90] Wang Zhenghua 王正华, "Hubei Yunxian faxian Yuandai 'Zhiyuan tongxing baochao' shuangmian tongchaoban" 湖北郧县发现元代"至元通行宝钞"双面铜钞版 (A Double Surface Bronze Plate of *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao* of the Yuan Period Discovered in Yunxian, Hubei), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu* (Finance Research of Inner Mongolia), 1 (1993): 96, for the printing plate of Zhiyuan notes found in Yunxian, Hubei Province.

草木), "flowers" (*huahui* 花卉), "flames" (*huoyan* 火焰) and "swastikas" (*wanzi* 万字).[91]

C) On Zhongtong paper notes before 1269 no Phags-pa script[92] was yet used in this area. Hence we find here only the Chinese inscription *Zhongtong yuanbao* 中統元寶 (Zhongtong Primordial Treasure) in "Nine times folded seal script" (*jiudiezhuan* 九叠篆). On Zhongtong notes from 1269 onwards this area is subdivided into a right and left sub-field. The right sub-field bears the Chinese inscription *Zhongtong yuanbao* 中統元寶, the left sub-field the Phags-pa inscription *ju lu dung fing* (see Fig. 9), in Chinese translation *zhulu tongxing* 諸路通行 or "to be circulated in all routes." These differences are helpful in distinguishing between Zhongtong notes printed before 1269 and those issued after that year.

The Zhiyuan notes show no Chinese inscription in this area, but only the Phags-pa *ju lu dung fing*.

E) Similar to C the Zhongtong notes before 1269 have no Phags-pa script, but only a Chinese inscription—namely *zhulu tongxing* 諸路通行. After 1269 this area is subdivided also into a right and left sub-field—the right one with the Phags-pa inscription *jung t'ung awen baw* (in Chinese: *Zhongtong yuanbao* 中統元寶): the left one with the Chinese legend *zhulu tongxing* 諸路通行. Zhiyuan notes only bear the Phags-pa inscription—namely *ji awen baw ch'aw* or, in Chinese translation, *Zhiyuan baochao* 至元寶鈔 or "Zhiyuan Treasure Note" (see Fig. 9).

C' and E') Jin and Yuan paper notes, but not those of the Ming dynasty, had two fields for filling in registration numbers, that is the *ziliao* 字料 ("character of the series") on the right side and the *zihao* 字號 ("character of the number") on the left side. Both the inscriptions *ziliao* and *zihao* were an integral part of the printing plate, but the empty fields

---

[91] See Pang Wenxiu (2003), "Yuanchao banbie zakao (xia)," p. 10. Note that Pang Wenxiu probably not only discusses here the patterns in area B, but also includes those of area A.

[92] Phags-pa was the script for writing Mongolian devised by the famous lama Phags-pa (1239–1280) and officially sanctioned and promulgated in 1269. It was based on the Tibetan alphabet, faithfully reproduced colloquial Mongolian and, duly modified, also suited Chinese and other languages. Yet it never really became popular, its use being confined to the administration where it had to be employed by law. See Igor de Rachewiltz, "Some Remarks on the Language Problem in Yüan China," *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 5.1 and 5.2 (1967): 71–72.

Source: Maeda Naonori, "Gen no shihei no yōshiki ni tsuite," p. 9.

Note: On the right side of the notes the Phags-pa inscription *ju lu dung fing*, in Chinese translation *zhulu tongxing* 諸路通行 or "to be circulated in all Routes," was printed, on the left side in the case of Zhongtong notes *jung t'ung awen baw*, in Chinese: *Zhongtong yuanbao* 中統元寶 or "Zhongtong Primordial Treasure," in the case of Zhiyuan notes, as we can see here, *ji awen baw ch'aw*, in Chinese: *Zhiyuan baochao* 至元寶鈔 or "Zhiyuan Treasure Note."

Figure 9. Phags-pa inscriptions on Yuan paper notes after 1269.

above them were usually filled in by hand. Numbering was carried out for both registration fields according to the "One Thousand Characters Primer" (*Qianziwen* 千字文). One after the next of the Chinese characters that constituted this text was filled in by hand for a series (*liao* 料), and after the one thousand characters of this primer had been used up, a new series was started. This allowed issues of altogether 1,000,000 paper notes.[93] These serial numbers were then also written down in registers.[94]

[93] Cf. Yao Shuomin 姚朔民, "Xi Cixian Zhiyuan tongxing baochao tongban" 析磁县至元通行宝钞铜版 (An Analysis of the Copper Plate for the *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao* found in Cixian), *Zhongguo qianbi* (China Numismatics), 1 (1993): 7; Pang Wenxiu (2003), "Yuanchao banbie zakao (xia)," p. 73.

[94] Maeda Naonori, "Gen no shihei no yōshiki ni tsuite," p. 10.

It seems that moveable type was sometimes used to fill in the registration number, such as in the case of a late Zhongtong 1 *guan wensheng* note found in 1965 in Xianyang City in Shaanxi Province.[95] Moreover, in some cases no registration characters were filled in for small denominations. At least this was so for the Zhiyuan 30 *wen* note excavated by Kozlov in 1907 or 1908 in Heicheng (Khara Khoto).[96] The early Zhongtong 10 *wen* note of Huhehot, however, clearly shows the filled in registration characters.[97]

D) In the upper part of this area the denomination of the note was written in Chinese characters from right to left. One row was used for this, with the exception of the Zhongtong *yiguan wensheng* 壹貫文省 (one *guan* short string)[98] notes where the denomination was indicated by using two columns. Below the inscription strings or coins of cash were depicted which served the purpose of making it possible for the illiterate population to be able to easily recognize what was the face value of the note. Cash strings were shown as subdivided into their substrings of 100 coins each. On the Zhongtong notes the strings of cash were arranged horizontally, while on Zhiyuan notes they were laid out vertically. With values of 50 *wen* and lower arrangements of individual cash coins were depicted.[99]

F) This area carries the longest inscription on all Yuan paper notes. So far, three slightly different versions can be found—two of them for Zhongtong currency (Figs. 10 and 11), one for Zhiyuan paper notes (Fig. 12). Although the arrangement of the text on the Zhongtong notes is somewhat different, the only major textual difference is that for paper notes

---

[95] See *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 41–43, and Fig. 3 in this book.

[96] Maeda Naonori, "Gen no shihei no yōshiki ni tsuite," p. 9; see also *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 74.

[97] *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 54.

[98] As von Glahn writes, when severe shortages of coins existed, a string often contained less than the 1,000 coins of the full string, but was nonetheless rated as equivalent to it. In 977, the Song established the official short string (*shengbo* 省陌) at 770 coins per *guan*. Although other types of rates ranging from 800 to 900 coins per *guan* were later adopted for specific forms of payments, the official short-string *guan* of 770 coins prevailed as unit of account for most purposes. Cf. von Glahn (1996), p. 22.

[99] Thus, von Glahn's (2006), p. 98, statement that Yuan and Ming notes depict coins in *mo* 陌 units, i.e. illustrated in strings of 100 coins, but not as individual coins, holds as not being true, and this applies both to Yuan and Ming paper money from 50 *wen* and below.

before 1269 the main issuing agency mentioned is not the Metropolitan Secretariat (*zhongshu sheng* 中書省), but a Branch Secretariat (*xing zhongshu sheng* 行中書省). Hence, together with the characteristics that the C and E areas do not carry a Phags-pa inscription (which was required only from 1269 onwards), this is an important criterion for the differentiation between early and later Zhongtong notes. Early Zhongtong notes have been found in Huhehot (10 *wen*) in Inner Mongolia, in Helan District in Ningxia (500 *wen* note and 300 *wen* note), in Toksun in Xinjiang (2 *guan wensheng* note), and in Huarong in Hunan (500 *wen* notes).[100] Later Zhongtong notes carry the Phags-pa inscriptions in the areas C and E, alongside with the Chinese ones, and the main issuing agency mentioned is the Metropolitan Secretariat. Moreover, late Zhongtong paper notes issued in the Zhizheng reign-period (1341–1370) from 1350 onwards can be identified by an oblong seal which they carried on their reverse side, stating *Zhizheng yinzao yuanbao jiaochao* 至正印造元寶交鈔, or "Primordial-treasure Exchange Note printed in the Zhizheng [reign-period]."

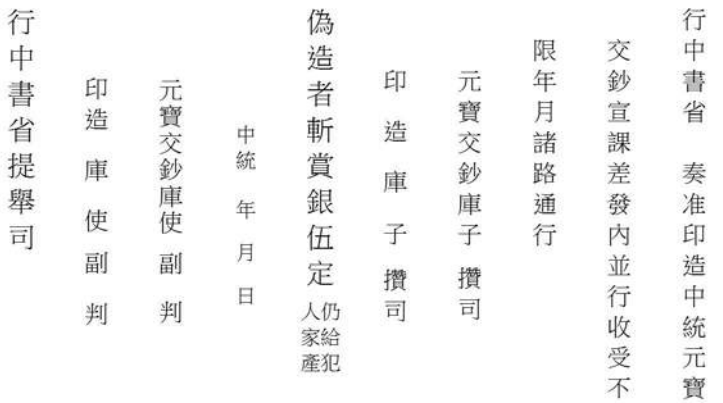
The legends on the Zhiyuan notes are all identical in the F area. As the name of the Zhiyuan paper notes (*Zhiyuan tongxing baochao*) differed from that of the Zhongtong notes (*Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao*), this incurred also a change in the designation of one of the offices involved in the production of paper money. Hence, instead of the *yuanbao jiaochao ku* 元寶交鈔庫 or the Storehouse for Primordial-treasure Exchange Notes, as we can find it on the Zhongtong notes, the Zhiyuan notes indicate the *baochao ku* 寶鈔庫 or Storehouse for Treasure Notes. Moreover, the principal issuing agency indicated on the Zhiyuan notes is always the *shangshu sheng* 尚書省 or Department of State Affairs. As a matter of fact, when Zhiyuan money was first put into circulation in 1287, it was this institution which was responsible for the monetary reform. Although later the Department of State Affairs was abolished again, paper notes issued after the closure of this important central political institution continued to indicate the *shangshu sheng* as main issuer of the Zhiyuan notes.[101]

---

[100] For details see Table 3 in Appendix 8. See there also Jia Jingyan's rubbing of a 1 *guan wensheng* note.

[101] See *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 55.

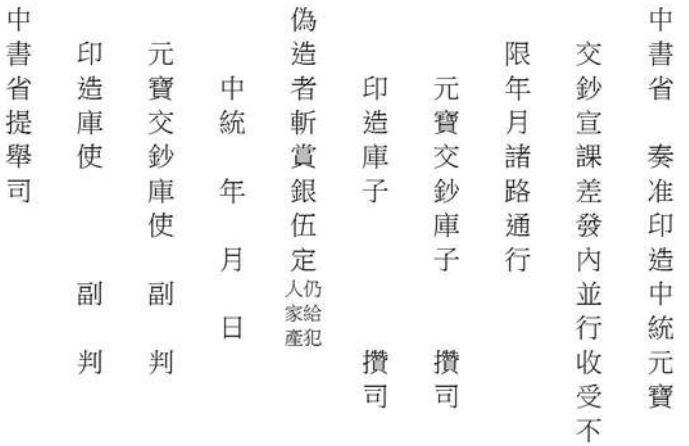
Another difference, though a minor one, between the Zhongtong and Zhiyuan paper notes was the wording and arrangement of the text dealing with the punishment of counterfeiters and the rewards for denouncers—in the case of the Zhiyuan note making clear that these rewards referred to the *main informant*. Otherwise, however, no other varieties existed between the surviving specimens of Yuan paper notes that are so far known, regarding the lengthy legend in area F. Because the early and later Zhongtong paper notes only differ in their indication of the principal issuing agency, just the legend of the early Zhongtong notes will be translated, in addition to the uniform legend of the Zhiyuan notes.



Source: This reproduction is based on illustrations of Zhongtong paper notes in Li Zhengxin (1994), p. 33, and *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 54.

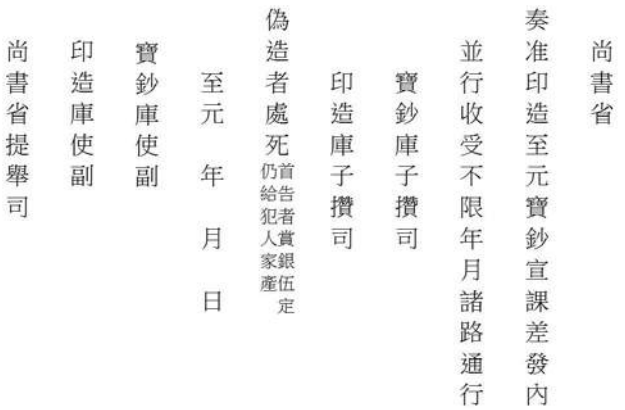
Note: In constrast to paper notes of the Jin dynasty (1115–1234), the spaces below the titles of the officials were not signed or stamped by the respective office holders, but left empty. The same holds basically true for the spaces left for the dates. On Jin notes they were sometimes filled out, at least partly, but not on Yuan notes. Cf. *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 13–33.

Figure 10. Legend in area F on Zhongtong paper notes before 1269.



Source: Maeda Naonori, "Gen no shihei no yōshiki ni tsuite," p. 11. See there also, for comparative reasons, the respective legends on Jin and Ming paper notes.

Figure 11. Legend in area F on Zhongtong paper notes from 1269 onwards.



Source: Maeda Naonori, "Gen no shihei no yōshiki ni tsuite," p. 11.

Figure 12. Legend in area F on Zhiyuan paper notes issued from 1287 onwards.

The translation on the early Zhongtong notes reads as follows:

"After having submitted a palace memorial the Branch Secretariat[102] was granted permission to print Zhongtong Primordial-treasure Exchange Notes. They shall be accepted both for levies and ["farming the silver" (*baoyin* 包銀) part of the] household taxes.[103] Without time limit; to be circulated in all routes!

Storehouseman and Keeper of Accounts of the Storehouse for Primordial-Treasure Exchange Notes.
Storehouseman and Keeper of Accounts of the Storehouse for Printing.

Those who are counterfeiting will be beheaded. [The informant] will be given 5 *ding* of silver as reward. He, moreover, will receive the family property [of the criminal].

Zhongtong year month day

Commissioner[-in-Chief], Vice [Commissioner], and Assistant Administrator of the Storehouse for Primordial-treasure Exchange Notes.
Commissioner[-in-Chief], Vice [Commissioner], and Assistant Administrator of the Storehouse for Printing.

Supervisorate of the Branch Secretariat."

The translation of the relevant legend on the Zhiyuan note can be rendered thus:

"After having submitted a palace memorial the Department of State Affairs was granted permission to print Zhiyuan Treasure Notes. They shall be accepted both for levies and ["farming the silver" part of the] household taxes. Without time limit; to be circulated in all routes!

Storehouseman and Keeper of Accounts of the Storehouse for Treasure Notes.
Storehouseman and Keeper of Accounts of the Storehouse for Printing.

Those who are counterfeiting will be punished by death. The main informant will be given 5 *ding* of silver as reward. He, moreover, will receive the family property [of the criminal].

Zhiyuan year month day

Commissioner[-in-Chief] and Vice [Commissioner] of the Storehouse for Treasure Notes.
Commissioner[-in-Chief] and Vice [Commissioner] of the Storehouse for Printing.

Supervisorate of the Department of State Affairs."

---

[102] The later Zhongtong notes would have here "Metropolitan Secretariat" instead.
[103] On the terms *xuanke* 宣課 and *chaifa* 差發, see my statements below.

As becomes obvious by these translations, the legend in area F of Yuan paper notes mentions a number of state institutions and officials for which I will present a short introduction below:

4.1.5.1. Metropolitan Secretariat
The *zhongshu sheng* 中書省 or Metropolitan Secretariat, headed by a Director (*ling* 令) and below him by a Junior (*you chengxiang* 右丞相) and a Senior Grand Councilor (*zuo chengxiang* 左丞相) of rank 1a, was a top-echelon agency of the central government. It was nominally responsible for promulgating the ruler's orders, but usually having broader policy-formulating responsibilities. It was the core administrative unit of the central government, to which were subordinated China's traditional Six Ministries (*liubu* 六部).[104]

4.1.5.2. Department of State Affairs
In 1270, besides the *zhongshu sheng* (Metropolitan Secretariat) the *shangshu sheng* 尚書省 (Department of State Affairs) was institutionalised. In 1272 it was abolished, but re-established again in 1287. In 1291, with the execution of the Junior Grand Councilor (*you chengxiang* 右丞相) Sangha 桑哥, who had recommended its re-establishement, it was again abolished. The dual structure of Metropolitan Secretariat and Department of State Affairs was again attempted from 1309 until 1311, after which the Metropolitan Secretariat alone served. The head of the Department of State Affairs was normally a single Director (*ling* 令).[105]

4.1.5.3. Branch Secretariat
The *xing zhongshu sheng* 行中書省 or Branch Secretariat was the paramount administrative agency in the provincial area. Headed by a Grand Councilor (*chengxiang* 丞相) of rank 1b, it was a replica of, and subordinated to, the *zhongshu sheng* 中書省 (Metropolitan Secretariat) in the capital.[106]

---

[104] See Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1985, pp. 60–61, 194; Farquhar (1990), p. 170.

[105] See Hucker (1985), pp. 60–61, 412; Farquhar (1990), p. 170; Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," pp. 46–47.

[106] Hucker (1985), p. 244.

4.1.5.4. Supervisorate

The major agency responsible for the issue of paper notes was first the Supervisorate of Exchange Notes for all Routes (*zhulu jiaochao tijusi* 諸路交鈔提舉司), established in 1260 with the introduction of the unified Zhongtong notes.[107] It was set up in the Branch Secretariat (*xing zhongshu sheng*) of Yanjing 燕京. The head of this office was a Supervisor (*tiju* 提舉) who concurrently served as an official in one of the Three Left Ministries (*zuo sanbu* 左三部), i.e. the Ministry of Personnel, Ministry of Revenue and Ministry of Rites.

In 1264 the capital was moved from Kaiping 開平 or Shangdu 上都 in Chahar to Yanjing 燕京 the name of which was then changed to Zhongdu 中都 or "Central Capital." As a consequence the Yanjing Branch Secretariat was abolished, the Metropolitan Secretariat (*zhongshu sheng*) moved to the new capital and the Six (Four) Ministries established there. At the same time it was stipulated that the Supervisor of the Supervisorate of Exchange Notes would come from the Ministry of Revenue and thus was concurrently responsible for the paper money affairs of the whole empire.

In 1266 the State Finance Commission (*zhiguo yongshisi* 制國用使司) handling financial matters was established as an institution independent from the Six Ministries. At the same time the (Chief) Supervisorate of Exchange Notes for All Routes (*zhulu jiaochao* (*du*) *tijusi* 諸路交鈔(都)提舉司), headed by a Supervisor(-in-Chief) (*du*) *tiju* (都)提舉, was set up as a special central administrative institution dealing with paper money affairs, without the involvement of the Ministry of Revenue.

In 1271, that is one year after the State Finance Commission (*zhiguo yongshisi*) had been transformed into the Department of State Affairs (*shangshu sheng*), the independence of the (Chief) Supervisorate of Exchange Notes for All Routes (*zhulu jiaochao* (*du*) *tijusi*) was abolished. The Supervisorate was again concurrently administered by the Board of Revenue, which together with the five other ministries was subordinated to the Metropolitan Secretariat (*zhongshu sheng*). Possibly in 1277, however, the (Chief) Supervisorate of Exchange Notes for All Routes (*zhulu jiaochao* (*du*) *tijusi*) was again becoming an independent institution.

---

[107] If not otherwise indicated, I follow in the presentation of the history of the Yuan paper money institutions the detailed investigations of Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," pp. 45ff.

A new phase in the organisation of central monetary institutions began with the monetary reform of 1287, i.e. the introduction of the Zhiyuan paper notes. As the name of the paper notes changed from *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* to *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao*, so too did the name of the supervisorate—from Chief Supervisorate of Exchange Notes for All Routes (*zhulu jiaochao du tijusi* 諸路交鈔都提舉司) to Chief Supervisorate of Treasure Notes for All Routes (*zhulu baochao du tijusi* 諸路寶鈔都提舉司), the latter being now subordinated to the re-established Department of State Affairs (*shangshu sheng*) which had been abolished in 1272.[108] At the same time the rank of the principal officials (*zhengguan* 正官) was raised from rank 5a to rank 4a and the number of staff increased.

Generally speaking, the Supervisorate was an agency headed by an Overseer (*daluhuachi* 達魯花赤)[109] and a Supervisor(-in-Chief) ((*du*) *tiju* (都)提舉) and subordinated through the weak Ministry of Revenue (*hubu* 戶部) to the Metropolitan Secretariat (*zhongshu sheng* 中書省) or during some periods to the Department of State Affairs (*shangshu sheng* 尚書省). It oversaw other monetary agencies in the capital, namely—e.g. in the case of the Chief Supervisorate of Treasure Notes for All Routes (*zhulu baochao du tijusi* 諸路寶鈔都提舉司—the [Chief] Storehouse for Treasure Notes (*baochao* [*zong*]*ku* 寶鈔[總]庫), the Storehouse for Printing Treasure Notes (*yinzao baochao ku* 印造寶鈔庫), and the Storehouses for Burning [Worn-out] Notes (*shaochao ku* 燒鈔庫).[110]

4.1.5.5. Storehouse for Primordial-treasure Exchange Notes and Chief Storehouse for Treasure Notes

The Storehouse for Primordial-treasure Exchange Notes (*yuanbao jiaochao ku* 元寶交鈔庫) was established with the issue of Zhongtong notes in 1260. It was the predecessor of the [Chief] Storehouse for Treasure Notes (*baochao* [*zong*]*ku* 寶鈔[總]庫) instituted with the Zhiyuan monetary reforms of 1287 and thus in all probability was very similar to the latter in function and subordination. The function of both these institutions consisted in the production and storage of paper notes, while it was another metropolitan institution, the Exchange Notes Storehouse

[108] Farquhar (1990), p. 170.

[109] *Daluhuachi* or, in Mongol, *darughachi*, were Mongols with varying ranks that were appointed alongside the regular heads of many agencies in both central and territorial administration. Their main duty was to supervise the work of other bureaucrats. In comparison with their civilian counterparts they were privileged insofar as they were allowed to carry weapons. See Hucker (1985), p. 468; Endicott-West (1994), pp. 595–596.

[110] Hucker (1985), p. 366.

(*jiaochao ku* 交鈔庫) which was responsible for the exchange of worn-out notes and in handing out paper-notes against payment of silver, but which was otherwise not involved in paper money production.[111]

The [Chief] Storehouse for Treasure Notes (*baochao* [*zong*]*ku* 寶鈔[總]庫) was managed by an Overseer (*daluhuachi*), Commissioner-in-Chief (*dashi* 大使) and Vice Commissioner (*fushi* 副使), with ranks ranging from 5b to 7a. The Chief Storehouse was subordinated to the Chief Supervisorate of Treasure Notes for All Routes (*zhulu baochao du tijusi* 諸路寶鈔都提舉司 and the Ministry of Revenue.[112] The Storehousemen (*kuzi* 庫子) and Keepers of Accounts (*zuansi* 攢司) were staff not belonging to the ranked bureaucracy.[113]

4.1.5.6. Storehouse for Printing Treasure Notes

The Storehouse for Printing Treasure Notes (*yinzao baochao ku* 印造寶鈔庫), as it had been called since 1287,[114] was subordinated to the Chief Supervisorate of Treasure Notes for All Routes (*zhulu baochao du tijusi* 諸路寶鈔都提舉司. It was headed by an Overseer and one or several Commissioners-in-Chief or Vice Commissioners holding ranks from 7a to 8a. From 1287 onwards these ranks were somewhat raised.[115] The duty of this storehouse was to print the notes. Related to the production of paper money was the work of another workshop: the Office for Spreading Paper (*chaozhi fang* 抄紙房), apparently the institution which made or prepared the paper.[116]

In the light of the description of the physical appearance and the translation of the legends on Yuan paper notes, as I have given them above, it is interesting to consult again the Ramusio version (V 11) which states that a variety of officials wrote their names and, as we will see later, put their seals on each paper note (g). Ramusio was basically correct in his statement, though it was not—as we have demonstrated above—the names of the officials, but that of their official titles which appeared in the lengthy legend in area F of the paper notes.

---

111 See Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 48.

112 Hucker (1985), p. 366.

113 See Hucker (1985), pp. 528 (7059), 283 (3258).

114 Other names given to this institution before 1287 were *yinzao ju* 印造局, *yinzao ku* 印造庫, *yinchao ju* 印鈔局, *yinchao ku* 印鈔庫, or *zaochao ku* 造鈔庫.

115 Hucker (1985), p. 582; Yao Shuomin (1993), p. 7.

116 Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 49.

4.1.6. *Seals and Inscriptions*

In the major Marco Polo versions under investigation here (V 1, V 2, V 4, V 11) it is reported that a seal of the Great Khan is impressed on the paper notes (h). Ramusio's text (V 11), moreover, states that the Great Khan's seal is vermilion and that it is put on the notes by the chief officer deputed by the emperor. The Pipino version (V 4) speaks of other seals, but again Ramusio (V 11) is most explicit here in reporting that a variety of officials write their names and put their seals on the paper notes (h), before it is sealed by the Khan's chief officer in vermilion. That a [red] seal [bearing the name] of the emperor is impressed on the paper notes is also mentioned by a number of other mediaeval authors (S 1, F 1, P 1, I 1), though all of them of clearly later date.

In order to evaluate the quality of Marco Polo's information, I will present a detailed account on what is known about the numerous seals put on Yuan paper notes. As has been already mentioned above, Yuan paper notes were printed by using a single plate for the note's face, as had been the practice for their Jin predecessors and their Ming successors. Moreover, the face of the notes was stamped with two square vermilion seals, one above in field D (a) and one below in field F (b), and often with a diagonally-affixed split-edge seal, during the Yuan termed *motiaoyin* 墨條印,[117] nowadays *qifengyin* 騎縫印, at the upper left edge (c). Also, as has already been explained above, on the face of the note two serial numbers, labelled *ziliao* 字料 ("character of the series") and *zihao* 字號 ("character of the number"), were filled in, mostly by hand, but sometimes also by moveable type. Yuan paper note specimens also show at least two seals on the reverse side, namely a large oblong seal bearing either the name of the type of the note or its denomination and an illustration of strings or coins representing its denomination within a floral border (d), and a diagonally-affixed split-edge seal at the upper left edge (e).[118] Sometimes an additional vermilion or black seal was stamped on the reverse (f).

As we have seen above, existing Yuan paper notes can be differentiated into early Zhongtong notes (1260–1268), middle and late Zhongtong notes (1269–1287, 1311ff.), and Zhiyuan notes (1287–1308, 1311ff.). According to this periodisation and based on some clear-cut examples we have

---

[117] See Yao Shuomin (1993), p. 8, referring to *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang* 大元聖政國朝典章 (State Codex of the Sacred Government of the Great Yuan), 1322, ed. Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe, chap. 20 (vol. 1).

[118] Glahn (2006), pp. 83, 89; Yao Shuomin (1993), p. 8.

from surviving specimens we can ascertain the following characterstics for the impression of seals both on the front and reverse side of Yuan paper notes:

Early Zhongtong 10 wen *paper note found in 1982 in the Wanbu Huayanjing or White Pagoda of Huhehot (see Fig. 13)*:

a) A reconstruction of this square vermilion seal impressed in field D in "Nine times folded seal script" (*jiudiezhuan* 九叠篆) results in the following Chinese text:
   Tiju zhulu tongxing baochao yin 提舉諸路通行寶鈔印 (Seal of the Supervisor[-in-Chief] [put] on Treasure Notes to be circulated in all routes)
   The seal measures 6.4 cm along each side.
b) The square [vermilion?] seal in field F of the note reads as below:
   Baochao zongku zhi yin 寶鈔總庫之印 (Seal of the Chief Storehouse for Treasure Notes)
   The measure of the seal is 7.8 cm.[119]
c) and e) A split-edge seal of a width of 3 cm was affixed diagonally on the upper left of both the front and reverse side of the note. The text could not be deciphered. For a split-edge seal with the characters *baochao* 寶鈔 (Treasure note) on an early Zhongtong 500 *wen* note found in Huarong in Hunan see Figure 14.
d) Apparently this type of seal was not impressed on this note.[120]
f) The third square vermilion seal was attached to the upper part of the reverse side and was reconstructed to show the following Chinese text:
   Yinzao yuanbao jiaochao 印造元寶交鈔 (Printed the Primordial-treasure Exchange Note)
   The measure is 5.8 cm along each side.[121]

---

[119] It is said that the Zhongtong 500 *wen* notes found in 1988 in Huarong in Hunan only carried one square vermilion seal on the top, but not the second one below. See Li Zhengxin (1994), p. 23.

[120] For such a seal, however, on another early Zhongtong note, see the 500 *wen* note found in Helanxian in Ningxia which shows a black oblong seal with ornamental border. Above there is the inscription *wubai wen* 伍佰文 (five hundred *wen*); the lower part is not clear. See *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 47–48.

[121] See Wei Yuewang 卫月望, "Baita Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao kaoshuo" 白塔中统元宝交钞考说 (An Investigation of the *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* of the White Pagoda), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu* 内蒙古金融研究 (Finance Research of Inner Mongolia), 1 (2002); Zou Zhiliang 邹志谅, "Baita Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao yinshi" 白塔中统元宝交钞印释 (An Explanation of the Seals of the *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* of the White Pagoda), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu*, 1 (2002): 77.

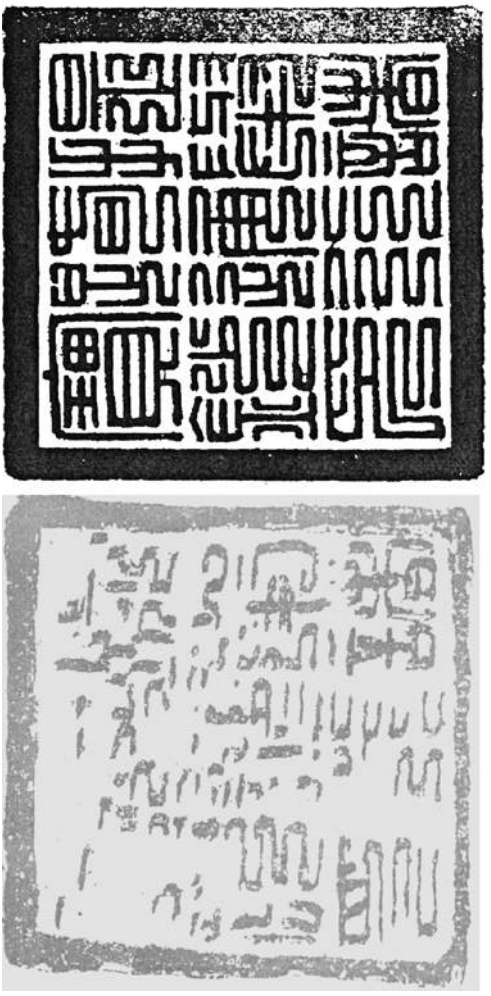


Figure 13a

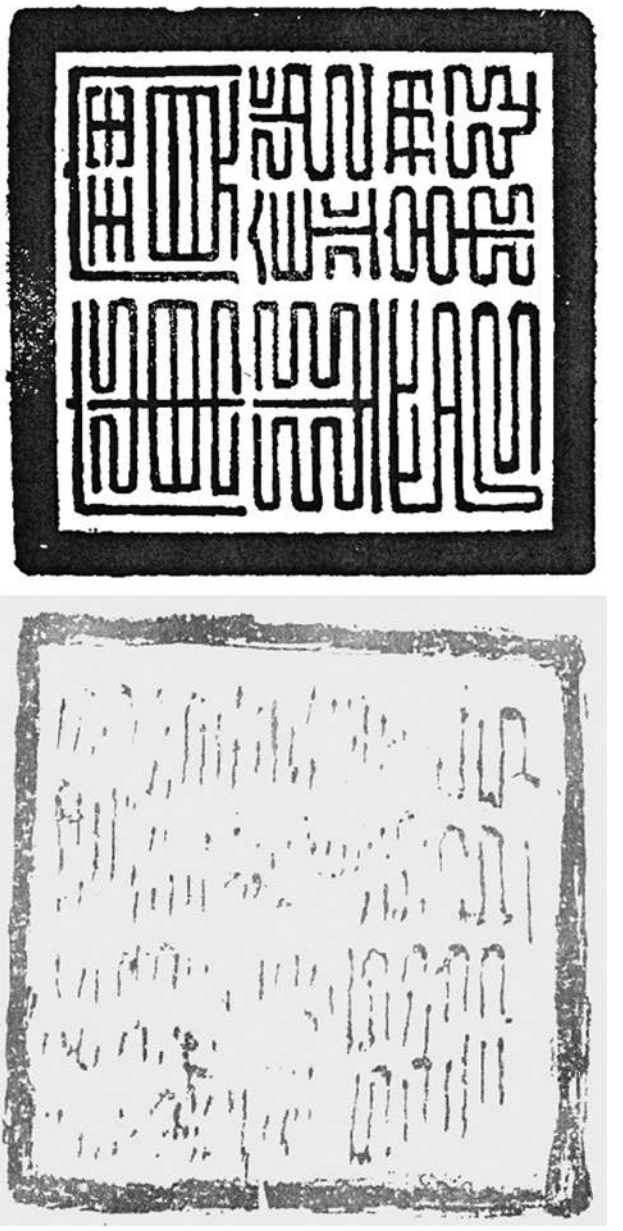


Figure 13b

Figure 13c and 13e

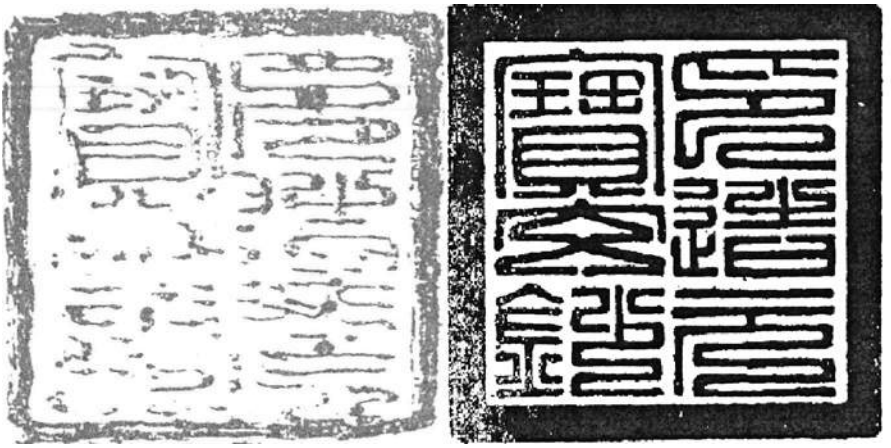


Figure 13f

Source: For the "original" state of the seals, see Wei Yuewang (2002), p. 29; for their reconstruction cf. Zou Zhiliang (2002), p. 77.

Note: The seals are reproduced here more or less in their original size.

Figure 13. Explanation of the seals on the early Zhongtong 10 *wen* paper note found in 1982 in the White Pagoda of Huhehot

a) *Tiju zhulu tongxing baochao yin* 提舉諸路通行寶鈔印 (Seal of the Supervisor[-in-Chief] [put] on Treasure Notes to be circulated in all routes), 6.4 cm high.
b) *Baochao zongku zhi yin* 寶鈔總庫之印 (Seal of the Chief Storehouse for Treasure Notes), 7.8 cm high.
c) and e) Split-edge seals on the front and back of the paper note, 3 cm high.
f) *Yinzao yuanbao jiaochao* 印造元寶交鈔 (Printed the Primordial-treasure Exchange Note), 5.8 cm high.

Source: Li Zhengxin (1994), p. 35.

Note: Reproduced in Li Zhengxin (1994) and here in more or less the original size, i.e. 4 cm wide. In all probability, the inscription reads *baochao* 寶鈔 or "Treasure Note."

Figure 14. Split-edge seal on an early Zhongtong 500 *wen* note found in 1988 in a Yuan tomb in Huarong 华容 in Hunan.

Late Zhongtong 1 guan *paper notes found in 1983 and 1984 in Heicheng* (*Khara Khoto*) *in Inner Mongolia:*

Nineteen specimens of Zhongtong 1 *guan* notes were excavated, two of them complete and one partly damaged. As will become clear, these represented the new type of Zhongtong notes printed from 1350 onwards. They bear the following seals:

a) A square vermilion seal impressed in field D in Phags-pa script in the Chinese meaning of *Baochao zongku zhi yin* 寶鈔總庫之印 (Seal of the Chief Storehouse for Treasure Notes).
b) Below, in field F, another square vermilion seal was put in Phags-pa, rendered in Chinese as *Tiju zhulu tongxing baochao yin* 提舉諸路通行寶鈔印 (Seal of the Supervisor[-in-Chief] [put] on Treasure Notes to be circulated in all routes). Interestingly, the sequence of this seal is different than in the case of the early Zhongtong note above and the Zhiyuan notes, where the seal of the Supervisorate is above and that of the Chief Storehouse for Treasure Notes below.
c) The split-edge seal on the upper left of the front shows two lines, is in Phags-pa and reads, in Chinese, *Zhongtong yuanbao* 中統元寶 (Zhongtong Primordial Treasure).

d) The black oblong seal measures 14.1 × 9.3 cm and shows an ornamental border. Above is the inscription *Zhizheng yinzao yuanbao jiao chao* 至正印造元寶交鈔 (Primordial-treasure Exchange Note printed in the Zhizheng [reign-period]), below are depicted two strings of cash [each with 5 substrings] which cross each other.[122]
e) The split-edge seal on the upper left of the back is hard to read, but looks similar to the split-edge seal on the front.
f) The square vermilion seal on the lower part of the back of the note is in Phags-pa script, meaning in Chinese *Yinzao yuanbao jiaochao* 印造元寶交鈔 (Printed the Primordial-treasure Exchange Note).[123]

Zhiyuan 2 guan *paper notes found in 1983 and 1984 in Heicheng* (*Khara Khoto*) *in Inner Mongolia (see Fig. 15):*

One hundred and twenty-eight pieces of Zhiyuan 2 *guan* notes were found, thirteen of them complete and fifteen partly damaged. The following seals could be identified on two of them:

a) This square vermilion seal is impressed in field D in Phags-pa script in the Chinese meaning of *Tiju zhulu tongxing baochao yin* 提舉諸路通行寶鈔印 (Seal of the Supervisor[-in-Chief] [put] on Treasure Notes to be circulated in all Routes).
b) The square vermilion seal in field F of the note is also in Phags-pa and reads in Chinese as *Baochao zongku zhi yin* 寶鈔總庫之印 (Seal of the Chief Storehouse for Treasure Notes).
c) The split-edge seal on the upper left of the front is in Chinese and reads *baochao* 寶鈔 (Treasure Note).[124]
d) The black oblong seal on the upper part of the back shows above the inscription *er guan* 貳貫 (two strings), while depicting below two vertical strings with ten substrings each within an ornamental border.[125]

---

[122] Cf. also the late Zhongtong 1 *guan* note from Xianyang in *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 42–43, as well as the late Zhongtong 500 *wen* note likewise from Xianyang in *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 50.

[123] See Li Yiyou (2003), p. 7.

[124] For another *baochao* split-edge seal found in 1988 on a Zhiyuan 500 *wen* note in a Yuan tomb in Huarong in Hunan, see Li Zhengxin (1994), p. 35.

[125] This seal is identical to the rubbing from a copper plate for Zhizheng 2 *guan* paper notes depicted in Luo Zhenyu's 羅振玉 *Sichao chaobi tulu* 四朝鈔幣圖錄 (Records and Illustrations of Paper Notes from Four Dynasties) of 1914. The plate was kept in the house of a certain Mr. Wu 吳 in Zhucheng 諸城. See *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 138. Cf. also the

e) The split-edge seal on the upper left of the back is in Phags-pa and reads, in Chinese, "Zhiyuan [reign-period]" 至元.[126]
f) The third square vermilion seal on the lower part of the back of the note is also in Phags-pa, meaning in Chinese *Yinzao baochao ku yin* 印造寶鈔庫印 (Seal of the Storehouse for Printing Treasure Notes). We are told, however, that a few of the Zhiyuan 2 *guan* notes found in Heicheng had no vermilion seal on the back, but one or even two of the black *er guan* stamps, i.e. seal d), instead.

To sum up, the few examples that we have analysed above make clear that a certain degree of variety existed in the impressions of seals on Yuan paper notes of different periods. At the same time the analysis reveals that, after all, sealing Yuan paper notes was a quite standardized procedure. In the light of what we now know about seals affixed to Yuan paper notes it is again suprising how accurate is the Ramusio version (V 11; see Appendix 2) especially, as this text mentions not only that a variety of officials write their names (or rather, titles?) and put their seals on each paper note (g), but also that the chief officer deputed by the emperor impresses on each of them the vermilion seal of the Great Khan (h):

> [...] perché in ciascuna moneta molti officiali che a questo sono deputati vi scrivono il loro nome, ponendovi ciascuno il suo segno; e quando del tutto è fatta com'ella dee essere, il capo di quelli per il signor deputato imbratta di cinaprio la bolla concessagli e l'impronta sopra la moneta, sí che la forma della bolla tinta nel cinaprio vi rimane impressa: e allora quella moneta è auttentica [...].

Indeed, the names of a variety of officials, such as Commissioners-in-Chief, Vice-commissioners, Assistant Administrators, Storehousemen and Keepers of Accounts, can be easily identified on the notes, i.e. especially officials from the Storehouse for Primordial-treasure Exchange Notes, Chief Storehouse for Treasure Notes, and the Storehouse for Printing. These officials and offices were not only mentioned in the printed part of the notes, but they were also represented by their respective seals put either on the front or back of the notes.

---

similar seals for the Zhiyuan 1 *guan*, 100 *wen* and 50 *wen* notes from Heicheng (Khara Khoto) in *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 62, 69, 75.

[126] It seems that some of the notes had also *baochao* 寶鈔 in Chinese as a split-edge seal on the back of the note. See Li Yiyou (2003), p. 8.

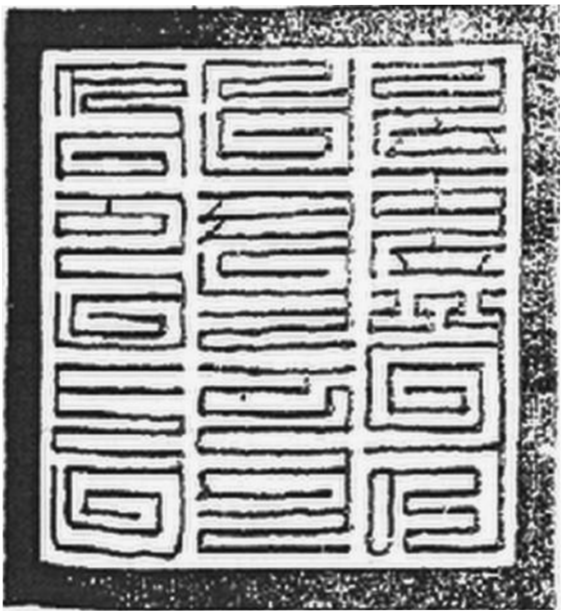


Figure 15a

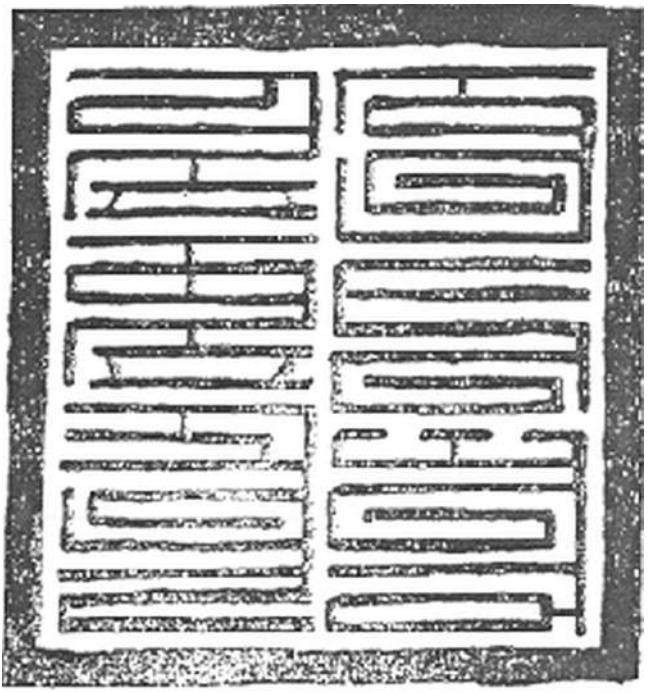


Figure 15b

Figure 15c

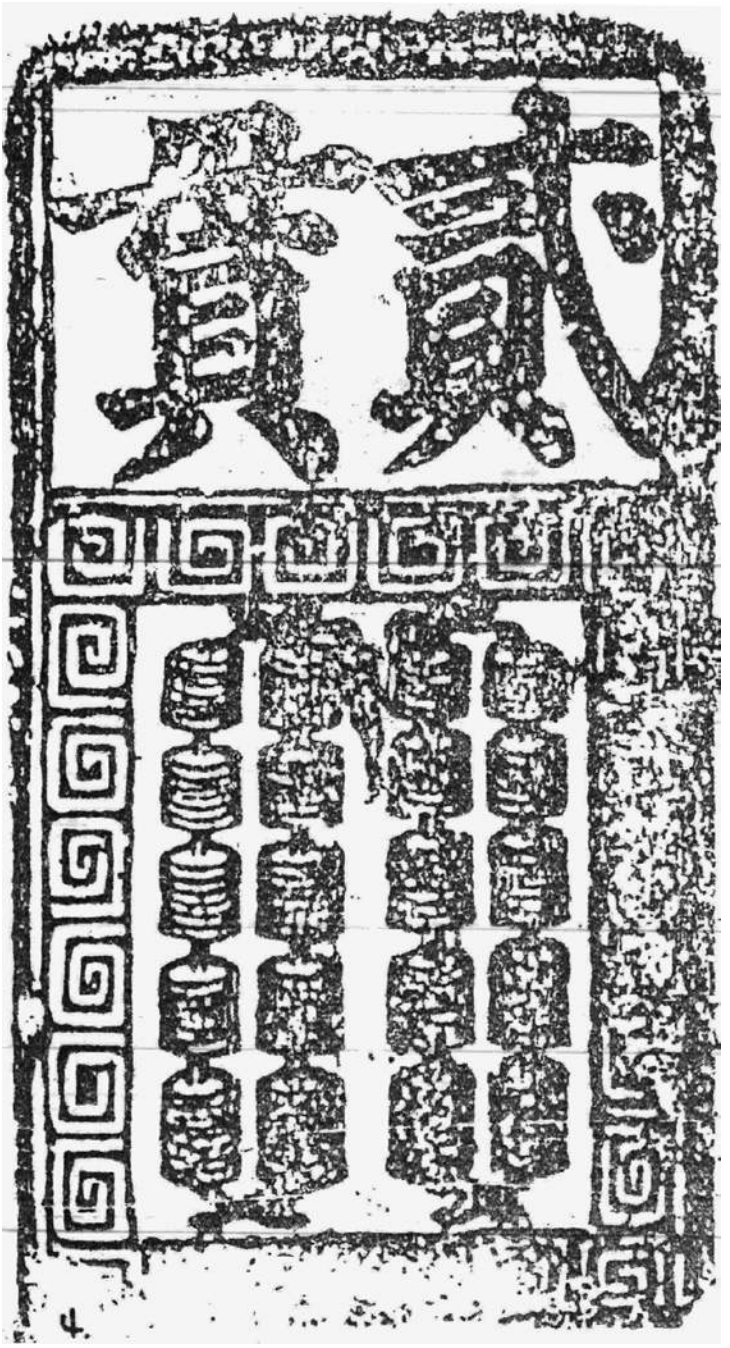


Figure 15d

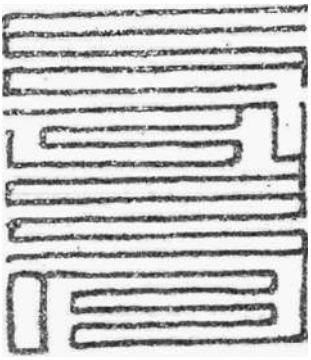


Figure 15e

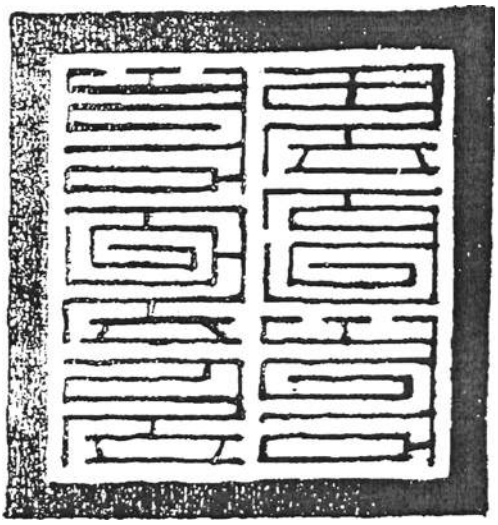


Figure 15f

Source: See Li Yiyou (2003), p. 8, and especially An Li 安莉 and Chen Naixiong 陈乃雄, "'Zhiyuan tongxing baochao' zhi yin" "至元通行宝钞"之印 (The Seals on the *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao*), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu* (Finance Research of Inner Mongolia), 2 (2002): 66–67.

Note: The seals are reproduced here more or less in the same size as in An Li and Chen Naixiong (2002). It is not clear whether these are the measures of the originals, though it seems quite probable. It seems to me that An Li and Chen Naixiong confounded the seals a) and b). This is why I exchanged them here.

Figure 15. Explanation of the seals on Zhiyuan 2 *guan* paper notes excavated in 1983 and 1984 in Heicheng (Khara Khoto) in Inner Mongolia.

a) *Tiju zhulu tongxing baochao yin* 提舉諸路通行寶鈔印 (Seal of the Supervisor[-in-Chief] [put] on Treasure Notes to be circulated in all Routes) in Phags-pa script.
b) *Baochao zongku zhi yin* 寶鈔總庫之印 (Seal of the Chief Storehouse for Treasure Notes) in Phags-pa.
c) *Baochao* 寶鈔 (Treasure Note) in Chinese.
d) *Er guan* 貳貫 (Two strings), with the depiction of two strings below.
e) "Zhiyuan [reign-period]" 至元 in Phags-pa.
f) *Yinzao baochao ku yin* 印造寶鈔庫印 (Seal of the Storehouse for Printing Treasure Notes) in Phags-pa.

Another amazing fact is that the Ramusio version states the chief officer deputed by the Great Khan put a vermilion seal on the paper note that renders the money legal tender and proves its authenticity. The chief officer deputed by the emperor is nobody else than an official of the (Chief) Supervisorate of Exchange Notes for All Routes (*zhulu jiaochao* (*du*) *tijusi* 諸路交鈔(都)提舉司) or the Chief Supervisorate of Treasure Notes for All Routes (*zhulu baochao du tijusi* 諸路寶鈔都提舉司), the main executive institution of the Yuan monetary regime, subordinated either to the Metropolitan Secretariat (*zhongshu sheng* 中書省) or the Department of State Affairs (*shangshu sheng* 尚書省). The official who put the seal on the paper note was the Supervisor[-in-Chief] ([*du*] *tiju* [都]提舉), and the seal inscription itself stated *Tiju zhulu tongxing baochao yin* 提舉諸路通行寶鈔印 or "Seal of the Supervisor[-in-Chief] [put] on Treasure Notes to be circulated in all Routes" which corresponds exactly to the concept of a final seal rendering the notes legal tender and authentic! On the early Zhongtong notes this seal was still in Chinese, but probably from 1269 onwards Phags-pa was used. However, because the seal inscriptions were (and still are) difficult to read even for Chinese or Mongols, they did not convey information that could be easily understood by people outside of China when holding a Yuan paper note in their hands. In the light of this, the preciseness of the information of the Ramusio version is astonishing, all the more when considering that when Ramusio compiled his Marco Polo version, Yuan (and also the more simplified Ming) paper money was already history. Where else could he have obtained this information in that period if not from a genuine Marco Polo account?

4.1.7. *Denominations*

Marco Polo provides a differentiated account on the denominations of Yuan paper money (f). The Franco-Italian version (V 1) gives at least 10 denominations, the French compounded version (V 2) even up to thirteen denominations. Both manuscripts may have had even more denominations in mind, because at least such wording as "[...] et l'autre d'un beçant; et l'autre de III; et ensi vaut jusque en X beçant" (V 1) appears to imply that there were more denominations between 3 *bezants* on the one hand and 10 *bezants* on the other.

In Table 1 (p. 98) I have attempted to find out what Chinese denominations may have been in the mind of Marco Polo when he gave the denominations in three different currencies—namely, the *denier tournois* (*tonesel*), the Venetian silver *grosso* (*gros*), and the Byzantine gold *bezant*

(*besans*). A relatively reliable approach in money value conversions is first by taking the Venetian *grosso* as the basis for comparison, because we know that this silver coin weighed about 2.13 g on average. This can then be correlated with the weight of a silver *liang* during the Yuan period of approximately 40 g. The approximate silver content of a *denier tournois* during the late thirteenth century amounted to about 3.0 to 3.75 g, while with regard to the *bezant* a weight of 4.5 g of gold is indicated. For the conversion of gold to silver, an exchange rate of roughly 1 to 8.7 is assumed so that the value is well within the range of relevant Yuan data.[127] For the lowest and the highest values my own arrangement differs from the attribution undertaken by Yule more than one hundred years ago, but otherwise is quite similar in approach and result.

The most important critical points to be mentioned are that Marco Polo indicates paper note denominations of three and more *guan/liang* and even up to 10 *guan/liang*. Among the historical remains no such high denominations are known, but they are mentioned in historical sources recording the issue of the short-lived *Zhongtong yinhuo* in the early 1260s. Hence it cannot be totally excluded that such high denomination notes existed, though they certainly were not widespread in circulation.

Another problem worthy of discussion is the fact that the attribution in Table 1 (p. 98) only makes sense when we assume that the values expressed by Marco Polo in three different kinds of coins (*denier tournois*, Venetian *grosso*, and Byzantine *besant*) which eventually are translatable through various conversion procedures into silver values corresponded one-to-one to the nominal values expressed on Yuan paper notes. In reality such a one-to-one relationship between the value of metallic silver and the nominal value of Yuan paper notes did not exist, because already at the very beginning of the empire-wide introduction of paper money in 1260 the official exchange rate was set in such a way that 2 *guan* (= 2 *liang*) paper money equalled 1 *liang* of silver. This was also the official exchange rate between paper money and silver in 1282 and 1287.[128] Hence, strictly speaking, 1 Venetian *grosso*, that is about 2.13 g silver, would not have corresponded roughly to 50 *wen* of paper-money, but to 100 *wen*, etc. However, if we double all the converted values in the last column of Table 1, this would mean that the highest value would be 20 *guan* and would thus be far outside the denominational range of paper notes issued under

[127] See Tables of Equivalences accompanying Table 1 on p. 99.
[128] Franke (1949), pp. 39, 58, 78.

the Yuan dynasty. Therefore it is much more reasonable to assume a one-to-one relationship between the calculated silver value of Marco Polo's coins and the nominal value of the Yuan paper notes. After all, it seems to me that what Marco Polo had in mind here was not so much to give an exact translation of the real silver values of the Yuan paper notes, but to present his readers with an overall picture of the number and gradation of the Yuan paper note denominations on the basis of coins and values that were familiar to his European readers. Thus, we may assume that it was only an approximation that was in his mind, not to speak of the possibility that his wording and perhaps also his figures were altered when being copied from one manuscript to the next.

Whatever the lack of preciseness and exhaustiveness of Marco Polo's denominations, he is nonetheless much more detailed and comprehensive than all other mediaeval Western, Persian and Arabic authors taken together. Several denominations are mentioned by the Archbishop of Soltania of about 1330 (S 1) in a passage which, however, was no doubt copied from Marco Polo. At least seven denominations of 1, 2, 5, 30, 40, 50, and even 100 *dirham* are indicated in an Arabic manuscript of perhaps the fourteenth century (F 1). Pegolotti, writing in about 1340, speaks of three kinds of paper money, one being worth more than another, according to the value which has been established for each of them by the lord (P 1). It is not clear what Pegolotti exactly meant with "three kinds," i.e. three denominations or three different types of paper money? If he meant three denominations, it could well have been—as was pointed out to me by Kuroda Akinobu in a private conversation—that in the late Yuan period paper money had thus lost in value such that only paper notes of large denominations remained in circulation, while those of small denominations fell out of use. Yet, compared with all the other rudimentary and rather unclear indications, Marco Polo's exemplifying figures no doubt provide a remarkably good picture of the denominational system of Yuan paper money during the period of his stay in China.

4.2. *Aspects of Circulation*

> Indeed, so rich is their trade that they are obliged from shortage of metal to use money which they call *fescieni* or flying money, and with which they buy and sell without gold or silver, for they may spend those papers in all the places where the king of Manci rules. On each piece of this money, of which five have the value of one *sommo* of silver, one deputed to the task

> by the king writes his name, placing his sign upon the paper, while those of the Great Cane himself bear a seal of vermilion.[129]

After having explored the information provided by Chinese sources on relevant themes dealing with the production of paper money and compared them with Marco Polo's account, I will discuss in this sub-chapter aspects of Yuan paper money circulation. I will start with the more coercive aspects of the system—that is, the state monopolisation of gold, silver, pearls and precious stones, and with laws and precedents against paper money counterfeiting. Then I will proceed to depict the famous regulations and institutions for the exchange of worn-out notes, before presenting all the necessary information on the use of paper money in public revenue and expenditures as well as in all kinds of market transactions. The final sub-chapter, eventually explores the interesting aspect of the spatial and temporal dimensions of Yuan paper money circulation, vis-à-vis or in competition with other currencies.

4.2.1. *State Monopolisation of Gold, Silver, Pearls and Gems*

One of the fundamental lures for the introduction of Yuan-style paper money in Persia in 1294 was certainly the prospects offered to the Ilkhan's treasury or the public fisc by the monopolisation of all precious metals. Consequently also the production of precious goods and every trade

---

[129] Jacob d'Ancona; David Selbourne (transl. and ed.), *The City of Light: The Hidden Journal of the Man who Entered China Four Years before Marco Polo*, New York: Citadel Press, Kensington Publishing Corp., 2000, p. 151–152. For critical reviews of this work see, e.g., Chang Yahlin, "A Kublai Con Job? The Dubious Diary of a Proto-Marco Polo," *Newsweek*, October 6, 1997, http://www.newsweek.com/1997/10/05/a-kublai-con-job.html (accessed 4 February 2011); Jonathan Spence, "Leaky Boat China," *New York Times*, October 19, 1997; Bernard and David Wasserstein, "Jacopo Spurioso?," *Times Literary Supplement*, November 14, 1997; Timothy H. Barrett, "The Modern Historiography of Asia and the Faking of 'The City of Light'," *Modern Asian Studies*, 32.4 (1998): 1017–1023; Igor de Rachewiltz and Donald Leslie, "Review Article," *Journal of Asian History*, 32 (1998), pp. 180–185; Huang Shijian 黄时鉴, "'Guangming zhi cheng' weishu kao" «光明之城»伪书考 (A Study of the Bogus Book *The City of Light*), *Lishi yanjiu* 历史研究 (Historical Research) 3 (2001): 65–80; Huang Shijian, "A Study of the Bogus Book: *The City of Light*," transl. by Huang Shijian, rev. by David Kelly, *Social Sciences in China*, 23.4 (Winter 2002): 45–57, and Wu Youxiong 吴幼雄, "Ping 'Guangming zhi cheng': Xianchun jian de Citonggang shi 'ziyou maoyiqu' ma?" 评«光明之城»—咸淳间的刺桐港是"自由贸易区"吗？ (Discussing *The City of Light*: Was Citong Harbour a "Free Trade Zone" during the Xianchun Reign-period?), *Quanzhou shiyuan xuebao* 泉州师院学报 (Journal of Quanzhou Normal College), 5 (2000): 68–87; id., "Zai ping 'Guangming zhi cheng'" 再评«光明之城» (Again Discussing *The City of Light*), *Quanzhou shifan xueyuan xuebao (shehui kexue)* 泉州师范学院学报(社会科学) (Journal of Quanzhou Normal College (Social Sciences)), 20.1 (2002): 80–88.

requiring gold and silver were prohibited. The early French version of Marco Polo's account likewise highlights the monopolisation and accumulation of precious goods, i.e. gold, silver, precious stones and pearls, by the Great Khan (v), to whom foreign merchants (p), but also domestic merchants (q) and the population in general (u) had to sell these items in exchange for paper currency.

This absolute monopoly of the state over precious metals is corroborated by Chinese sources insofar as they make clear that private trade in gold and silver was prohibited already in July/August 1262.[130] Franke notes that in the beginning no regulations had been set up for the purchase and selling of gold and silver by the Stabilisation Storehouses (*pingzhun ku* 平準庫),[131] so that the "inner Asiatic" merchants that had been entrusted with their management had considerable leeway for speculation and self-enrichment.[132] The prohibition concerning private trade in gold and silver was reiterated in 1282 when also official purchase and selling prices for gold and silver were fixed. At the same time punishments for offenders as well as rewards for denouncers and self-denouncers were stipulated. During the monetary reforms of 1282 the following strict regulations were pronounced:

> 2. When purchasing and selling gold and silver to the state [Stabilisation] Storehouses, these [precious metals] have to be delivered to be exchanged [for paper money] according to the prices [fixed by the state]. If purchasing and selling [of gold and silver] is carried out privately and unauthorizedly and somebody will notify this or hand over [the offender] to the authorities, then the gold and silver will be confiscated. One half [of the value] will be given as reward to the informer or to the one who had handed over [the violater]. Those [officially] responsible for arresting such people will receive half [of the reward]. [In cases] involving less than 10 *liang*, [the offender] will be punished with 57 strokes with the heavy bamboo, above 10 *liang* with 77 strokes, and above 1 *ding* with 107 strokes. Also in these cases the criminal will be pressed for handing over metals and money that will be given as reward to the one who had arrested [the violater].
> 3. If somebody is [illicitly] selling gold and silver and indicts himself voluntarily, then he will be exempted from the corresponding punishment. The gold and silver will be confiscated by the state. If the purchaser who paid the price did not denounce himself voluntarily, then the value [paid in money] will be confiscated; moreover, 1 *ding* will be demanded [from the

[130] Franke (1949), p. 41.
[131] I will come back to these institutions below.
[132] Franke (1949), p. 43.

> culprit] and be given as reward to the one who indicted or arrested [the offender]. If the purchaser is denouncing himself voluntarily, then it will be dealt with in like manner to the above [in the case of the seller].[133]

Paragraph 4 of the paper money regulations of 1282 was stipulating that all gold and silver craftsmen had to be registered. They were prohibited from using their own gold and silver for the processing of goods or for selling, but had to rely on people bringing in these precious metals to be fabricated. Utensils and vessels that had already been manufactured had to be delivered and sold to the Stabilisation Storehouses lest punishment was incurred analogous to those engaging in the illicit trade of gold and silver.

Paragraph 5 dealt with the officials and underlings who covered up illegal transactions in gold and silver, especially such cases in which they had released an offender against payment of money or goods. Such officials and underlings were to be punished to the same degree as the released offender himself.

Paragraph 9 eventually regulated the exchange of gold and silver for paper money at the Stabilisation Storehouses. It runs as follows:

> When people bring gold or silver to the state storehouses, then [these precious metals] has to be at once changed [into paper money]. It is not permitted to add or take away anything for the different kinds [of precious metals], nor to make illegal deductions. Those contravening [this regulation] will be punished with 57 strokes with the heavy bamboo and removed from office.[134]

In 1284, Lu Shirong 盧世榮 (d. 1285), in the framework of his proposals for a general overhaul of the Yuan financial administration and the monetary system, appears to have been successful in having the prohibition of private trade in gold and silver rescinded, but this was probably of no long duration as towards the end of the year 1285 Lu Shirong was arrested and executed.[135] Moreover, the prohibition of private trade in gold and silver is again explicitly mentioned in the currency reform of 1287 where, in the second paragraph, we can find the following statement:

---

[133] See *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang*, chap. 20, pp. 3a (vol. 1, p. 300). Own translation on the basis of Franke (1949), p. 58.

[134] See *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang*, chap. 20, pp. 3a–4a (vol. 1, p. 300). For the translation see Franke (1949), p. 59, and, especially for paragraph 4, Peng Xinwei/Kaplan (1994), vol. 2, p. 478.

[135] Franke (1949), p. 74.

> If from now onwards somebody sells or purchases gold or silver privately [and thus illicitly], then everybody is allowed to denounce this. The value of the gold and silver will be confiscated and half of it will be given to the informer as reward. Moreover, 2 *ding* in paper money will be collected from the offender and together [with one half of the value of the confiscated gold and silver] given [to the informer]. In cases of less than 10 *liang* silver or 1 *liang* gold, the punishment [for the offender] will be 57 strokes with the heavy bamboo, over 10 *liang* silver or 1 *liang* gold 77 strokes, and in case of over 50 *liang* silver or 10 *liang* gold 107 strokes.[136]

These were basically the same punishments as they had already been pronounced in 1282, with the exception that the extra reward for the informer was increased from 1 to 2 *ding* of paper money.

It was only between 1304 and 1309 that the prohibition of the use of precious metals in exchange was lifted and then permanently abolished in 1311.[137] Nonetheless, silver appears not to have been of great importance in commerce even after this date as it was still too valuable and too scarce to serve as a means of payment in ordinary market transactions.[138] In spite of all problems due to depreciation and limitations in convertability, paper money remained the preferred medium of exchange in many regions of the Yuan empire at least until the late 1340s when depreciation of paper currency started to reach real catastrophic levels and thus bronze coins re-emerged as the preferred instrument of exchange.[139]

In summing up we may follow Richard von Glahn stating that although prior to the early fourteenth century private trade in precious metals was not permitted, paper notes could, however, be redeemed for silver at the Stabilisation Storehouses, at least in the beginning. From the late 1270s onwards, however, the government started to retreat from its policy of free convertability, basically due to issuing notes in ever increasing amounts and to a withdrawal of bullion from the local exchange bureaus. This rendered the convertability of Zhongtong paper money increasingly difficult. The monetary reforms of 1287, when the government introduced the new Zhiyuan currency, meant a further abrogation of the principle of specie convertability, as this new currency from the beginning was not

---

136 Franke (1949), p. 78; *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang*, chap. 20, pp. 4a–4b (vol. 1, p. 300).

137 See Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," pp. 68–69; Franke (1949), p. 92; von Glahn (1996), p. 67.

138 See von Glahn (1996), p. 67.

139 See von Glahn (1996), pp. 68–69. Cf., however, Peng Xinwei who claims that sometimes silver was employed for borrowing, wages, everyday exchanges and expression of prices during the Yuan period. See Peng Xinwei/Kaplan (1994), vol. 2, p. 472.

redeemable in silver, in contrast to the Zhongtong money which in theory at least still was. In von Glahn's view, the public's greater creditworthiness of the Zhongtong notes vis-à-vis the rapidly depreciating Zhiyuan notes can, in fact, be explained by this difference. Thus, in 1311, the government had to acknowledge that in private commerce it was the Zhongtong currency, and not the Zhiyuan money, that remained the standard of value in setting prices. This seems to suggest, to Richard von Glahn, that although the convertability of Zhongtong notes became problematic, it is conceivable that the redemption practice may have continued for quite some time, depending on the availability of adequate precious metals stocks in the regional Stabilisation Storehouses.[140]

In view of von Glahn's assessment on the rapidly declining degree of convertability of Yuan paper notes, how do we have to understand Marco Polo's statement that if a Baron, or anyone else needed gold, silver, gems or pearls for making plates, girdles or the like, he went to the mint where he could buy these items with paper money (w)? Though relevant passages in Yuan sources are not many, they nonetheless are helpful in attempting to elucidate this problem. Let us begin with a paragraph in the monetary reform program of 1287:

> Supervisors and their underlings (*tidiao guanli* 提調官吏) in the routes are by no means allowed to go the Stabilisation Storehouses to buy gold and silver or excessively exchange worn-out notes for new ones. Those contravening will be punished.[141]

A historical record of the year 1292 states in a similar vein that "the Investigation Commissioner (*lianfangsi* 廉訪司) and Circuit Intendant (*dao* 道) of the Eastern and Western Circuit of Shandong accused the Pacification Commissioner (*xuanweishi* 宣慰使) Yue Shi 樂實 of having stolen 120 *ding* of paper notes from the storehouse for which he bought 950 *liang* of silver."[142]

With regard to the management of the Stabilisation and Circulation Storehouses (*pingzhun xingyong ku* 平準行用庫), the following stipulations from October/November 1282 can be found:

---

[140] Von Glahn (1996), pp. 57–58, 61–65.

[141] See *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang*, chap. 20, p. 6a (vol. 1, p. 301); Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 68; cf. also Franke (1949), p. 80.

[142] *Yuanshi*, vol. 2, chap. 17, p. 366 (Zhiyuan 29/9/*xinyou*); Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 68.

> [. . .] It became obvious that people seeking for profit are relying on power and influence to exchange [paper notes] against gold and silver purchased [by the Stabilisation Storehouses] and to take it thus out from the storehouses and to indulge in abuses. [. . .] We are of the opinion that with regard to persons that after the 13th year of the Zhiyuan reign-period [1276] had requested for the exchange of gold and silver no prosecution shall be carried out in those cases where the exchange quantities [requested] by commoners and travellers (*baixing kelü* 百姓客旅) were reasonable (*yili* 依理). [However,] when families of officials and powerful persons requested for the exchange of gold and silver by making use of their influence, then the [gold and silver] items are to be requisitioned and confiscated. [Moreover], their original purchase value is to be calculated [in money] and given to the informant. No price shall be given [as reward], if it were relatives or servants of Ahmed [d. 1282] that had requested for [gold and silver] purchase.[143]

This record is especially revealing in showing that it was not only nobles, officials, underlings, and powerful people that went to the Stabilisation Storehouses to make requests—often excessive ones—for gold and silver emissions against payment of paper money, but that also commoners and travellers—the latter probably being travelling merchants—could ask for certain limited amounts of precious metals. Hence, this is compatible with Marco Polo's statement insofar that he mentions not only the "Barons," but also "anyone else." Moreover, the limited amounts of gold, silver, gems or pearls that were needed for making plates, girdles or the like can certainly be considered to be within the limits of what was said to be "reasonable" in the aforementioned Chinese document.

Even in later periods, however, Stabilisation Storehouses kept considerable reserves of silver which must have guaranteed a certain degree of general convertability of paper notes beyond the limited demand of precious metals for the production of adornments and jewellery. From a historical record of September 2, 1294 (Zhiyuan 31/8/*jiwei*) we know that the amount of silver stored in these agencies amounted to a total of 936,950 *liang*, of which 192,450 *liang* were to be retained, while the far greater part was to be transferred to the capital.[144] According to Maeda Naonori's estimate, before September 1294, the average amount of silver stored in each Stabilisation Storehouse amounted to some 15,000 *liang*, before it was then lowered to some 3,200 *liang* thereafter.[145]

---

[143] See *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang*, chap. 20, pp. 6b–7a (vol. 1, pp. 301–302); Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 68.

[144] *Yuanshi*, vol. 2, chap. 18, p. 387; Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 69.

[145] Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 69.

But what about the recurrent mentioning in Marco Polo's paper money chapter of gems and pearls which, besides gold and silver, had to be handed over by merchants and people to the Cambaluc mint (p) (q) (u)? Some evidence of this can be found in an episode demonstrating Khubilai's less than welcoming attitude towards Muslim traders after Ahmad's assassination in 1282. When, in 1293, a Muslim merchant sought to sell pearls to the Great Khan, this offer was declined by the latter arguing that his money could be better spent to relieve the people:

> On the *dingyou* day [March 19, 1293], the Muslims (*huihui* 回回) Boke 孛可 [Mongolian: Böke] and Mahemou Sha 馬合謀沙 (Maqumu[d] Sha[h]) and others presented to the court a large pearl, the asking price for which was several tens of thousands of *ding* 錠 in paper money. The Emperor said: "What!? For a pearl? Let us retain this money to aid the poor."[146]

And two years before, when the spoils of the once powerful Tibetan Lama Yang Lianzhenjia 楊璉真加 and his cohorts was confiscated, the officials produced a list comprising 1,700 *liang* of gold, 6,800 *liang* of silver, 9 jade belts, 111 jade vessels, 152 precious shells, and 50 *liang* of big pearls.[147]

Franke has translated a memorial submitted to the throne by Zhang Gui 張珪 (d. 1327) in 1324 in which this high-ranking official criticised, among many other things, the excessive amounts of gold, silver, pearls and *jade* used for rewards and gifts, especially to people without merit.[148] Moreover, the economic chapters of the "History of the Yuan" (*Yuanshi*) provide some fragmentary evidence on state efforts in monopolising the production or purchase of pearls and jade. In the section dealing with "annual [monopoly] levies" (*suike* 歲課) jade and pearls are mentioned third and fourth just after gold and silver, highlighting the hierarchy of importance attributed to these precious products, followed by thirteen other, less precious goods. In the Dadu 大都 (Beijing) region people were allowed to collect pearls in Yangcun 楊村 and Zhigukou 直沽口, but officials were ordered to buy them (*ming guan mai zhi* 命官買之). For the Song'a 宋阿江, Ayeku 阿爺苦江 and Hulügu Rivers 忽呂古江 in the

---

[146] *Yuanshi*, vol. 1, chap. 17, p. 371; Endicott-West (1989a), p. 144. See also Joseph- Anne-Marie de Moyriac de Mailla, *Histoire générale de la China ou annales de cet empire; traduites du Tong-kien-kang-mou*, Paris: Ph.-D. Pierres et Clousier, 1779, vol. 10, p. 456; Morris Rossabi, "The Muslims in the Early Yüan Dynasty," in John D. Langlois, Jr. (ed.), *China under Mongol Rule*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981, p. 294; Rossabi (1988), p. 201.

[147] Herbert Franke, "Tibetans in Yüan China," in his *China under Mongol Rule*, VII, pp. 323.

[148] Franke (1949), p. 142; *Yuanshi*, vol. 13, chap. 175, p. 4082.

Nanjing 南京 region[149] Mieqie Anshan 滅怯安山, probably a Jurchen, and others were ordered to collect pearls (*ming… cai zhi* 命…採之) there in 1274. A similar kind of collection monopoly is mentioned for Duolubudai 朶魯不𣲗 (Dörbüdei or Dörbedei) and others for the pearls obtained from the cities of Shengzhou 勝州, Yanzhou 延州 and Naiyan 乃延 for the year 1276. Most of the pearls received and spent by the Yuan ruling stratum came, however, certainly from India. Marco Polo not only gives a detailed and reliable description of the pearl fishery activities on the coast of Ceylon from where pearls spread all over the world,[150] but also mentions the import of precious stones and pearls from India via the harbours of Fuju (Fuzhou 福州) and Zayton (Quanzhou 泉州).[151] The above-mentioned section of the "History of the Yuan" also reports on the jade production in the Feilisha 匪力沙 region, accompanied by a remark that the jade obtained there by washing was transported to the capital on a water postal-relay route. Similar arrangements are reported for cinnabar, mercury and turquoise.[152] Thus, both on the revenue as well as on the expenditure side, there is convincing evidence that Marco Polo's often-mentioned four precious goods, namely "gold, silver, pearls and gems [i.e. jade]," make good sense.

I could not, however, find a reference to the twelve experts appraising the precious items brought by foreign or domestic merchants to the Great Khan and paying a liberal price in paper money to these sellers (r);[153] nor to the figure of 400,000 *bezants* as the value of these goods (s).[154] Apart from gold, silver, pearls and gems the precious items presented by merchants to the emperor also included "cloth of gold and silk" (q). That besides precious metals other goods were also brought to state exchange agencies is corroborated by Chinese sources. Thus the *Zhongtang shiji* 中堂事記 (Records from the Court) preserved a public proclamation issued in February/March 1261 (Zhongtong 2/1) in which the following was ordered:

---

[149] The Song'a is the Sungari River, the Ayeku the upper reaches of the Tümen River. Nanjing refers to the region around Mukden, and not to modern Nanjing. See Schurmann (1956), p. 164n21 and 164n19.

[150] Yule (1903), vol. 2, pp. 331–332.

[151] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, pp. 231, 235. On pearls see also Brunello (1986), pp. 103–105.

[152] Schurmann (1956), pp. 156–157, 159.

[153] The nearest I could find were the eleven men Ahmed had chosen to direct the state monopolies, of whom four—or perhaps even five—were Muslim. See Rossabi (1988), p. 181, referring to *Yuanshi*, vol. 15, pp. 4560–4561. In the *Yuanshi* passage even a twelfth crony of Ahmed is mentioned, but these men were apparently appointed to Fiscal Commissions (*zhuanyuansi* 轉運司) in the Routes (*lu* 路), and not in the capital.

[154] See also Figure 16.

> When there are people [who want] to take Primordial-treasure Exchange Notes (*yuanbao jiaochao*), they simply go to the [Exchange Note] Storehouse to exchange silver and goods, for which [paper notes] will be paid out to them *without any delay* [emphasis added] and in accordance with the amount [of the value of the silver or goods]. Besides of paying a handling fee of only 3 *fen* per 1 *liang* in paper money, there will be no oppressive deductions or additional fees.
>
> 如有諸人齎元寶交鈔, 從便却行赴庫倒換白銀物貨, 即便依數支發, 並不得停滯. 每兩止納工墨鈔三分外, 別無剋減添搭錢數.[155]

This proclamation evokes a passage in Marco Polo's account where he speaks about the merchants bringing gold, silver, pearls and precious stones to the emperor's twelve experts for having their value evaluated and immediately receiving paper money in exchange: "Et le Seignor les fait paier bien et largement de ses chartres, et ils les prennent moult volentiers pour ce qu'il sceivent moult bien que il n'en avroient pas tant de nullui, et l'autre por ce que il sont paié *maintenant* [emphasis added], . . ." (V 2).

Another indication that it was not only precious metals that were accepted at the state exchange offices comes from the documentation of the attempts at monetary reforms carried out in 1309. Then it was stipulated that Stabilisation and Circulation Storehouses (平準行用庫 *pingzhun xingyong ku*) were to be established in all districts. These agencies not only purchased and sold gold and silver and changed spoilt notes for new ones, but people could also buy new notes there by handing in silk and cotton cloth.[156]

We should also ask what happened with all the gold, silver, pearls and precious stones that flowed into the hands of the central government and the imperial treasury. Yuan sources provide clear evidence that certain amounts of these precious goods were used as gifts or donations for officials, officers, soldiers and religious institutions.[157] Of special interest is the role of silver which, already before the Mongol period, had become important as a high-level currency in the hierarchy of monies. In an article on the Eurasian silver century Kuroda Akinobu has convincingly argued that it was basically the issuance in 1260 of an empire-wide paper currency—

---

[155] *Zhongtang shiji*, shang 上, in *Qiujian ji* 秋澗集 (Collection of Works of Mr. Qiujian [i.e. Wang Yun 王惲]), ed. electronic version of *Siku quanshu* of the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin), chap. 80; Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," pp. 57–58.

[156] Franke (1949), p. 86.

[157] Franke (1949), pp. 139, 142.

the Zhongtong paper notes—and the acquisition of huge quantities of uncoined silver during their conquest of the Southern Song (1127–1279) in 1276 that prompted the Yuan to abandon silver coinage forever.[158] One probable consequence of this was that with the compulsory introduction of paper money more silver became available for transport beyond Chinese territory. Silver could thus circulate relatively freely along the Eurasian trade routes as is evidenced by Turkistani commercial contracts that formerly were expressed in terms of cloth or copper, but under Mongol rule in uncoined silver instead. Transactions in silver became common in the regions from the Black Sea to northern China where on the higher stratum of the multiple-currencies hierarchy 5 gold florin (Europe) exchanged roughly for 1 *somo* of silver (Kipchak khanate) or 10 *liang* of silver (China).

Andrew M. Watson has already pointed out in 1967 that both Christian Europe and the Muslim world encountered a monetary revolution about the same time, which, as he conjectured, was connected to the "strange power of India and China" to attract [or set free, one might add] precious metals. In the Muslim world, after a silver famine from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, a return to silver coinage took place from the end of the twelfth century, and one hundred years later the triumph of silver over the gold standard was completed. Roughly at the same time a bimetallic currency system reappeared in Europe, with Genoa at the forefront, apparently beginning to mint gold coins around 1200. The real turning-point, however, came in 1252—the year in which, with the minting of the florin and new *genovino*, Florence and Genoa respectively touched off a new era in European monetary history which ended with the victory of gold in almost every part of Europe by the mid-fourteenth century.[159] As has been recently stated by another author, it was due to the globally

[158] If not otherwise indicated, the remaining part of this subchapter is based on the arguments and data in Kuroda Akinobu, "The Eurasian Silver Century, 1276–1359: Commensurability and Multiplicity," *Journal of Global History*, 4 (2009): 245–269. In a wider context Kuroda argues that this first silver century laid the foundations for the second, even more global silver century in the sixteenth century. The first silver century during the Mongol period was, however, characterized by its horizontal unity allowing the ready flow of silver along trade routes, while in the second silver century a system of competition between territorial states gained prominence, some of which vertically cemented their tiers of domestic markets with credits and created space for compatible monies.

[159] Andrew M. Watson, "Back to Gold—and Silver," *Economic History Review*, 20 (1967): 7, 34.

cheaper silver during that time that European currencies were able to rebase themselves on imported gold.[160]

In a recent article Yokkaichi Yasuhiro shows that the horse trade between Islamic countries and India played a crucial role in absorbing silver from China and channelling it to the Persian Gulf and Red Sea regions via India during the Mongol period. The Islamic countries exported horses mainly to India (and to a much lesser degree also to China), and India paid for Arabian horses mainly with silver and silk imported from China as well as with pearls, ivory, sapphires, moonstones, rubies, diamonds, onyx, emeralds, coral, cardamom, cloves, cinnamon, camphor oil, musk, sandalwood, and elephants. Merchants in the Persian Gulf regions had a tremendous influence on the export of horses from Islamic countries to India, while Sri Lankan merchants took over the export of silver and other goods to the Arabian countries. Both groups of merchants had their common emporium in Qulam (Quilon) on the western Indian Ocean, thus forming a trilateral interrelated trade relationship via the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf route and the Red Sea route with horses and silver as major commodities. The management of the silver and silk flows from China very likely lay in the hands of Uighur and *ortugh* merchants in Ilkhan Persia and Yuan China. These hemispherical trade relations also find their corroboration in the records of Marco Polo who reported that horses were imported to India and paid for there with silver.[161] Moreover, he also explained that foreign goods imported into India included copper, cloths of silk and gold, cloves, spikenard oil, gold and silver,[162] and he pointed out that the ships of the great province of Manzi (Southern China) were the major importers of many of these commodities.[163] The prohibitions that were pronounced against the export of gold and silver from China by the Yuan government[164] point to the fact that gold and silver, but also copper cash were indeed exported from the Middle Kingdom.[165]

---

[160] Niv Horesh, "The Great Money Divergence: European and Chinese Coinage before the Age of Steam," *Journal of Chinese Studies*, January 2013 (in press).

[161] Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 83, 108, vol. 2, p. 340.

[162] Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 395, 438.

[163] Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 390.

[164] See Ratchnevsky (1985), *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 4, p. 390.

[165] Yokkaichi Yasuhiro, "Horses in the East-West Trade between China and Iran under Mongol Rule," in Bert G. Fragner, Ralph Kauz, Roderich Ptak, and Angela Schottenhammer (eds.), *Pferde in Asien: Geschichte, Handel und Kultur; Horses in Asia: History, Trade and Culture*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften; 378, und Veröffentlichungen zur Iranistik; 46), 2009, pp. 91–94. As Kuroda Akinobu pointed out to me in private conversation, the work of

There was, however, also a clearly military and political dimension in the westward and eastward flows of silver. Already the Jin (1115–1234) army had captured thousands of tons of silver during their conquest of Kaifeng 開封, the former capital of the Northern Song (960–1127), in 1127. Probably of the same dimension was the booty of the Mongols when they raided Hangzhou, the capital of the Southern Song, in 1276. Mongol armies were of unprecedented size and appear to have carried significant quantities of silver with them for maintaining their logistics. The first clear appearance of monetary silver by weight in Korean history coincides with the Mongol expeditions to the eastern frontiers in 1286–1287. Another example of the military dimension of silver flows is Bengal where from 1339 onwards, that is with the development of the Burma trade route by military means, silver coinage increased substantially, with a sharp fall from 1359 onwards.

In Kuroda's view, the repercussions of the greater availability of silver flowing out from China could be noted as far as Egypt and London. In London, silver coinage surged in the 1280s and again in the 1300s, but then decreased around 1320. A last big wave of silver coinage occurred there in 1340, just to pass by 1360, i.e. with the dramatic depreciation of Chinese paper money and the ensuing fall of the Yuan dynasty. In Egypt, silver in circulation disappeared suddenly in 1359, coinciding with the abrupt fall of silver coinage in Bengal. All this shows that Chinese developments of an apparently political nature lay behind these phenomena.

Apart from the westward outflow of silver from China due to the Yuan dynasty's introduction of paper money as more or less exclusive currency and because of Mongol military expenditures especially during campaigns beyond the Yuan empire's borders, some silver also flowed back from the West to China. From Pegolotti's account (P 1) written around 1340 we know that merchants imported linen to Sarai, the capital of the Kipchak khanate. There they exchanged it for *somo* silver ingots which they brought to China and converted into paper money to purchase silk and other products.[166] This description is another corroboration of the preciseness of Marco Polo's report about merchants arriving from foreign countries with gold, silver, gems or pearls which they had to exchange

---

Yokkaichi Yasuhiro is much indebted to the findings of Yajima Hikoichi 家島彦一, an eminent Japanese scholar of Oriental History.

[166] See Kuroda (2009), p. 257, referring to Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents, Translated with Introductions and Notes*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1955, pp. 356–358.

Source: Le livre des merveilles du monde, MS. fr. 2810, folio 45r. Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

Note: The illustrator of this manuscript shows how in his imagination precious goods—here probably silver—were handed in by merchants and how these merchants received paper notes in return. The man offering silver is bare-headed and seems to receive orders from the two men behind him, one of them with a Chinese moustache. One of the Great Khan's officials is probably testing the silver with a touchstone. He may be one of the twelve experts appraising and evaluating the precious goods brought to the emperor. All this takes place under the approving supervision of Khubilai Khan.

Figure 16. Merchants bringing precious goods to the Great Khan in exchange for paper money, French mediaeval illustration of ca. 1412.

for paper money (p) with which, in turn, they bought commodities in the Yuan empire for exporting them (t).

Long-distance trade between Europe and China via Central Asia did indeed take an upsurge in the thirteenth century. Whether this was due to the Pax Mongolica (which, however, was quite fragile not the least due to the internal battles between the Mongols themselves) or the improvement of the organisational capabilities and commercial practices of the European traders and trading companies, or to both factors, is hard to establish. What is clear, however, is that though the Mongols did not carry out long-distance trade by themselves, they were very permissive with regard to trade policy. Foreign traders were welcomed by the Mongol rulers and enjoyed a certain degree of protection. This was due to the fact that already under the Great Khan Ögödei (ca. 1186–1241) trade, geared to

a well-organised system of custom duties and levies, became an important pillar of the fiscal revenue of the Mongol empire.[167]

4.2.2. *Counterfeiting Regulations*

Both the Pipino version (V 4) and Ramusio's rendering (V 11) state that those forging the paper notes were punished by death (i), and the death penalty for forgers is stated in the legend of the Zhongtong paper notes: "Those who are counterfeiting will be beheaded. [The informant] will be given 5 *ding* of silver as reward. He, moreover, will receive the family property [of the criminal]." More or less the same is repeated on the Zhiyuan notes, as well as in the 1287 monetary reform regulations, which also included those offenders putting counterfeit notes into circulation. A verdict of 1278 made clear that not only were the main counterfeiters sentenced to death, but also persons who had taken only a part in the fabrication of counterfeit, such as manufacturing printing plates or producing paper.[168] In 1311 it was stipulated that counterfeiters of paper notes would not be pardoned in the case of promulgations of amnesties. Reduction of punishment was only granted if the culprit had voluntarily indicted and surrendered himself to the authorities, thus repeating a regulation that had already been pronounced in 1268. In 1311 it was fixed that officials responsible for the apprehension of counterfeiters would receive 2.5 *ding* of silver and half of the family property of the culprit, the other half being confiscated by the state. The state, however, not only confiscated the *producta*, but also the *instrumenta sceleris*. Counterfeiters imitated printing plates and seals not only in bronze, but also in wood or clay (see Fig. 17). Counterfeiting was sometimes carried out as a large-scale enterprise involving hundreds of people and being at times covered by officials and underlings.

Apart from fabricating counterfeit notes, another practice was the piecing together of notes (*tiao chao* 挑鈔)[169] or the falsification of legal notes by changing the legend, for instance by turning the devaluated Zhongtong notes into Zhiyuan notes, which nominally were five times greater in value than the former ones. The latter crime, however, was punished differently than counterfeiting. In 1312 it was regulated that main as well as

---

[167] Münkler (2000), p. 59.

[168] Franke (1949), p. 110.

[169] Yang Lien-sheng, *Money and Credit in China: A Short History*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1952, p. 65.

assistant falsifiers were to be punished with 107 strokes and banishment for one year into a distant region. In case of recurrence, the culprits were sentenced to life-long banishment into a distant region. People accepting and circulating falsified paper notes were sentenced to 97 strokes. A regulation of 1316 added that in the case of a first recurrence the offenders would be punished with 107 strokes; and in the case of a second recurrence with 107 strokes and banishment for one year. Verdicts were also provided for neighbours (57 strokes) as well as community elders, policemen and soldiers (27 strokes) for having lacked vigilance. Another type of crime—often in connivance with relevant officials and underlings—was the delivery to, and acceptance of, counterfeit or falsified notes by the government paper-money exchange agencies. Abuses and corrupt practices committed by the personnel of these institutions apparently could never be totally eradicated or brought under control.[170]

There can be no doubt that counterfeiting or falsification of paper notes was a serious problem during the Yuan period, facilitated by the relatively simple technical requirements necessary for the production of paper notes. Marco Polo—in the versions of Pipino (V 4) and Ramusio (V 11)—is the first Western author to mention the capital crime of paper money counterfeiting and the verdict of the death penalty meted out to violaters. Later, in the 1330s, the Archbishop of Soltania, also mentioned the death penalty for forgers of the king's money (S 1). His account on paper money is, however, very similar to that of the Venetian so that we have to assume that it was a copy or paraphrase. In imitation of the Yuan model, the death penalty for counterfeiters was also an element of the disastrous paper money experiment in Persia in 1294, as is reported by Wassaf (W 1), and thus shows that this coercive measure was known in other parts of the Mongol empire.

4.2.3. *Exchange of Worn-out Notes*

Marco Polo reported that when the notes got spoilt people could bring them to the mint and obtain new notes in exchange by paying a small amount of three percent (0). The preciseness of this exchange procedure has often been underlined so that we can limit ourselves to mention only the most important data. Regulations for the exchange of spoilt or damaged

[170] For more details about counterfeiting see Franke (1949), pp. 106–117, or Peng Xinwei/Kaplan (1994), vol. 2, pp. 511–512.

Source: Zhongguo guchao tuji, pp. 139–140.

Note: As we know from Yuan legal texts, counterfeiters used tile seals in the fabrication of false notes. See Franke (1949), p. 110. This plate was discovered by peasants in Shandong Province while digging in a field. Thereafter it was kept in the home of Professor Yan Xinzhai 顏心齋 in Qufu 曲阜. No scale is provided by the source, but it is certainly depicted there in a smaller size than the original.

Figure 17. Printing plate made of clay for counterfeiting Zhiyuan 1 *guan* paper notes found in Shandong in the 1910s.

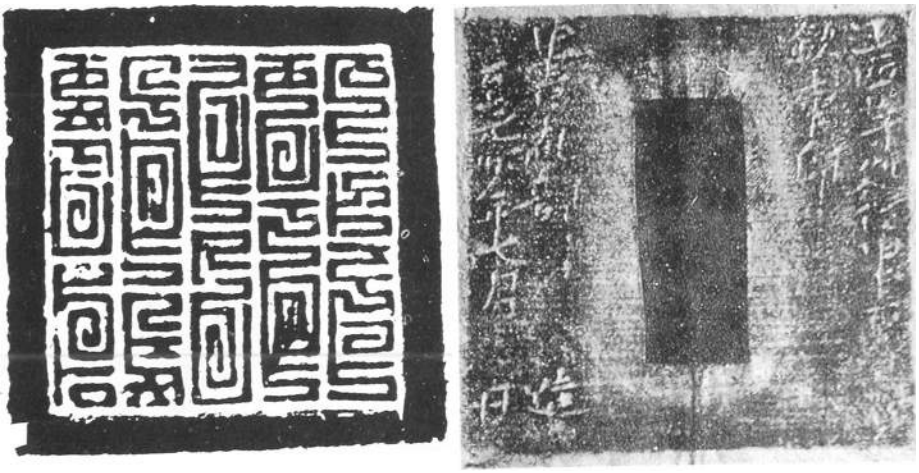
paper notes (*hunchao* 昏鈔) date already to the year 1260/1261 when the Exchange Notes Storehouse (*jiaochao ku* 交鈔庫) had been ordered to exchange them for a fee of 30 *wen* per 1 *guan* (1 *guan* = 1,000 *wen*), or 3 percent. In 1263 the fee was reduced to 20 *wen*, or 2 percent, to be raised again to the old rate of 30 *wen* in 1282 and 1285.[171] This rate is also explicitly mentioned for 1287[172] and 1291.[173] Hence Marco Polo's report must refer to the period after 1282. Ibn Battuta's indication—namely, that no expenses were incurred, because the people making these notes were paid by the emperor (I 1)—is wrong, as has been already stated by Franke in 1949.[174]

Both in the Metropolitan Secretariat, as well as in the Branch Secretariats, Storehouses for Burning [Worn-out] Notes (*shaochao ku* 燒鈔庫) existed which were responsible for the burning of the spoilt notes. Moreover, before 1288, the destruction of damaged paper notes was probably also carried out by the Pacification Commissions (*xuanweisi* 宣慰司). For two and a half years, the burning of the notes was centralised in Dadu (Beijing), as from November/December 1288 (Zhiyuan 25/11) onwards all the empire's administrative units had to send their worn-out paper notes in quarterly instalments to this agency to be destroyed there. Since 1287, the capital had an East and a West Incinerator which were subordinated to the Chief Supervisorate of Treasure Notes [for All Routes] ([*zhulu*] *baochao du tijusi* [諸路]寶鈔都提舉司 and staffed with an Overseer (*daluhuachi* 達魯花赤) and a Commissioner-in-Chief (*dashi* 大使).[175] In May/June 1291 (Zhiyuan 28/5) this centralisation was rescinded and worn-out paper money was burnt in each Route under the supervision of the Branch Secretariats.[176] A number of seals have been found related to the operations of Storehouses for Burning [Worn-out] Notes of which we depict two (see Figs. 18 and 19).

In 1298 the Ministry of Revenue had set up twenty-five detailed definitions for defective and thus exchangeable paper notes. In later years these were supplemented by further regulations. Basically, they stipulated which characters on the notes had still to be legible and which parts of a paper note had still to be intact. Only if these characters or parts were still intact while other characters or parts were missing could the old notes be

---

171 I follow here mainly Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," pp. 57–58, but see also Franke (1949), pp. 58, 44, and Schurmann (1956), p. 140.
172 Franke (1949), p. 78.
173 Franke (1949), p. 49.
174 Franke (1949), p. 45.
175 Hucker (1985), p. 441, entry 5087.
176 Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," pp. 70–71, p. 100n85; Franke (1949), pp. 45, 51.



Source: *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 149; Hu Tingfeng 户亭风 and Wang Shaohua 王少华 (1985), "Jiujiang chutu Yuandai shaochao ku yin" 九江出土元代烧钞库印 (A Seal of the Storehouse for Burning [Worn-out] Notes of the Yuan Dynasty Excavated in Jiujiang), *Zhongguo qianbi* (China Numismatics), 3 (1985): 61, 5; Ye Shichang 葉世昌, Wang Yuxun 王裕巽, Tu Yanzhi 屠燕治 and Zhang Wenfang 張文芳, *Yuan Ming huobi* 元明貨幣 (Monies from the Yuan and Ming), vol. 5 in Ma Feihai 馬飛海 (editor in chief), *Zhongguo lidai huobi daxi* 中國歷代貨幣大系 (Great Series of Monies in China through the Ages), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2009, pp. 178 (0673), 536, 564.

Note: This square seal, reproduced here in roughly original size, was found in 1983 at Shanchuan Hill 山川岭 in Jiujiang City 九江市 in Jiangxi Province. It measures 5.7 cm in length, with sides 1.3 cm high. The middle part is equipped with an oblong knob, providing thus the seal with a total height of 6.5 cm. The seal carries a Phags-pa inscription reading in Chinese translation as follows: *Jiangxi deng chu xing zhongshu sheng shaochao ku yin* 江西等處行中書省燒鈔庫印 (Seal of the Storehouse for Burning [Worn-out] Notes of the Branch Secretariat of Jiangxi and other places). On the back of the seal we find the same inscription, this time in Chinese, on the right side, while the left side reads: *Zhongshu Libu zao Zhiyuan sa nian qi yue ri* 中書禮部造至元卅年七月 日 (Made by the Ministry of Rites of the Metropolitan Secretariat, day of the seventh month of the thirtieth year of the Zhiyuan reign-period [August/September 1293]). During the Yuan period there was located the Route administration of Jiangzhou 江州 in present-day Jiujiang which also had a Stabilisation Storehouse (*pingzhun ku* 平準庫) (see Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 61).

Figure 18. Bronze seal of the Storehouse for Burning [Worn-out] Notes of the Jiangxi 江西 Branch Secretariat, 1293.

Source: Ye Shichang et al. (2009), p. 179; *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 151.

Note: Four such seals, three of them now stored in the Museum of Zhejiang Province (Zhejiangsheng bowuguan 浙江省博物馆) and one in the Museum of Chinese History (Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 中国历史博物馆), were found after 1949 while dredging the West Lake in Hangzhou City. Two of them were large, the other two ones smaller. The seal inscription reads *Hunlanchao yin* 昏爛鈔印 (Seal for worn-out and spoilt notes). On the right side of the back we have the inscription *Jiangdongdao Xuanweishisi* 江東道宣慰使司 (Pacification Commission of the Jiangdong Circuit), on the left *Zhiyuan ershiwu nian san yue ri zao* 至元二十五年三月 日 (Made on the day of the third month of the twenty-fifth year of the Zhiyuan reign-period [April/May 1288]). Hangzhou, the former capital of the Southern Song and an important economic and commercial centre, was equipped with both a Stabilisation Storehouse and a Circulation Storehouse. Cf. Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," pp. 60, 62. The inscription on the back side of the seal is also evidence that a Pacification Commission had been established there, which was not known before the discovery of this historical relic. Such seals were used to stamp the worn-out paper notes after they had been delivered to the Circulation Storehouses (*xingyong ku* 行用庫). For the procedures cf. Franke (1949), pp. 44–51. In this context see also the interesting "Seal for worn-out notes withdrawn for destruction of the Kaiyuan Route" (*Kaiyuanlu tuihui hunchao yin* 開元路退毀昏鈔印) in *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 151.

Reproduction of the rubbing and seal imprint in roughly the same size than the original, i.e. 2.8 to 6.2 cm. See Ye Shichang et al. (2009), pp. 179, 564 (0676), who also depicts one (0674) of the large seals and also the other small seal (0675).

Different measures, probably for the whole body of the seals, are, however, indicated by Ye Shichang et al. (2009), p. 536: The two large seals are 15.5 cm long, 5 cm wide, and 1 cm thick, with a knob 7 cm high and 3.5 to 4.0 cm wide. The smaller seals, like the one depicted above, are 9 cm long, 4.2 cm wide and 1 cm thick, with a knob 7 cm high and 2.8 to 3.6 cm wide.

Figure 19. Seals used for marking worn-out paper notes of Jiangdong Circuit 江東道, Zhejiang, 1288.

exchanged against new ones. Characters and indication of value had still to be legible for being admitted for exchange.

Interestingly, surviving documentation of the Yuan period suggests that the province-level exchange institutions had difficulties in covering the demand for new notes, which, says Franke, contradicts the assumption that the production and circulation of paper money during the Yuan period was reckless.[177] We will come back to this issue below, in the final Yuan paper money chapter, when discussing shortly the inflationary tendencies in the Yuan paper money sector over time. Moreover, we also learn, unsurprisingly, that exchange institutions were beset by a number of corrupt practices, such as extortion of higher exchange fees, theft of worn-out paper notes as well as embezzlements and frauds committed by officials, underlings and other staff members which apparently could never be totally eradicated by the government.[178]

4.2.4. *Public Revenues and Expenditures*

Although levies and defrayments in kind were still of substantial importance in Yuan finance,[179] there can be no doubt that paper notes became the dominant means of monetary transaction in the public domain. Thus, with the general introduction of paper money in 1260 it was proclaimed that all taxes and levies could be paid in paper money.[180] This was extended to the *baoyin* tax in 1263 which instead of silver could then also be paid in paper currency.[181]

In dealing with the lengthy legend in area F of Yuan paper notes, I have translated the sentence *xuanke chaifa nei bingxing shoushou* 宣課差發內並行收受 as follows: "They [i.e. the paper notes] shall be accepted both for levies and ["farming the silver" part of the] household taxes." The exact meaning of this sentence becomes clear when taking into account those items within the Yuan fiscal systems which were paid in paper money. Based on the reports we have in the economic chapters of the "History of the Yuan," these were the following levies and taxes:

---

[177] See Franke (1949), pp. 47–48. Cf. also Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 71, mentioning private institutions in the capital carrying out the exchange of worn-out notes for new ones at a premium.

[178] For details see Franke (1949), pp. 49–51, 59.

[179] Franke (1949), p. 133.

[180] Franke (1949), p. 39.

[181] Franke (1949), p. 41.

– those parts of the "annual [monopoly] levies" (*suike* 歲課) that were levied in paper money on the production of such products as gold, silver, pearls, jade, copper, iron, mercury, cinnabar, turquoise, lead, tin, alum, nitre, sodium carbonate, bamboo and wood;
– the salt (*yanke* 鹽課), tea (*chake* 茶課), liquor (*jiuke* 酒課) and vinegar (*cuke* 醋課) levies;
– the "non-quota levies" (*ewaike* 額外課) collected on 32 items such as calendars, contracts, rivers and ponds, mountain plantations, etc.;
– the commercial taxes (*shangshui* 商稅);
– "farming the silver" tax or *baoyin* 包銀,[182] i.e. the part of the household tax (*kechai* 科差) paid in paper money.[183]

After having elucidated this, it is relatively easy to see what was the meaning of the two technical terms *xuanke* 宣課 and *chaifa* 差發 mentioned in the legend of Yuan paper notes. Herbert Franz Schurmann mentions three possible meanings for *chaifa*: First, in the general sense of "levies" in the early period of the Mongol rule; second, the *kechai* 科差 or household taxes in general, i.e. consisting of the "silk material" (*siliao* 絲料) levy and the "farming the silver" (*baoyin* 包銀) tax, especially during the year 1314/1315; third, the *siliao* tax payable in silk and other textiles, mentioned in this sense for the year 1328/29.[184] Given the fact that only "farming the silver" taxes were paid in paper money, the *chaifa* mentioned on the paper notes could only have referred to this part of the *chaifa* levies.

In view of the levies (*ke* 課) collected in paper money, as mentioned in the economic chapters of the "History of the Yuan," it only makes sense to understand *xuanke* as meaning levies in general. Offices called *xuankesi* 宣課司 or *xuanke tijusi* 宣課提舉司 are mentioned for the Yuan period and are translated by Charles O. Hucker as "Commercial Tax Office," headed by a Supervisor (*tiju* 提舉) or Superintendent (*tiling* 提領).[185] The meaning of *xuanke* on the paper notes must, however, have been larger than only

[182] *Kechai*, known as *qubchir* in Mongolian, were the tribute payments the Mongols imposed on each household. Originally each household was required to an annual payment of 100 *liang* of silk yarn, but in practice this was commuted in silver payments of 5 *liang*. During the beginning of the reign of the Great Khan Möngke (r. 1251–1259) the *qubchir* was increased to 6 *liang*, but in 1255 reduced to 4 *liang*, half to be paid in silver, half in silk yarn. See von Glahn (2009), pp. 8–9.

[183] For details see Schurmann (1956), pp. 98–107, 152–162, 175–186, 197–202, 209–211, 217–221, 238–242.

[184] Schurmann (1956), p. 103.

[185] Hucker (1985), p. 251.

"commercial taxes." As a matter of fact, chapter 85 of the "History of the Yuan" mentions that the "Levies and Taxes Supervisorate" (*xuanke tijusi*) of Dadu 大都 handled the rates of all the kinds of levies (*zhuse kecheng* 諸色課程) and also administered all the markets of the capital.[186] And, what is even more explicit, chapter 101 of the same work speaks of the "six kinds of *xuanke*" (*liuse xuanke* 六色宣課)[187] which cannot be anything else than "annual [monopoly] levies" (*suike* 歲課), the salt (*yanke* 鹽課), tea (*chake* 茶課), liquor (*jiuke* 酒課) and vinegar (*cuke* 醋課) levies, as well as the "non-quota levies" (*ewaike* 額外課). Hence it is clear that the expressions *xuanke* and *chaifa* designated the whole range of levies and taxes which could be paid in paper money, including commercial taxes (*shangshui* 商稅), and which thus made clear that the paper notes were not only designated as a medium of exchange and measure of value, but also as a means of state payments.

A logical consequence of the institutionalisation of paper notes as the principal means of monetary tax payments was that official defrayments were also carried out in paper notes. Paper money was explicitly used for public buildings, soldiers' pay, officials' salaries, apanages for members of the imperial family and the Mongol nobility and for rewards and presents for officials, eunuchs, generals, and soldiers (*suici* 歲賜 or "annual grants), for disaster relief and supporting Buddhist cults and temples, but certainly also for the expenses of the regional and local administrations.[188] To sum up, this all corroborates what Marco Polo has written—namely that all official payments on the Khan's account (V 1, V 2), especially soldiers' pay and officials' salaries (V 4, V 11), are made by these pieces of paper notes (j).

4.2.5. *Market Transactions*

The earliest and most important Marco Polo texts state that in all of the Great Khan's dominions, i.e. the kingdoms, provinces, and territories, over which his sovereignty extends, these pieces of paper were current (k). They had to be used in all sales and purchases of goods (l), and those who refused these notes were punished by death (n). Herbert Franke has already mentioned, in 1949, that the population was draconically forced

186 *Yuanshi*, vol. 7, chap. 85, p. 2129.
187 *Yuanshi*, vol. 9, chap. 101, p. 2599.
188 These are the major defrayment categories that are mentioned by Franke (1949), pp. 131–144.

to accept paper notes.[189] But was it really like this that with the issue of the standardized and universal Zhongtong currency in 1260 these paper notes were legal tender all over the empire? As we will see below, there were regional exceptions to the Yuan paper money regime, especially in the first decades after the introduction of the Zhongtong currency. Marco Polo was well aware of this and provided first-hand description of this regional diversity. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that for most of the politically and economically important parts of the empire paper money was the principal means of payment and measure of value in private and official transactions. A clear indication of this fact is that price data for goods and services that have survived in Yuan historical documents were almost exclusively expressed in paper money. This concerns especially prices for:

– grains,
– salt,
– tea,
– metals,
– liquor,
– land,
– horses,
– agricultural tools,
– overland, riverine and maritime transportation and travelling,
– slaves,
– loans, and
– wages.

But paper money was also in widespread use, not only for a variety of other everyday expenditures, but also for specific items, such as:

– food, oil,
– vegetables,
– animals and animal products,
– sacrifices,
– food for birds of prey, hunting animals and wild animals kept at the court,
– books,

[189] Franke (1949), pp. 55, 59.

– paintings,
– jewelry and ornaments.

Apart from this, paper currency is also mentioned as capital for business investments or as a store of wealth.[190] And as we have seen above, almost all taxes and levies that were collected in money had to be paid in paper notes. Hence, the Ventetian traveller's statement that all sales and purchases of goods had to be carried out by means of these notes (l) is basically correct.

4.2.6. *Circulation Area*

Another interesting topic to be explored is the spatial distribution of paper money during the period of Marco Polo's stay in China. In order to examine this subject, it is helpful not only to inquire into relevant records reporting on monetary usages, but also to take a closer look at the regional and local institutions set up for putting paper notes into circulation. The result then can be compared, in a second step, with indications in Marco Polo's text on places where paper money was used. As a matter of fact, the "repetitiveness" and "redundancy" of Marco Polo in this respect have been often pointed out by historians. In a recent article, for instance, John Larner says that his interest in dozens of towns is no more than that their inhabitants are idolaters, obey the Great Khan, and have paper money—words running like a litany and shrivelling up our fantasy.[191] However, a closer look at Marco Polo's passages and a detailed comparison between what the Venetian mentions and the data obtained from Chinese sources shows that there is more behind these seemingly repetitive enumerations than is at first evident. Such an approach reveals extremely interesting parallelisms in the geographical distribution of different monies, which in my view bespeak the reliability of Marco Polo's eye-witness information.

---

[190] For Yuan prices in paper money see Franke (1949), pp. 144–155; Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," pp. 83–85; id., "Genchō jidai ni okeru . . ."; Peng Xinwei/Kaplan (1994), pp. 512–518. Moreover, Peng Xinwei gives a long list of prices for stolen goods dated 1368, the first year of the ensuing Ming dynasty. Under the categories "Gold, silver, copper and tin," "Pearls, jewels and jade," "Gauze, satin, plain cloth, heavy silk, silk floss and cotton," "Grain," "Livestock," "Vegetable and Fruit," "Turbans, hats and clothing" and "Utensils [and other goods]" a large variety of goods and commodities are listed with their prices, expressed apparently in paper money. See Peng Xinwei/Kaplan (1994), vol. 2, pp. 521–522.

[191] See Larner (2008), pp. 144–145, and also Jackson (1998), p. 86. Critchley (1992), p. 50, likewise stressed the stereotyped enumeration, "which read as if each place has been ticked off against a check-list."

Let us now deal with the institutions set up for replacing worn-out notes and for the paper money/silver exchange. With the establishment of a quasi empire-wide paper money currency in 1260 one of the monetary institutions set up in the capital—besides the Supervisorate of Exchange Notes for All Routes (*zhulu jiaochao tijusi* 諸路交鈔提舉司) and the Storehouse for Primordial-treasure Exchange Notes (*yuanbao jiaochao ku* 元寶交鈔庫)—was the Exchange Notes Storehouse (*jiaochao ku* 交鈔庫). As has already been explained above, while the Storehouse for Primordial-treasure Exchange Notes (*yuanbao jiaochao ku*) was responsible for the production and storage of the notes, the Exchange Notes Storehouse (*jiaochao ku*) took care of the exchange of spoilt notes and of the handing out of paper money for silver. Both these institutions were subordinated to the Supervisorate.[192]

After the establishment of the Exchange Notes Storehouse (*jiaochao ku*) in November/December 1260 (Zhongtong 1/10) in the Route of Yanjing 燕京, a Stabilisation Storehouse (*pingzhu ku* 平準庫) was set up there in June/July 1263 (Zhongtong 4/5), and a few months later, in January/February 1264 (Zhiyuan 1/1), Stabilisation Storehouses were also instituted in the Routes.[193] The reason for the creation of a new type of monetary agency was, as it seems, the partitioning of monetary responsibilities. While the Stabilisation Storehouses had to carry out the issue of paper notes against payment of silver, gold and other goods[194] and, as it seems, had "to concentrate on equalizing commodity prices, causing them to observe a mutual balance, without being too high or too low,"[195] the Exchange Notes Storehouses were those institutions which handled the exchange of spoilt paper notes against new ones. In all probability, such a specific assignment of monetary tasks existed also in the provinces (Branch Secretariats) from early on, but it is only in the context of the monetary reforms of 1282 that we learn of the existence of so-called Circulation Storehouses (*xingyong ku* 行用庫) set up for the business of dealing with the replacement of worn-out notes.[196] When the name of the Exchange Notes Storehouses

---

[192] See Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 48.

[193] Other names used for this type of agency were Storehouse for the Stabilisation of Exchange Notes (*pingzhun jiaochao ku* 平準交鈔庫) or Storehouse for the Stabilisation of Notes (*pingzhun chao ku* 平準鈔庫).

[194] This exchange business was called *daohuan* 倒換.

[195] *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 93, p. 2370; Schurmann (1956), p. 139.

[196] These offices were also called Storehouse for the Circulation of Exchange Notes (*xingyong jiaochao ku* 行用交鈔庫), Storehouse for the Circulation of Notes (*xingyong chao ku* 行用鈔庫), or Storehouse for the Exchange of Notes (*daochao ku* 倒鈔庫).

(*jiaochao ku*) was changed to Circulation Storehouses (*xingyong ku*) in the Routes is unclear. Because, however, the Stabilisation Storehouses were also called Stabilisation and Circulation Storehouses (*pingzhun xingyong ku* 平準行用庫),[197] it has to be assumed that in many cases the Stabilisation Storehouse and the Circulation Storehouse were located at the same place or that it was even one and the same office fulfilling both functions, i.e. issuing paper notes against payment of silver, gold and other goods as well as exchanging damaged notes for new ones.[198]

The establishment of Stabilisation Storehouses and Circulation Storehouses in the various Routes and sub-Route administrative units of the Yuan empire allows us to obtain a fuller spatial picture of the circulation of paper notes. Table 4 summarizes the research of Maeda Naonori on the distribution of Stabilisation Storehouses and Circulation Storehouses. It shows that around 1303 there existed at least 150 of these institutions, most of them on the level of Routes, but some also on the levels of superior prefectures, superior departments, or other prefectures, departments or districts. The distribution of these agencies was, however, by no means even. Based on this and other much more precise and detailed tables, Maeda Naonori has summarized the spatial characteristics of the location of *pingzhun ku* and *xingyong ku* as follows:

a) We have a high concentration of Storehouses in the Henan and Jiangzhe Branch Secretariats where there was either one Stabilisation Storehouse or one Circulation Storehouse in almost every Route. A similar density, though not to the same degree, was reached in the Metropolitan Secretariat's (*zhongshu sheng*) jurisdiction, in the Branch Secretariats of Sichuan, Shaanxi and Jiangxi as well as in the "region directly attached to the Branch Secretariat" (*xingsheng zhilidi* 行省直隸地) and in Hunan Circuit, both subordinated to the Huguang Branch Secretariat.

---

[197] Other names were Storehouse for the Stabilisation and Circulation of Exchange Notes (*pingzhun xingyong jiaochao ku* 平準行用交鈔庫) and Storehouse for the Stabilisation and Circulation of Notes (*pingzhun xingyong chao ku* 平準行用交鈔庫).

[198] See Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," pp. 57–60, p. 96n45. Stabilisation Storehouses and Circulation Storehouses were supervised by a Superintendent (*tiling* 提領), which could be a Mongol, one of the "miscellaneous aliens" (*semuren* 色目人), Northerner (*Hanren* 漢人) or Southerner (*nanren* 南人). Subordinated staff was a Commissioner-in-Chief (*dashi* 大使) and a Vice Commissioner (*fushi* 副使), also called Storehouse Commissioner *kushi* 庫使 and Storehouse Assistant (*kufu* 庫副), mostly being Northerners or Southerners. Further personnel included Keepers of Accounts (*zuandian* 攢典), Storehousemen (*kuzi* 庫子), as well as Helpers (*heganren* 合干人). See id., p. 72.

Table 4. Number of Yuan Stabilisation Storehouses and Circulation Storehouses by region, ca. 1303

Regional administrative unit		Number of subadministrative units[a]		*pingzhun ku*	*xingyong ku*	Sub-total	Total
		Yuan-shi	*Hanmo daquan*				
zhongshu sheng	*lu*	29	22	11	11	22	
	sanfu and *sanzhou*	8					
	sanfu				4	4	
	sanzhou				1	1	
	fu, zhou and *xian*				19	19	
							46
Liaoyang *xingsheng* 遼陽	*lu*	7	6	2	1	3	
							3
Henan *xingsheng* 河南	*lu*	12	12	4	7	11	
	sanfu and *sanzhou*	8					
	sanfu				6	6	
	sanzhou				2	2	
	fu, zhou and *xian*				2	2	
							21
Shaanxi *xingsheng* 陝西	*lu*	3[b]	6	1	2	3	
	sanfu	5			3	3	
	fu, zhou and *xian*				1	1	
							7
Sichuan *xingsheng* 四川	*lu*	9	9	2	5	7	
							7
Gansu *xingsheng* 甘肅	*lu*	7	6	2		2	
	sanfu and *sanzhou*	2					
							2
Jiangzhe *xingsheng*[c] 江浙	*lu*	22	22	17	5	22	
	sanfu and *sanzhou*	3					
	sanfu				3	3	
							25

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Regional administrative unit		Number of subadministrative units[a]		*pingzhun ku*	*xingyong ku*	Sub-total	Total
		Yuan-shi	*Hanmo daquan*				
Fujian *dao* (*xingsheng*) 福建	*lu*	8	8	3		3	3
Jiangxi *xingsheng* 江西	*lu* *sanfu* and *sanzhou* *sanfu*	18 9	18	11	3 3	14 3	17
Huguang *xingsheng* 湖廣	*lu*	32	31	4	14	18	18
xingsheng zhilidi	*lu* *sanfu* and *sanzhou*	8 2	7	*1*	*6*	*7*	*7*
Hunan *dao* 湖南	*lu* *sanfu* and *sanzhou*	9 3	9	*1*	*8*	*9*	*9*
Guangxi Liangjiang *dao* 廣西兩江	*lu* *sanfu* and *sanzhou* *sanzhou*	10 ?	10	*1*	*1* 1	2 1	*3*
Haibei Hainan *dao* 海北海南	*lu* *sanfu* and *sanzhou*	5 ?	5	*1*		*1*	*1*
Total							150[d]

Source: Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 66.

Legend:

zhongshu sheng 中書省	Metropolitan Secretariat
xingsheng 行省	Branch Secretariat
xingsheng zhilidi 行省直隸地	region directly attached to the Branch Secretariat
dao 道	circuit
lu 路	Route
sanfu 散府	superior prefecture
sanzhou 散州	superior department
fu 府	prefecture
zhou 州	department
xian 縣	district
pingzhun ku 平準庫	Stabilisation Storehouse
xingyong ku 行用庫	Circulation Storehouse

Notes:
This table presents a summary of the more extended data collected by Maeda Naonori, including not only those contained in the *Yuan dianzhang*, but also in a substantial number of other Yuan sources.
[a] The figures of the first column are based on the *Yuanshi*, those of the second on the *Hanmo daquan* 翰墨大全 or *Hanmo dashu* 翰墨大書 of Liu Yingli 劉應李. On the latter work and the for here relevant content see Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 97n52.
[b] The data do not include the Routes subordinated to the Pacification Commissions (*xuanweisi* 宣慰司) and Chief Military Commands (*du yuanshuai fu* 都元帥府) of Turfan 土蕃 and other places.
[c] Excluding Fujian *dao*, that is, the following entry.
[d] This figure does not include the figures set in italic script, because the respective regions were subordinated to Huguang *xingsheng* and therefore already included in the total of the Huguang *xingsheng* figure, with the exception of the *xingyongku* in one *sanzhou* in Guangxi Liangjiang *dao*. Moreover, if the institutions of Helin 和林 *xingsheng* and Weiwuer 畏吾 are added, the total would amount to 155.

A breakdown of a different kind is presented in the following short list:

pingzhun ku in the Routes	*xingyong ku* in the Routes	total *pingzhun ku* and *xingyong ku* in the Routes	*xingyong ku* in *sanfu*	*xingyong ku* in *sanzhou*	*xingyong ku* in *fu*, *zhou* and *xian*	total of *xingyong ku* in sub-Route units	grand total
		105				45	150
57	48		19	4	22		150

b) Circulation Storehouses were not only set up in the Routes, but also in sub-Route administrative units, especially in superior prefectures (*sanfu* 散府) and superior departments (*sanzhou* 散州). This was especially conspicuous in the region subordinated to the Metropolitan Secretariat and in Henan Branch Secretariat, i.e. largely speaking in and near the Metropolitan Area (*fuli* 腹裡).
c) Stabilisation Storehouses were established in Routes only, particularly numerous in the Metropolitan Secretariat's area and in the Branch Secretariats of Jiangzhe and Jiangxi. Moreover, in frontier areas Stabilisation Storehouses were also set up in the circuits (*dao* 道)—that is one Storehouse per circuit.
d) In important places, such as in the Routes of Dadu 大都, Hangzhou 杭州 and Pingjiang 平江 (Suzhou), even either two Stabilisation Storehouses existed, or one Stabilisation Storehouse together with one Circulation Storehouse.[199]

Based on the distribution of Stabilisation Storehouses and Circulation Storehouses as well as on additional information provided by historical records, Maeda Naonori comes to the following conclusions about the spread and intensity of Yuan paper currency circulation:

a) Paper money was used intensively and thoroughly in the regions south of the Yinshan Mountains 陰山 and the Luanhe River 灤河 in the Metropolitan Branch Secretariat (*zhongshu sheng*) as well as in the Branch Secretariats of Henan and Jiangzhe. The situation was similar in the "directly attached region" (*zhilidi* 直隸地) of the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat, as well as in the "directly attached region" and Hunan Circuit of the Huguang Branch Secretariat.
b) Next in intensity of circulation came the region of the Sichuan Branch Secretariat and the "directly attached region" and a part of the General Guard Command (*zong shuaifu* 總帥府) of Gongchang 鞏昌 and other places of the Shaanxi Branch Secretariat.
c) Yuan paper notes circulated only modestly in the Guangxi Liangjiang Circuit[200] and the Haibei Hainan Circuit in the Huguang Branch Secretariat, in the Guangdong Circuit 廣東道 of the Jiangxi Branch

[199] Cf. Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 67. For a more detailed analysis cf. id., pp. 74–76.
[200] With the exception of the region along Liangjiang Xidong 兩江溪洞, where almost no paper money circulated.

Secretariat, as well as in the Fujian Branch Secretariat. This comprised a region covered nowadays by the provinces of Fujian, Guangdong and Guangxi. The same situation held true for the Liaoyang Branch Secretariat, the region north of the Yinshan Mountains and Luanhe River of the Metropolitan Branch Secretariat, as well as for the Gansu Branch Secretariat and the western part of the Shaanxi Branch Secretariat.

d) Paper money did not circulate in the following regions—namely, in the Yunnan Branch Secretariat, in the regions for the Manyi 蠻夷 barbarians administered by the Bafan Shunyuan Pacification Commission 八番順元宣慰司 of the Huguang Branch Secretariat, in the two Routes of Mahu 馬湖 and Yongning 永寧 in the south of the Sichuan Branch Secretariat, as well as in Jingzhou 靖州 Route and in the region along Liangjiang Xidong 兩江溪洞 in the west of the Huguang Branch Secretariat. In other words, these were regions inhabited by Manyi 蠻夷 barbarians, comprising nowadays the provinces of Yunnan and Guizhou, the west of Guangxi Province, the south of Sichuan Province, and the southwestern part of Hunan Province.[201]

This analysis shows that although paper money appears to have prevailed as the principal medium of exchange, it by no means circulated in the same intensity in all parts of the Yuan empire, and that there were even regions where it was not used at all. For instance, in spite of the demonetarization and prohibition of bronze coins and Song paper notes, it seems that even decades later these currencies still served some monetary purposes, the former at least in Fujian, Guangdong, Jiangxi, and Hunan, the latter in Jiangnan. Even if the role of paper money became more and more dominant in the course of time, cash coins of former dynasties fullfilled monetary functions as late as in 1310. This is suggested by the fact that when in that year the Mongols also had bronze coins cast and circulated for a short period, it was stipulated that five coins of former dynasties were to have the same value as three coins of the new Zhida cash coins. Silver, too, was used to a certain extent, presumably for larger transactions. In smaller payments, people sometimes also resorted to tea tickets (*chatie* 茶帖), flour tickets, bamboo tokens (*zhupai* 竹牌) and wine tokens in trading with each other, as well as to paper vouchers denominated in packages of salt (*yanbao zhibiao* 鹽包紙標). Cowries, salt money, and gold served,

[201] Cf. Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," pp. 75–76.

moreover, as currencies in nowadays Southwest China.[202] Hence, both in spatial and temporal terms there existed a considerable degree of variety and exceptional conditions within the Yuan empire's theoretical aspiration towards monetary uniformity.

In a recent article published by Ichimaru Tomoko the complexity of the Yuan monetary situation has been further elucidated in spatial and temporal terms. Based on an investigation of mainly stele inscriptions recorded in local gazetteers (125 data from 40 local gazetteers of North China; 103 data from 45 gazetteers of Jiangnan) Ichimaru intended to find out more on the use of the three monies—silver, paper notes and cash coins—as well as on the use of the denominational systems of *ding/liang* and *guan/wen* for paper notes in North China and the Jiangnan region. With regard to the denominational systems, it was a peculiarity of the Yuan paper money regime that though the Zhongtong and Zhiyuan paper notes were clearly denominated in *guan* 貫 or *wen* 文 units, i.e. "strings [of 1,000 'one-unit coins' (*wen*)]" and "one-unit coins" of copper cash respectively, historical documents, records and remains also denominated them in *ding* 錠 and *liang* 兩, i.e. "ingots [of 50 ounces]" and "ounces" of silver.[203] In temporal terms the Japanese researcher distinguishes between the Early Period I (Mongol empire–1294, and thus covering the period of Marco Polo), Early Period II (1295–1307), Middle Period (1308–1332), and Late Period (1333–1368). With regard to the use and circulation of the three currencies—paper notes, silver and cash coins—a difference is made between imperial family, princes and dukes (a), state administration (b), common population (c), and army (d).

Ichimaru's conclusions for NORTH CHINA are as follows:

A) Payments in paper notes denominated in *guan/wen* or *ding/liang*
Paper notes were the main money under the Yuan who inherited the *guan/wen* paper note denomination system from their Jin predecessors (1115–1234). For the relation between the two systems the following numbers of notations can be found on stele inscriptions which reflect the growing importance of the silver denominational system and thus of silver in general:

[202] Franke (1949), pp. 52–56, 87, 91, 158; von Glahn (1996), pp. 65–67.

[203] The official rates were as follows: 1,000 *wen* ("one-unit coins" [of cash]) = 1 *guan* ("string" [of cash]) = 1 *liang* ("ounce" [of silver]); 50 *liang* = 1 *ding* ("ingot" [of silver]).

- Early Period I 9 cases of denominations in *guan/wen* to 2 in *ding/liang*
- Early Period II 8 to 2
- Middle Period 11 to 10
- Late Period 8 to 4

The results of the distribution of the two denominational systems among the various social actors are as follows:

- Rewards for the Mongol aristocracy (a) through all the periods were always predominately denominated in the *guan/wen* system.
- In state administration (b) the *guan/wen* system dominated in the Early Period, thus representing Jin usage. In the Middle Period, however, the *ding/liang* denominations gained dominance, only to loose it again in the Late Period due to the political and monetary chaos. The tendency to use *ding/liang* denominations in government matters shows up also in the "History of the Yuan," where they are mentioned in the "Basic Annals" (*benji* 本紀) and the monographic sections (*zhi* 志), while in biographical matters (*zhuan* 傳) and in tomb inscriptions denominations are mostly in *guan/wen* units.
- Among the common population (c) the *guan/wen* system was mainly used:
  - Early Period I 4 cases of denominations in *guan/wen* to 1 in *ding/liang*
  - Early Period II 2 to 0
  - Middle Period 7 to 4
  - Late Period 4 to 2

The larger share of the *guan/wen* system for paper money among the common population and the predominant use of *ding/liang* denominations for fiscal affairs is a characteristic not only for North China, but also for Jiangnan.

B) Payments in silver
The 22 cases of payments in silver clearly concentrate on the Early Period I:

- Early Period I 20 cases
- Early Period II 0
- Middle Period 1 case
- Late Period 1 case

The role of silver as real and concrete money in North China was limited to the period from the end of the Jin dynasty in 1234 to the establishment of the paper money regime by Khubilai Khan in 1260.

The 22 cases of silver transactions, almost all of them belonging to the Early Period I, concerned the following social actors:

- 9 cases involved rewards to the Mongol aristocracy (a), most paid out in the Early Period I, with only one case each for the Middle and Late Period in which paper notes were normally used for this purpose.
- 1 case related to the central government (b) in 1260, when the paper money system was not yet fully established.
- 5 cases concerned transactions among commoners (c) in the Early Period I, being proof of the role of silver as main currency from the end of the Jin to the Mongol period.
- 7 cases were rewards for military exploits (d); payments in silver for this purpose decreased dramatically after the defeat of both the Jin (1234) and Southern Song (1276); not a single case is recorded for Jiangnan.

C) Payments in copper cash

Surprisingly, Ichimaru thinks to have found some evidence for the continued use of copper cash payments also in North China, and not only for the so-far well-known case of South China. The figures below, especially those in parenthesis, show the cases where for certain no *guan/wen* denominations in paper money but, instead, real cash coins or strings were meant:

- Early Period 9 cases (including 1 uncertain case)
- Middle Period 5 cases (including 1 uncertain case)
- Late Period: 6 cases (including 1 uncertain case)

In three cases it remains unclear whether real cash coins or strings were used in payment. Moreover, there is also the question of transportation costs in those cases where high amounts of cash were involved. Although the Yuan issued almost no cash coins, it cannot be excluded that coins nonetheless continued to be used. This also finds some corroboration in Ichimaru's analysis of 211 archaeological reports from the journals *Wenwu* 文物 (Historical Relics) and *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology) which, in 85 cases, mention coin finds.

No cash payments are mentioned in connection with the army (d), and only 2 related to the imperial family, princes or dukes (a). In government

transactions (c) 8 cases (under exclusion of three doubtful ones) can be counted, while the largest share, 10 cases, can be observed among payments by commoners (c).

Table 5. Uses of silver, copper cash, paper money and paper money denominations in North China as mentioned on Yuan stele inscriptions, organised by period and social classes

Period	Silver	Paper money			Cash	Money type unknown	
		ding/ liang	*guan/ wen*	Unit-of-account unknown		*ding/ liang*	*guan/ wen*
Early Period I	20	2	9	1	6(5)	–	7
Early Period II	–	2	8	1	3	1	1
Middle Period	1	10	11	2	5(4)	1	7
Late Period	1	4	8	1	6(5)	1	6

Early Period I

Social classes	Silver	Paper money			Cash	Money type unknown	
		ding/ liang	*guan/ wen*	Unit-of-account unknown		*ding/ liang*	*guan/ wen*
Imperial family, princes, dukes	7	1	3	1	1	–	–
State administration	1	–	2	–	3(2)	–	1
Common population	5	1	4	–	2	–	4
Army	7	–	–	–	–	–	2

Early Period II

Social classes	Silver	Paper money			Cash	Money type unknown	
		ding/ liang	*guan/ wen*	Unit-of-account unknown		*ding/ liang*	*guan/ wen*
Imperial family, princes, dukes	–	1	4	–	–	1	–
State administration	–	1	2	–	2	–	–
Common population	–	–	2	1	1	1	–
Army	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Table 5 (*cont.*)

Middle Period

Social classes	Silver	Paper money			Cash	Money type unknown	
		ding/ liang	*guan/ wen*	Unit-of-account unknown		*ding/ liang*	*guan/ wen*
Imperial family, princes, dukes	1	2	4	–	–	–	–
State administration	–	4	–	1	1(0)	1	4
Common population	–	4	7	1	4	–	3
Army	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Late Period

Social classes	Silver	Paper money			Cash	Money type unknown	
		ding/ liang	*guan/ wen*	Unit-of-account unknown		*ding/ liang*	*guan/ wen*
Imperial family, princes, dukes	1	–	3	1	1	–	–
State administration	–	2	2	–	2(1)	1	3
Common population	–	2	4	–	3	–	3
Army	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Source: Ichimaru Tomoko (2008), p. 118.

Notes: The figures in parentheses indicate the number of cases exclusive of those of uncertain nature.
Early Period I: Mongol empire–1294
Early Period II: 1295–1307
Middle Period: 1308–1332
Late Period: 1333–1368

For the 103 data for JIANGNAN (90 from Jiangzhe xingsheng 江浙行省, 7 from Jiangxi xingsheng 江西行省, 6 from Huguang xingsheng 湖廣行省) Ichimaru presents the following results:

A) Payments in paper notes denominated in *guan/wen* or *ding/liang*
After the Yuan conquest of South China in 1276 the use of Yuan paper notes was high in the Early Period. The development in the use of the denominational systems was as follows:

– Early Period 9 cases of denominations in *guan/wen* to 1 in *ding/liang*
– Middle Period 7 to 19
– Late Period 8 to 9

In other words, in the Early Period the *guan/wen* denominational system dominated (which can be considered an inheritance from the end of the Southern Song when almost no silver was in use), the adoption of cash coins decreased and mostly *huizi* 會子 (account notes) notes circulated, the latter having been denominated in terms of *guan/wen*. In the Middle Period the *ding/liang* system gained a majority following, especially among commoners (c), which is an expression of the penetrating impact of the Yuan fiscal *ding/liang* denomination. This was followed by a re-emergence of the *guan/wen* system in the Late Period which was related to the political and monetary disturbances.

B) Payments in silver
Transactions in silver increased from the Early to the Late Period:

– Early Period 1 case
– Middle Period 3 cases
– Late Period 5 cases

This tendency is an indication of the growing importance of silver as a reflection of Jiangnan's economic development.

Silver payments are mainly recorded in transactions among commoners (c), namely, altogether 6, i.e. 1 for the Early Period, 3 for the Middle Period, and 2 for the Late Period. To this have to be added 3 further cases of silver payments related to state administration in the Late Period.

C) Payments in copper cash
The use of cash coins increased steadily in the course of time:

– Early Period 1 case
– Middle Period 9 cases (including 2 uncertain cases)
– Late Period: 13 cases

Only one case of cash coin payment is recorded for the Early Period, but then such usage increased substantially in the Middle and Late Periods, especially in the wake of the Yuan monetary chaos. This appears to have been Song cash that had been left over and had been hoarded.

The use of cash was clearly dominant in transactions among commoners (c) and concerning state administration (b) with 10 and 12 cases (the latter including 2 uncertain cases and 1 case which also involved the army (d)) respectively. Only 1 case referred to payments related to the imperial family, princes or dukes.[204]

Table 6. Uses of silver, copper cash, paper money and paper money denominations in Jiangnan as mentioned on Yuan stele inscriptions, organised by period and social classes

Period	Silver	Paper money			Cash	Money type unknown	
		ding/ liang	*guan/ wen*	Unit-of-account unknown		*ding/ liang*	*guan/ wen*
Early Period	1	1	9	1	1	–	1
Middle Period	3	19	7	1	9(7)	–	5
Late Period	5	9	8	1	13	3	9

Early Period

Social classes	Silver	Paper money			Cash	Money type unknown	
		ding/ liang	*guan/ wen*	Unit-of-account unknown		*ding/ liang*	*guan/ wen*
Imperial family, princes, dukes	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
State administration	–	1	3	–	–	–	1
Common population	1	–	5	–	1	–	–
Army	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

[204] See Ichimaru Tomoko 市丸智子, "Gendai ni okeru gin, shō, dōsen no sōgai kankei ni tsuite: Shiyō tan-i no bunseki o chūshin ni" 元代の銀· 鈔· 銅錢の相互關係について—使用單位の分析お中心に—(On the Mutual Relationship between Silver, Paper Notes and Copper Cash during the Yuan Period, with a Focus on the Analysis of the Units in Use), *Tōyōshi ronshū* 東洋史論集 (Collected Articles on Oriental History), 36 (2008): 88–122. There are some slight inconsistencies in Ichimaru's original tables, especially for the Jiangnan case where instead of a total of 7 denominations in *guan/wen* for the Early Period and for a total of 18 denominations in *ding/liang* for the Middle Period it should have been 9 and 19 respectively in accordance with the additions of the figures in the individual tables. I therefore corrected to 9 and 19 cases respectively.

Table 6 (*cont.*)

Middle Period

Social classes	Silver	Paper money			Cash	Money type unknown	
		ding/ liang	*guan/ wen*	Unit-of-account unknown		*ding/ liang*	*guan/ wen*
Imperial family, princes, dukes	–	1	–	1	1	–	–
State administration	–	6	5	–	6(4)	–	1
Common population	3	12	2	–	2	–	4
Army	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Late Period

Social classes	Silver	Paper money			Cash	Money type unknown	
		ding/ liang	*guan/ wen*	Unit-of-account unknown		*ding/ liang*	*guan/ wen*
Imperial family, princes, dukes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
State administration	3	4	4	–	6	–	3
Common population	2	5	4	1	7	3	7
Army	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Source: Ichimaru Tomoko (2008), p. 121.
Notes: The figures in parentheses indicate the number of cases exclusive of those of uncertain nature.
Early Period: 1276–1307
Middle Period: 1308–1332
Late Period: 1333–1368

Let us now, in the next step, compare all these data and conclusions obtained from Chinese sources with relevant indications in Marco Polo. In Table 7 there are listed all the places in China mentioned in *Le devisament dou monde* by additionally pointing out whether, during his stay in China from about 1275 to 1291, the Venetian traveller indicates the circulation of paper money there. If so, he either says that the money there is made of paper, that they use paper money there, or that there is no other money than the paper notes of the Great Khan. These data are then juxtaposed with relevant information on monetary institutions as they are reported in Chinese sources representing the state of 1303 and thereafter (see also Map 1). As a first step, I listed in this table all the place names in China mentioned in the most important versions of Marco Polo's book. In a second step, I compared this list with Maeda Naonori's findings. As

is obvious from Table 4 Maeda also indicated other places with monetary institutions, but here I have limited myself to the localities mentioned by Marco Polo. Hence this table and also Map 1 do not represent the complete picture of Yuan monetary institutions as they were recorded around 1303 in Chinese sources, but only in reference to the places which are mentioned by the Venetian.

Table 7. Places in China with paper money as mentioned by Marco Polo, 1275–1291, compared with relevant references to paper money institutions in Chinese sources, ca. 1303

Secretariat or circuit	Place names as mentioned by Marco Polo[a]	Place names in Chinese sources[b]	Reference to paper money use by Marco Polo, 1275–1291	Monetary institutions indicated in Yuan sources, ca. 1303	Sources[c]
Gansu Branch Secretariat	Saciou / Sacion (Sachiu, Saciu, Sachion)	Shazhou 沙洲			371 2: 16 (88)
	Succiu / Surtant (Sukchu, Sukchur, Succuir)	Suzhou 肅州			377 2: 21 (89)
	Canpiciou / Campision (Campichu, Campçio, Kampion)	Ganzhou 甘州		pzxyk	378 2: 22 (90)
	Erginul / Erguiul (Erguiul, Ergiuul,)	Xiliangzhou 西凉州			394 2: 38 (90)
	Silingiu / Singay (Sinju, Silinggiu, Singui, Signi, Sigui)	Xizhou 熙洲			394 2: 38 (90)
	Calacian / Calachan (Calachan, Calacia)	Ningxia 寧夏 (Zhongxing 中興)		pzxyk	396 2: 40 (91)
Metropolitan Secretariat	Sindatui / Sindatary (Sindachu, Sincaciu, Sindichin)	Xuande 宣德		xyk	399 2: 42 (91)
	Ciandu [Cleimenfu] / Ciandu (Chandu, Shandu,)	Shangdu 上都 (Kaiping 開平)		pzxyk, pzk	400 2: 44 (92)
	Canbalu [Caidu] / Cambaluc (Cambaluc, Taidu)	Dadu 大都		pzxyk	439 3: 96 (92)

Table 7 (*cont.*)

Secretariat or circuit	Place names as mentioned by Marco Polo[a]	Place names in Chinese sources[b]	Reference to paper money use by Marco Polo, 1275–1291	Monetary institutions indicated in Yuan sources, ca. 1303	Sources[c]
	Giongiu / Ginguy (Juju, Giogiu, Gouza, Giogu, Gioguy, Geogui)	Zhuozhou 涿州			451 4: 56 (95)
	Taianfu / Taiaufu (Taianfu, Tainfu)	Taiyuan 太原 (Jining 冀寧)		pzxyk	452 4: 57 (95)
	Pianfu / Pyanfu (Pianfu)	Pingyang 平陽		pzxyk	453 4: 58 (96)
	Caiciu / Caycay (Caichu, Thaigin, Caycui, Chaicui)	Xiezhou 解州 (?)[d]		xyk	453 4: 58 (96)
	Cacianfu / Caciauf (Cachanfu, Cacionfu, Kachanfu)	Hezhong 河中		xyk	456 4: 61 (97)
Shaanxi Branch Secretariat	Quengianfu / Guengyafu (Kenjanfu, Kenzanfu)	Chang'an 長安 (Anxi 安西, Fengyuan 豐元, Xianning 咸寧)		pzxyk, pzk, xyk	456 4: 62 (97)
	Acbalac Mangi / Acbalet Manzi (Acbalec Manzi, Acbalec Mangi, Achbaluch Manji, Ak-balik Manzi)	Zhending 真定[e]		pzxyk, xyk	459 4: 63 (98)
Sichuan Branch Secretariat	Sindanfu / Sindufu (Sindafu, Sindinfu, Syndyfu)	Chengdu 成都		pzxyk	460 4: 65 (98)
Yunnan Branch Secretariat	Gaindu / Gaindu (Caindu, Kaindu)	Jiandu 建都 (Jianchang 建昌, Jian'an 建安)			466 4: 73 (99)
	Iaci / Jacyn (Yachi)	Kunming 昆明 (Zhongqing 中慶)			469 4: 76 (102)

Table 7 (*cont.*)

Secretariat or circuit	Place names as mentioned by Marco Polo[a]	Place names in Chinese sources[b]	Reference to paper money use by Marco Polo, 1275–1291	Monetary institutions indicated in Yuan sources, ca. 1303	Sources[c]
	Caraian / Caraiam (Carajan, Caragian)	Dali 大理			469 4: 77 (103)
	Vocian / Vocian (Vochan, Uncian, Vochang, Vociam)	Yongchang 永昌			473 4: 85 (103)
Sichuan Branch Secretariat	Sinugul / Suingul (Fungul, Funilgul, Sinulgu, Similgu, Chintigui)[f]	Xuzhou 敍州		xyk	488 4: 98
	Sindinfu / Sindinfu (Sindafu, Sindufu, Syndyfu)[f]	Chengdu 成都		pzxyk	490 4: 99 (98)
Metropolitan Secretariat	Giugiu / Cuguy (Juju, Giogiu, Gouza, Giogu, Gioguy, Geogui, Gingui)[g]	Zhuozhou 涿州		(pm)[h]	490 4: 99 (108)
	Cacianfu / Cacanfu (Cacanfu, Pazanfu, Caucasu)[g]	Hejian 河間		xyk	490 4: 100 (108)
	Cianglu / Cyanglu (Changlu)	Changlu 長蘆 (Cangzhou 滄州, Qingchi 清池)		pzxyk, pzk	491 4: 100 (108)
	Ciangli / Cyangly (Chinangli)[i]	Ji'nan 濟南 (Licheng 歷城[j]		pzxyk,	491 4: 101 (109)
	Candinfu / Condifu (Tadinfu, Tundinfu, Tandinfu)[i]	Dongping 東平 (Xucheng 須城)		pzxyk	492 4 : 102 (109)
	Singuimatu / Singuy Matu (Sinjumatu, Singiu Matu, Sinju Matu)[k]	Xinzhou matou 新州碼頭 (?), i.e. Jizhou 濟州 (Rencheng 任城)[l]		xyk	494 4: 103 (110)

Table 7 (*cont.*)

Secretariat or circuit	Place names as mentioned by Marco Polo[a]	Place names in Chinese sources[b]	Reference to paper money use by Marco Polo, 1275–1291	Monetary institutions indicated in Yuan sources, ca. 1303	Sources[c]
Henan Branch Secretariat	Ligin / Linguy (Linju, Lingiu, Lingui)[k m]	Liucheng 留城		(pm)[n]	494 4: 105 (111)
	Pi[n]giu / Pynguy (Piju, Pingui)[m]	Pizhou 邳州 (Xiapi 下邳)		(pm)[n]	495 4: 106 (114)
	Cingiu / Cinguy (Siju, Cingui)[o]	Suqian 宿遷[p]		(pm)[n]	496 4: 106 (114)
	Caramoran / Caramoran (Caramoran, Karamoran)[o]	Huanghe 黃河 (Yellow River)			497 4: 107 (114)
	Coygangiu / Coygangy (Coiganju, Conganguy, Koiganzu)	Huai'an 淮安 (Shanyang 山陽)		pzxyk	500 5: 99 (114)
	Caigiu / Tuyguy (Caiju, Caguy, Kuanzu, Quanzu, Caigui, Caicui, Kaiju)	Huaiyin 淮陰 ? (Hekou 河口?)[q]		(pm)[r]	497 4: 107 (114)
	Pauchin / Panchin (Paukin, Paughin)	Baoying 寶應		(pm)[s]	501 5: 100 (115)
	Cayu or Caiu /Caÿn (Cayu, Cauyu, Kain)	Gaoyou 高郵		xyk	502 5: 100 (115)
	Tigiu / Tyguy (Tiju, Tingui)	Taizhou 泰州 (Hailing 海陵)		pzxyk	502 5: 101 (115)
	Cingiu / Tyguy (Tinju, Chingui, Chinju)	Tongzhou 通州 (Jinghai 靜海)[t]		(pm)[u]	503 5: 101 (115)
	Yangiu / [I]anguy (Yanju, Yangui)	Yangzhou 揚州 (Jiangdu 江都)		pzxyk, xyk	503 5: 102 (115)

Table 7 (*cont.*)

Secretariat or circuit	Place names as mentioned by Marco Polo[a]	Place names in Chinese sources[b]	Reference to paper money use by Marco Polo, 1275–1291	Monetary institutions indicated in Yuan sources, ca. 1303	Sources[c]
	Nanchin or Nanghin / Manghin (NANGHIN, Namghin, Naingui)	Anqing 安慶 (Huaining 懷寧)[v]	■	xyk	504 5: 103 (116)
	Sanyanfu / Saianfu (SAIANFU, Sayanfu)	Xiangyang 襄陽	■	xyk	504 5: 104 (116)
	Singiu / Singuy (SINJU, Singui)	Zhenzhou 真州	▒	pzxyk	507 5: 107 (117)
	Caygiu / Catuy (CAIJU, Caigiu, Kayngui)	Guazhou 瓜州	▒	(pm)[w]	508 5: 109 (117)
Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat	Cinghianfu /Cynghyanfu (CHINGHIANFU, Chinghianfu, Changhianfu)[x]	Zhenjiang 鎮江	■	pzxyk, pzk	509 5: 110 (117)
	Tinghingui / Cinghynguy (CHINGINJU, Ciangiu, Tinguigui)[x]	Changzhou 常州	■	pzxyk, pzk	510 5: 111 (117)
	Suigiu / Singuy, Cynguy (SUJU, Sugiu, Singui)	Suzhou 蘇州 (Pingjiang 平江, Wuxian 吳縣)	■	pzxyk, pzk, xyk	511 5: 112 (117)
	Vugiu / Vuguy (VUJU, Vagiu)	Wujiang 吳江		(pm)[y]	512 5: 113 (118)
	Vughin / Vughyu (VUGHIN)	Huzhou 湖州 (Wuxing 吳興, Wucheng 烏程, Gui'an 歸安)	▒	pzxyk	512 5: 113 (118)
	Ciangan / Cyangan (CHANGAN, Ciangan)	Changxing 長興		(pm)[z]	512 5: 113 (119)
	Quinsai / Quinsay (KINSAY, Quinsai, Kinsai)	Xingzai 行在 (Hangzhou 杭州, Qiantang 錢塘, Renhe 仁和)	■	pzxyk, xyk. pzk	513 5: 116 (119)

Table 7 (*cont.*)

Secretariat or circuit	Place names as mentioned by Marco Polo[a]	Place names in Chinese sources[b]	Reference to paper money use by Marco Polo, 1275–1291	Monetary institutions indicated in Yuan sources, ca. 1303	Sources[c]
	Ganfu / Ganfu (GANFU, Gampu, Ganpu)	Ganpu 澉蒲		(pm)[a*]	516 5: 117 (119)
	Tanpingiu / Tapiguy (TANPIJU, Tanpigiu, Tapinzu, Carpiguy)[b*]	Tonglu 桐盧		(pm)[c*]	521 5: 124 (119)
	Vu[i]giu / Vuyguy (VUJU, Vugiu, Uguiu)[b*]	Wuzhou 婺州 (Jinhua 金華)		pzxyk, pzk	521 5: 124 (120)
	Ghiugiu or Ghengiu or Chengiu / Ginguy (GHIUJU, Guiguy, Ghingui, Gengui)[d*]	Quzhou 衢州 (Xi'an 西安)		pzxyk	522 5: 124 (120)
	Cianscian or Ciansan / Ciencian (CHANSHAN, Ciancian, Zengian)[d* e*]	Suichang 遂昌		(pm)[f*]	523 5: 125 (120)
	Cugiu / Cinguy (CUJU, Cugui, Gieza)[e*]	Chuzhou 處州 (Lishui 麗水)		pzxyk	523 5: 125 (120)
Fujian Circuit (Branch Secretariat)	Quenlifu / Quenlifu (KELINFU, Quenlinfu, Kuelinfu)	Jianning 建寧 (Jian'an 建安, Ouning 甌寧)[g*]		pzk	524 5: 127 (121)
	Unguen / Vuguen (UNKEN, Unguen)	Houguan 侯官[g*]		(pm)[h*]	525 5: 128 (121)
	Fugiu / Fuguy (FUJU, Kangiu)	Fuzhou 福州 (Minxian 閩縣)		pzxyk	526 5: 128 (121)
	Çart[u]n or Çait[un] or <C>ai[t]on / Sarcan or Çaiton (ZAYTON, Zaitun)	Quanzhou 泉州 (Citong 刺桐)		pzxyk	527 5: 129 (121)
	Tiungiu / Taingui (TYUNJU, Tingiu, Tingui)	Fengzhou 丰州[i*]		(pm)[j*]	528 5: 130 (121)

Sources: For the Franco-Italian text see Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*; for the early French versions see Philippe Ménard (ed.), *Marco Polo: Le devisement du monde*, Genève: Librairie Droz, 5 vols., 2001–2006; for the Z manuscript of Toledo Arthur Christopher Moule and Paul Pelliot, *Marco Polo: The Description of the World*, London: Routledge, 1938, vol. 2, pp. xxi–lvi; for Ramusio's version see Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, ed. by Marica Milanesi, Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1980, vol. 3.; for Pipino's text cf. Justin V. Prášek, *Marka Pavlova z Benátek; Milion: Dle jediného rukopisu spolu s příslušným základem latinským*, Prag: Nákladem České Akademie Císaře Františka Josefa pro Vědy, Slovesnost a Umění, 1902; for the Yuan monetary institutions see Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," pp. 60–65.

Legend:

These mentionings of the use of paper money are to be found in both the Franco-Italian manuscript (F) and the early French version (B1) as well as in the Z manuscript of Toledo and Ramusio's rendering. Pipino's version mentions paper money explicitly only for Cambaluc (Dadu) in the Metropolitan Secretariat and for Kinsay (Xingzai, i.e. Hangzhou) in the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat. It is, however, interesting to note that in the entry for Caÿn (Gaoyou) in the Henan Branch Secretariat Pipino has a kind of summary account, namely, that there as well as in the whole region the money of the Great Khan is issued: "[. . .] Ibi et in tota regione illa expenditure moneta curie magni Khan. [. . .]" (See Prášek (1902), p. 135). The Franco-Italian text is considered by Philippe Ménard to be the version nearest to the archetype, followed by the early French texts (see Ménard (2003), pp. 16, 17).

The circulation of paper money is mentioned in both the Franco-Italian manuscript (F) and the early French version (B1) as well as in the Z manuscript of Toledo, but not in Ramusio's rendering.

Places using paper money as indicated by both the Franco-Italian manuscript (F) and the early French version (B1), but not in the Z manuscript of Toledo.

These references to the use of paper money are only in the early French versions, including B1, but not in the archetypical Franco-Italian manuscript (F) and also not in the Z manuscript of Toledo.

pzk *pingzhun ku* 平準庫, Stabilisation Storehouse
xyk *xingyong ku* 行用庫, Circulation Storehouse
pzxyk *pingzhun xingyong ku* 平準行用庫, Stabilisation and Circulation Storehouse(s)
(pm) circulation of paper money to be assumed because of side-evidence

Notes: In a first step, I listed in this table all the place names in China mentioned in the most important versions of Marco Polo's book. In a second step, I compared this list with Maeda Naonori's findings. As is obvious from Table 4 Maeda also indicated other places with monetary institutions, but here I limited myself to those places that were mentioned by Marco Polo. Hence this table and also Map 1 do not represent the complete picture of Yuan monetary institutions as they were recorded around 1303 in Chinese sources, but only in reference to the places which are mentioned by the Venetian.

[a] The place names are following the transcription of Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, followed, after a slash, by those in Ménard (2001–2006). In parentheses I have added in small caps the transcriptions as given by Yule (1903) and the variants listed by Haw (2006), pp. 89–123. These additional transcriptions are not intended to be complete, as a check in Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, immediately shows. The order of place names follows the narration (and thus in part certainly also the itinerary) of the Venetian traveller. Basically I have only included places, and not regions.

Moreover, it should be mentioned that Ramusio's version, like Pipino's rendering on which it is partly based, does not list all the places contained in the Franco-Italian and early French texts. Thus, the account on Sindinfu (Chengdu) in the Sichuan Branch Secretariat and on Giugiu (Zhuozhou) and Cacianfu (Hejian) in the Metropolitan Secretariat is truncated, and the allocations of these places are unclear. Pipino's text does not mention Sindinfu (Chengdu) nor Giugiu. In addition, like Pipino's text, Ramusio does not write about Ligin (Liucheng), Pi[n]giu (Pizhou) and Cingiu (Suqian) in the Henan Branch Secretariat, nor about Vugiu (Wujiang), Vughin (Huzhou) and Ciangan (Changxing) in the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat.

[b] For place names and locations in Chinese see Haw (2006), ibid., and Tan Qixiang (chief ed.) (1982), vol. 7, respectively, if not otherwise indicated. In many cases a Chinese city was the seat of a number of provincial, regional and local jurisdictions. While these jurisdictions had their administrative seat in the same locality, the jurisdictions themselves carried different names which I have added in parentheses. If relevant older names for a locality have also been included in parentheses. Even if a place name had been changed, older toponyms continued to be used.

[c] The numbers for volume and page refer, first, to Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, and, second, to Ménard (2001–2006). The numbers in parentheses are those in Haw (2006).

[d] Haw (2006), p. 96, thinks that this refers to Xiezhou, but there exist a number of other attributions like present-day Jizhou 吉州 (Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 26n2), Houma 侯马 (Joel Blanchard and Michel Quereuil (eds.), "Voyages a travers la China," in Philippe Menard (ed.), *Marco Polo: Le devisement du monde*, Geneve: Librairie Droz S.A. (Textes litteraires francais, 575), 2005, p. 110) or Jiangzhou 绛州 (Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, pp. 122–124).

[e] Haw (2006), p. 96, identifies this place with Hanzhong 漢中 (Xingyuan 興元, Nanzheng 南鄭). In Cai Meibiao's view, however, Acbalac, i.e. Acbaliq (Acbalikh), is Persian meaning "White City." On a bilingual Mongolian-Chinese stele inscription of the Yuan clan 元氏 in Kaihua Temple 開化寺 in Hebei Province, Zhendinglu in the Chinese text corresponds to Caqan Balaqasun (Cakhan Balakhsun), i.e. "White City," in 'P'ags-pa Mongolian. See Cai Meibiao (1993), pp. 171–172, Cai Meibiao, "Yuanshi Kaihuasi bei shiyi" 元氏開化寺碑釋译 (Explanation and Translation of the Stele of the Kaihua Temple of the Yuan Clan), *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology), 9 (1988): 843, and also Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, pp. 8–9. Acbalac Mangi would thus mean "White City on [the frontier to] Mangi."

[f] I follow here the interpretation of Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 73, who interprets the relevant passage in the sense that "paper money is used in the cities from Xuzhou to Chengdufu." His identification of Sinugul with Xuzhou makes more sense here than that of Haw (2006), p. 106, with Kuizhou 夔州 or Fuzhou 涪州.

[g] Marco Polo mentions, moreover, that in all the cities from Giugiu to Cacianfu paper money is used.

[h] Zhuozhou was subordinated to Dadulu 大都路, i.e. the Route of the Capital and thus to the largest producer of paper money.

[i] Also here Marco Polo reports that in all the cities from Ciangli to Candinfu paper money is circulating.

[j] Contrary to, e.g. Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 137, Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, p. 258–259, is of the opinion that Ciangli (Cynangly etc.) corresponds to Jianglingxian 將陵, i.e. Lingzhou 陵州, and not to Ji'nanlu. For arguments that Ciangli is Ji'nanlu, but that its description is confounded with Tondinfu (Dongpinglu) see my chapter VII.

[k] According to Marco Polo's account, paper money was used in all the cities from Singuimatu to Ligin.

[l] On the identification of Xinzhou with Jizhou see Arthur Christopher Moule, "Marco Polo's Sinjumatu," *T'oung Pao*, second series, 13.3 (1912): 431–433.

[m] Paper money circulated in all the places from Ligin to Pi[n]giu, Marco Polo said.

[n] There was a *xingyong ku* in Guidefu 歸德府 to which Liucheng, Pizhou and Suqian were subordinated.

[o] Marco Polo wrote that paper money was used in all the places from Cingiu to the Caramoran.
[p] See, however, Peng Hai (2010), p. 250, who thinks that this is Sizhou 泗州, near present-day Xuyi 盱眙.
[q] This is perhaps present-day Qingjiangshi 清江市. See the different explanations in Haw (2006), p. 114, and Blanchard and Quereuil (2005), pp. 130, 228.
[r] Huaiyin would have been subordinated to Huai'an which had a *pingzhun xingyong ku*.
[s] Baoying was subordinated to Gaoyou which had a *xingyong ku*.
[t] Jean-Claude Delclos and Claude Roussel, *A travers la Chine du Sud*, in Philippe Menard (ed.), *Marco Polo: Le devisement du monde*, Geneve: Librairie Droz S.A., 2006, vol. 5, pp. 139, 260, think that this is Haizhou 海州 or Hai'an 海安. See, however, the explanation in Haw (2006), p. 115, identifying this place as Tongzhou.
[u] Tongzhou was subordinated to Yangzhou with its *pingzhun xingyong ku* and *xingyong ku*. A *pingzhun xingyong ku* was also located in Taizhou, northwest of Tongzhou.
[v] Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 73, thinks that this is Kaifeng 開封, the "Southern Capital," and not Anqing. This would not change much for our exercise in juxtaposition, because Kaifeng also had a *xingyong ku*.
[w] Guazhou was subordinated and near to Yangzhou which had a *pingzhun xingyong ku* and *xingyong ku*.
[x] Marco Polo reported that in all the places from Cinghianfu to Tinghingui paper money was used.
[y] Wujiang was subordinated to Suzhou with its *pingzhun xingyong ku*, *pingzhun ku* and *xingyong ku*.
[z] Changxing belonged administratively to Huzhou which had a *pingzhun xingyong ku*.
[a*] Ganpu was subordinated to Jiaxinglu 嘉興路 which had a *pingzhun xingyong ku* and *pingzhun ku*.
[b*] According to Marco Polo's report, paper money circulated in the places from Tanpingiu to Vu[i]giu.
[c*] There was a *xingyong ku* in Jiandelu 建德路 to which Tonglu was subordinated.
[d*] The Venetian traveller reports that in the places from Ghiugiu to Cianscian paper money is used.
[e*] Marco Polo writes that in the places from Cianscian to Cugiu paper money circulates.
[f*] Suichang was subordinated to Chuzhou which had a *pingzhun xingyong ku*.
[g*] Quenlifu and Unguen as places using paper money are only mentioned in the early French version, but not in the archetipical Franco-Italian manuscript. Cf. the variants in Delclos and Roussel (2006), p. 244 for lines 35–36 and p. 246 for lines 58–59.
[h*] As Houguan was subordinated to Fuzhou with its *pingzhun xingyong ku*, paper money must also have circulated there, at least in 1303 and later.
[i*] Haw (2006), p. 121, identifies this place name with Tingzhou 汀州 (Changting 長汀), but Zheng Yi offers good reasons for identifying it with Fengzhou, just about 20 km west of present-day Quanzhou City. For his convincing arguments see Zheng Yi 郑弋, "*Tiunguy* ji 'Fengzhou': Dui 'Make Boluo xingji' zhong yitiao diming kaozheng" *Tiunguy* 即"丰州"—对《马可· 波罗行记》中一条地名的考证 (Tiunguy is "Fengzhou": Textual Research on a Place Name in *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Nanyang shifan xueyuan xuebao* (*shehui kexue ban*) 南阳师范学院学报 (社会科学版) (Journal of Nanyang Normal College (Social Sciences Issue)), 3.4 (2004): 32–36, 64. On the production of porcelain for overseas exports in Quanzhou as well as in nearby Jinjiang 晉江, Nan'an 南安 and Anxi 安溪 during the Song and Yuan periods see especially So Kee Long (1994); Pearson et al. (2001); and Ho Chuimei (2001). Fengzhou as a kiln site is especially mentioned in Pearson et al., map on p. 220.
[j*] As Fengzhou was subordinated to Quanzhou with its *pingzhun xingyong ku*, paper money must also have circulated there, at least in 1303 and later.

Sources: Table 7.

Legend:
Marco Polo texts

○ Place with no mention of paper money in the Franco-Italian, early French, Z and Ramusio versions

● Place with mention of paper money in the Franco-Italian and early French versions, some of them also in the Z and Ramusio renderings

■ Place with mention of paper money only in the early French versions

Chinese sources

| Place with no mention of paper money or paper institutions, but for which existence of paper money is strongly suggested due to their proximity or subordination to places with paper money institutions

⌐ Place with *xingyong ku* as mentioned in Chinese sources

¬ Place with *pingzhun ku* as mentioned in Chinese sources

⊤ Place with *pingzhun ku* and *xingyong ku* as mentioned in Chinese sources

Map 1. Places in China with paper money as mentioned by Marco Polo, 1275–1291, compared with relevant references to paper money institutions in Chinese sources, ca. 1303.

First of all we can ascertain that Marco Polo's frequent mentionings of the use of paper money refer to the period after 1280, because it was only in that year that Yuan paper money was eventually introduced in the south of China—in the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat—and the Mongols started to demonetize not only Song bronze coins, but in all probability also Song paper notes.[205]

A second notable fact is that Marco Polo's references to paper money concentrate on the territories of the Metropolitan Secretariat, and the Branch Secretariats of Henan, Jiangzhe and Sichuan. As we know from the data collected by Maeda Naonori, these were indeed regions where the concentration of Storehouses was dense. Moreover, as is made clear by Table 7, the places recorded by Marco Polo as having used the Great Khan's paper money were in, most of the cases, also locations where according to Chinese sources either a Stabilisation Storehouse, a Circulation Storehouse, or both had been set up. Marco Polo did not write at all about places in the Jiangxi and Hugang Branch Secretariates, so that these regions cannot be taken into consideration for our comparisons. As to the Gansu and Shaanxi Branch Secretariats he makes no reference to paper money for the places described or mentioned by him. As we know from Chinese sources (cf. Table 4), Yuan monetary institutions were very thinly spread there and may have been set up only after Marco Polo had travelled through these regions when entering into China.[206] Let us remind ourselves here that the Chinese data as they are represented in Tables 4 and 7 refer to the time of about 1303 and thereafter only. When travelling through Gansu from 1273 to 1275 during his arrival in China, probably no

---

[205] Franke (1949), p. 55.

[206] Cf. Chen Bingying 陈炳应 (1998a), p. 61; id. (1998), "'Make Boluo youji' zhong de Yuanchao"《马可· 波罗游记》中的元钞 (Yuan Paper Money in *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Zhongguo qianbi* (China Numismatics), 11 (1998): 75–76. Chen Bingying states that though it is clear that later paper money circulated in the Northwest, the first reference to paper money in Yuan sources for this region is in early 1284. He refers to an entry in *Yuanshi*, vol. 2, chap. 13, p. 265, dated Zhiyuan 21/4/*renwu* (20 April 1284): 從迷里火者，蜜剌里等語,以鈔為市于別十八里及河西，上郡 (Following the proposal of Milihuozhe and Micili, paper notes were brought to the markets of Bieshibali as well as Hexi and Shangjun). The qualification should, however, be made here, that an early Zhongtong 10 *wen* paper note was found in Huhehot 呼和浩特 and an early Zhongtong 500 *wen* as well as an early Zhongtong 300 *wen* note in Helanxian 贺兰县 in Ningxia. These notes were clearly from the period 1260–1269, in contrast to most other Zhongtong notes found so far which were printed and issued from 1350 onwards again. Both in Huhehot and Helan the notes were discovered in Buddhist pagodas (see Table 3 in Appendix 8). This leaves naturally open the question when these notes came to these places and when they were treasured by these Buddhist institutions. It could have been well much later than their date of issue. And even if they came earlier, this does not mean yet that paper notes were already circulating widely in these regions by then.

paper money at all, or only to a very limited degree, was circulating there. Stabilisation Storehouses are mentioned around 1303 only in Ganzhou 甘州 and Ningxia 寧夏—that is, in two of seven Routes. Hence, the data obtained from Marco Polo and Chinese sources are not in stark contradiction with each other here.

Third, when Marco Polo reports about *Tebet*, however, he explicitly mentions that there it is not the Great Khan's paper money that is used, but salt currency instead. Moreover, with regard to the region of Gaindu (Caindu) he lists gold and salt money as currencies, while for the regions nowadays constituting Yunnan the use of cowry currency is mentioned by him several times. When entering the province of Sichuan he makes clear that here begins the territory in which paper money is circulating:

> *129. Ci dit le .VI^XX. et .IX. chapitre de la prouvince de Caguy.*
> [...] Et quant on a cheminé ces .XIII. journees [sus] ce flun, adont treuve l'en une province qu a a non Suingul, qui moult est grant et noble. [...] Il sont [bien gens] d'armes et ont monnoie de chartres, et des ore mais sachiez que nous sommes es terres ou s'espandent les chartres au Grant Caan.[207]

This all is in perfect agreement not only with what we know from Chinese historical records,[208] but also with the data on the Stabilisation Storehouses and Circulation Storehouses collected by Maeda Naonori. Table 4 shows clearly that no such storehouses for the exchange of paper notes against silver or for the destruction of spoilt notes are reported from the *Tebet* and Yunnan area.

A fourth item to be explored is the interesting fact that when the Franco-Italian version (F) speaks about the Fujian Branch Secretariat, the Kingdom of Fuguy (Fujian), it does not record the use or existence of paper notes. The Z manuscript of Toledo goes even further as it does not mention the circulation of paper money also in Cianscian (Suichang) and Cugiu (Chuzhou 處州) in Zhedong. Granted that the Franco-Italian account (F) is the oldest version and nearest to the now lost original manuscript and that the copyists of the early French texts erroneously added the use of paper money in Quenlifu (Jiangning) and Vuguen (Houguan), then Marco Polo's report is in almost perfect agreement with Zheng Jiefu 鄭介夫 who, in 1303, stated the following in a memorial to the throne:

---

[207] See Blanchard and Quereuil (2005), p. 98. In the rendering of Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 124, this reads as follows: "[...] After you have travelled those twelve days along the river you come to a great and noble city which is called Fungul. [...] They are good soldiers, and have paper-money. For you must understand that henceforward we are in the countries where the Great Kaan's paper-money is current."

[208] For a detailed account on the salt and cowry currencies circulating in these regions see the next chapters in this book.

> That the old cash coins that had been privately used among the population were made to, and used as, scrap brass, as it has been granted, is now something that has taken place in almost one half of Jiangnan. [However,] the eight circuits of Fujian only use the abrogated cash coins (*feiqian* 廢錢) [of the Song and other dynasties] in exchange transactions (*jiaoyi* 交易). This is very profitable and convenient so that they [also] circulate in the streets and markets of [the Routes of] Rao[zhou] 饒[州] and Xin[zhou] 信[州] in Jiangdong 江東, in Qu[zhou] 衢[州] and Chu[zhou] 處[州] in Zhedong 浙東, in Fu[zhou] 撫[州] and Jian[chang] 建[昌] in Jiangxi, as well as in [the Routes of] Tan[zhou] 潭[州] and Heng[zhou] 衡[州] of Hunan.[209]

In other words, Zheng Jiefu claimed that in the whole Branch Secretariat of Fujian copper cash was used more or less exclusively, and that this was also true, at least for daily transactions, in the adjoining regions, including Chuzhou for which the Z manuscript has no record of the use of paper money. Even if Zheng Jiefu's report may have been somewhat exaggerated[210] and even if his description may have only referred to small payments and some other currency, like silver, may have been adopted for large transactions, this does not change the fact that, first, for a long time Yuan paper money did not have a large share in money circulation in the region of Fujian vis-à-vis the dominant copper cash and that, second, in the other neighbouring regions as mentioned by Zheng Fujie, copper cash continued to play an important role as a means of payment in smaller transactions—in all probability besides paper money.

But how to explain the existence of three monetary institutions in the Fujian Branch Secretariat, as they are indicated in Tables 4 and 7? A Stabilisation and Circulation Storehouse (*pingzhun xingyong ku*) was located in the Route of Quanzhou 泉州 (Zayton) and the Route of Fuzhou 福州 each, as well as a Stabilisation Storehouse (*pingzhun ku*) in Jianning 建寧—that is, altogether in only three of the eight Routes.[211] First of all it has to be mentioned that the data as they had been collected by Maeda Naonori represent the situation around 1303, and thus a period after Marco Polo's stay in China. The establishement of a number of Stabilisation Storehouses also in Fujian, though clearly limited, is certainly

---

[209] See *Lidai mingchen zouyi* 歷代名臣奏議 (Memorials Submitted by Famous Officials through the Dynasties), comp. by Huang Huai 黃淮, Yang Shiqi 楊士奇 et al., 1416, 1635, ed. *Zhongguoshi xue congshu* 中國史學叢書 (Collection of Chinese History), chief-ed. Wu Xiangxiang 吳相湘, Taibei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1964, chap. 67, p. 14a (p. 938); Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," p. 85.

[210] Gaoqiao Hongchen [Takahashi Hirōmi] (2009), p. 306.

[211] The first two are documented in the *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang*, chap. 9, "Libu san" 吏部三 (the relevant section is missing in the Taibei edition available to me), the third in the *Yuanshi*, vol. 15, chap. 197, p. 4442; cf. Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," pp. 60, 65.

proof of the fact that the circulation of Yuan paper money expanded in the course of time and thus became also more rooted in the Fujian region. Nonetheless, even for 1303 we can assume that circulation of paper money was still quite limited in that region and concentrated on the large commercial centres, because, after all, even at the beginning of the fourteenth century only three monetary institutions are mentioned for the whole of the Fujian Branch Secretariat administration. Hence, the fact that Marco Polo, in the Franco-Italian version, does not mention the use of paper money in Fujian is not accidental, but is in total agreement with the analysis obtained from Chinese sources.[212]

The reasons for these regional imbalances in the Yuan monetary system were due to the fact that in contrast to the north there were still many copper coins available in the south and southwest of China, in spite of their outflow to foreign countries during the Southern Song and the attempts at coercively demonetizing Song copper cash under the Yuan dynasty. Another reason was that Mongol rule in South China was quite fragile so that the paper money regime could not be enforced there completely. As a third reason it may be mentioned that the issue of small denomination paper money—destined to replace copper cash—was not sufficient because either officials shirked their issue due to the high administrative burden or because these notes, due to their high demand in the markets, were cornered by officials in collusion with powerful persons awaiting a rise in their value. Moreover, the scarcity of low denomination paper notes was exacerbated by the fact that the paper quality of the notes was not sufficient to warrant their long and intensive use as means of payment in small transactions. This is why people often resorted to barter or to the adoption of substitute monies, such as tea tickets, flour tickets, bamboo tokens and wine tokens in trading with each other.[213]

5. Yuan Paper Money: Comparing Marco Polo's Account and Chinese Sources

> That the excessive use which the Mongolian Dynasty made of the creation of paper money had its terrible shady side—an art which, by the way, they have learnt from the former rulers of China—was not sensed by

[212] Cf. Maeda Naonori, "Gendai ni okeru . . .," pp. 76–77, 85–86.
[213] See Gaoqiao Hongchen [Takahashi Hirōmi] (2009), pp. 307–314.

> M. Polo, or he did not want to admit it. The positive image that he had of the Great Khan, well-earned as a matter of fact in view of his ability to cover his expenses with such an inexpensive sign of value, might have blurred his sight, but perhaps it is also the case that his partial view of the matter stems from it being solely that of a mercantile perspective.[214]

In the chapters presented above I have undertaken first a thorough discourse analysis of Marco Polo's chapter on paper money, allowing us to compare his account not only with that of other mediaeval Western, Persian or Arabic authors, but also with the reports contained in Chinese historical sources or with data that can be derived from numismatic remains of the Yuan period, especially specimens of paper notes that have survived from the Mongol era. My comparison with Western, Persian or Arabic authors, as far as they are known to us, shows clearly that none of them is as precise and exhaustive as the Venetian traveller. Even if we take all their information together, this in sum does not come up to the degree of detail, correctness, preciseness, and comprehensiveness of *Le devisament dou monde*.

The comparison with Chinese sources demonstrates that Marco Polo's description of the production, distribution, and functions of Yuan paper notes are in almost all cases perfectly congruent with the information provided by historiographical records or historical remains. This holds true for a wide range of topics, as we have elucidated above, including the institutional setting of the production of paper money and the physical characterstics of the notes, such as the kind of paper used, the size, shape and colours of the notes as well as the application of seals by various governmental agencies. Likewise he was rather precise in the depiction of the denominational system, the exchange procedures for spoilt notes, and counterfeiting regulations. Moreover, he correctly described the use of paper notes in private transactions as well as in state revenue and expenditures, and he was remarkably precise in the mentioning of

---

[214] Wilhelm Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart: Cotta, 1879, vol. 2, pp. 252–253: "Dass der reichliche Gebrauch, welchen die mongolische Dynastie von der übrigens den früheren Beherrschern China's abgelernten Creirung von Papiergeld machten, seine furchtbaren Schattenseiten hatte, ahnte M. Polo nicht, oder wollte er es nicht gestehen. Das günstige Vorurtheil für den Grosschan, welcher allerdings gut zukam, wenn er seine Ausgaben mit einem so wohlfeil zu beschaffenden Werthzeichen bestritt, mochte ihm den Blick trüben, vielleicht auch eine einseitige Auffassung des Gegenstands vom mercantilen Standpunkt aus."

places where paper money was in circulation. Also for such topics as the monopolisation of gold, silver, pearls and precious stones by the Great Khan and thus his accumulation of great wealth we can find corroborative evidence in Chinese sources. A further compatibility between Marco Polo and Chinese sources concerns the Venetian traveller's remark that the art of producing and using paper money is comparable to an arcane technique or alchemy (b), a statement quite popular already among Song scholars who celebrated the imperial court's prodigious alchemical powers in transforming mere paper into gold.[215] The convenience of the light paper money for being carried along easily on journeys (m), as underlined by Marco Polo, is also a theme to be found in a Yuan poem comparing cash coins and paper notes in this respect.[216] Moreover, it was one of the arguments used by Hu Diyu 胡祗遹 (1227–1295) in his palace memorial of 1272 against the introduction of copper cash as the parallel currency for backing paper money.[217] This agreement between Marco Polo's description and the information supplied by Chinese sources is all the more remarkable, as most of the Chinese sources were only available long after Marco Polo, so that neither he nor any other foreigner could have taken over information from them.

In very few cases we are not (yet) able to find parallel one-to-one evidence in Chinese sources—namely, regarding such topics as the more or less compulsory delivery of gold, silver, gems and pearls by foreign (p) and indigenous merchants (q) amounting to 400,000 *bezants* per year (s) and the committee of twelve experts evaluating these precious goods on behalf of the Great Khan and paying out a liberal price in paper money to the merchants (r). Given the overall setting and characteristics of the Yuan paper money regime as it is known to us, however, these bits and pieces of information make good sense and thus should be considered data that we

---

[215] See von Glahn (2006), p. 106. Rashid al-Din designated the usefulness of Yuan paper notes as a kind of "philosopher's stone." See Appendix 2 (Ra 1).

[216] See Peng Xinwei (1958), p. 414n9; Peng Xinwei/Kaplan (1994), vol. 2, p. 512n17, quoting from a poem of the Yuan writer Li Cun 李存 and his "Ballad on Counterfeit Certificates" (Weichao yao 僞鈔謠):

> 國朝鈔法古今無,
> 絕勝錢貫為青蚨,
> 試令童子置懷袖,
> 千里萬里忘羈孤, […]
>
> "Neither ancient nor modern have the like of our dynasty's notes,
> far better than stringed cash like green bug motes.
> If you tell youngsters to lodge them in their sleeves,
> a thousand or ten thousand *li* they go alone by their leave. […]"

[217] Gaoqiao Hongchen [Takahashi Hirōmi] (2009), p. 155.

can so far only find in Marco Polo's account and which later apparently were taken over by other writers, such as the foreign merchants' delivery of gold, silver, pearls and precious stones to the Khan mentioned by the Archbishop of Soltania (S 1).

There exists also a tendency to criticise Marco Polo's overly positive depiction of Yuan paper money because he stated that the notes were received and accepted "as if they were coins of pure gold" and as he appears to have concealed the excessive issue of paper notes resulting in their depreciation and in price inflation. Such a positive evaluation of the Yuan monetary regime was, however, not only held by Marco Polo, but was shared by other mediaeval authors, most of them writing later than Marco Polo—that is in a period when inflation had reached much more drastic dimensions than during the period of the Venetian's stay in China. We have already mentioned above that in the Branch Secretariats bottlenecks existed in the supply of new notes which suggests that demand for paper money was high and which thus contradicts the assumption that issue was recklessly high during the Yuan period *in general*.

In this context it is also worth mentioning the data contained in passages that survive from a now lost Yuan work—namely Wu Qi's 武祺 *Baochao tongkao* 寶鈔通考 (Comprehensive Investigation on Paper Money). This work reports figures not only on the total output of paper money during the years from 1260 to 1324, but also about the amount of spoilt notes taken back and burnt by the government during the same period. Wu Qi indicated a production of 59,056,000 *ding* during these 65 years, of which 56,200,000 *ding* had been issued and 36,000,000 *ding* demonetized.[218] Thus, in 1323 the total amount of paper notes in circulation would have amounted theoretically to 20,200,000 *ding* in 1324.[219] This would also mean that of the total amount of *ding* of paper money issued over a period of 65 years, 64 percent would have been demonetized over a period of 64 years.

Is Wu Qi's figure on issued paper notes trustworthy? The eminent Chinese monetary historian Peng Xinwei states that Wu's figure does not correspond with those from the "History of the Yuan," which, moreover, does not record amounts of demonetized notes.[220] Contrary to Peng Xinwei

---

[218] See *Qinding Siku quanshu zongmu* 欽定四庫全書總目 (Imperially Commissioned Catalogue of the Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature), comp. by Ji Yun 紀昀, Yongrong 永瑢, Lu Xixiong 陸錫熊 et al., 1782, ed. electronic version of *Siku quanshu* of the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin), chap. 84.

[219] Franke (1949), p. 104.

[220] In addition, Peng Xinwei characterizes Wu Qi's account on the development of the Yuan paper money regime as muddled. The translator of Peng Xinwei, Edward H. Kaplan,

I agree with Herbert Franke that Wu Qi's data on issued bank notes are quite reliable mainly for the following reason: if we add all the issues of *ding* of paper notes listed in the relevant economic chapter in the "History of the Yuan," *regardless whether these were Zhongtong, Zhiyuan or Zhida notes*, then we arrive at a figure of 51,948,118 *ding*.[221] Although this amount is four to seven million lower than the figure given by Wu Qi, the difference is not unexplainably large, as the annual data provided by the "History of the Yuan" might be incomplete or contain copying errors.

Is it really possible that the government demonetized 64 percent of the paper notes issued in the period from 1260 to 1324, thus implying, as we will see in Table 9, a mean annual demonetarization rate of 93 percent? This raises the question about the lifespan of a Yuan paper note on which the sources only provide very few clues. We know that for the government paper money of the Song dynasty (960–1279) the circulation period was fixed to three years, which, however, did not mean three full years but merely three New Years' days so that the official circulation period actually amounted to two years.[222] When their terms expired, the notes were called in and exchanged against new ones. One type of note, the silver *huizi* 會子, or silver account note, issued by Wu Jie 吳玠 in Hechi 河池 in Shaanxi, was even turned in annually.[223] For the Yuan period historical sources suggest, as we have seen above in chapter II.4.2.3, that the exchange of old for new notes was intense and that, as a result, supply difficulties in the provision of new notes occurred. Moreover, as Wu Qi's total figures on produced and issued notes do not differ dramatically from the result obtained when adding the annual figures in the "History of the Yuan," from this we may also conclude, quite contrary to Peng Xinwei's evaluation, that his total figure on demonetized notes is not completely unfounded.

If we turn to the modern period with bank notes of better quality than those in China during the Song and Yuan periods, we may mention that

---

does not share Peng Xinwei's harsh judgement. In a commentary he highlights that money supply conditions are also influenced by expectations and behaviours of the market participants, especially by their treasuring or spending of money in view of deflationary and inflationary expectations respectively. See Peng Xinwei/Kaplan (1994), vol. 2, p. 515.

[221] See note f in both Table 8 and 9.

[222] See Peng Xinwei/Kaplan (1994), vol. 1, p. 371. However, as was pointed out to me by Mark Elvin in a private communication of May 6, 2012, *if* notes were issued at a steady rate throughout the year, *then* the range of the time of use could have varied from almost three full years to just over this period of time, with a mean circulation close to two-and-a-half years, and not two years, for a cut-off determined by passage through three New Years.

[223] Peng Xinwei/Kaplan (1994), vol. 1, pp. 371, 374–375, 411.

in 2003 the Swiss National Bank issued 120 million new bank notes with a nominal value of 8.6 billion Swiss Francs, while at the same time demonetizing 115.2 million damaged notes with a nominal value of 9 billion Swiss Francs, thus amounting to an annual demonetarization rate of 96 percent. In 2007 about 291 million bank notes with a nominal value of ca. 39 billion were in circulation.[224] The lifespan of modern bank notes depends on their denomination. Notes of higher denomination are, as a rule, longer in circulation than those of lower denominations:

20-Sfr-note	ca. 1 year
50-Sfr-note	ca. 1.5 years
10-Sfr-note	ca. 2 years
100-Sfr-note	somewhat more than 2 years
200-Sfr-note	ca. 3 years
1000-Sfr-note	more than 6 years[225]

In view of these data it is not at all inconceivable that Wu Qi's indication of an overall demonetarization rate of 64 percent (and thus of a mean annual rate of about 93 percent) is correct. Frequent use of paper notes both in government and private transactions no doubt had a detrimental effect resulting in a constant turnover and exchange of them against new notes.

Peng Xinwei, in his "A Monetary History of China," assumed that the actual loss of paper notes during the Yuan was only 5 percent per annum, while the Song rate with 20 percent was "somewhat higher" than that of Mongol conquerors. Furthermore, he was of the—quite arbitrary—opinion that the figures mentioned in the "History of the Yuan" did not include those new notes that were used for exchanging them against damaged notes.[226] In Table 8 I have used the parameters of Peng Xinwei to provide a rough estimate of the total value of paper notes in circulation as well as the relevant amounts per capita in the years from 1260 to 1324. As was also done by Peng Xinwei, all the data were converted into Zhongtong paper money units-of-account according to the official exchange rates. Thus, in 1324 the total amount of paper money in circulation would

[224] See http://www.ofs.ch/de/haben-sie-gewusst/schweizer-banknoten/ (accessed February 12, 2012).

[225] See http://www.ofs.ch/de/haben-sie-gewusst/schweizer-banknoten/. For similar indications in the case of the € see http://www.bundesbank.de/eurobargeld/eurobargeld_faq_eurobanknoten.php#b7 (February 12, 2012). For the somewhat longer lifespan of the US$ see http://www.usatoday.com/snapshot/money/2001-08-03-lifespan-of-dollars.htm (February 12, 2012): 1-dollar-bill 18 months, 2-dollar-bill 2 years, 5-dollar-bill 3 years, 50-dollar-bill and 100-dollar-bill 9 years.

[226] Peng Xinwei/Kaplan (1994), vol. 2, p. 505ff.

Table 8. Amounts of issued paper money and estimates of the total and per capita values of paper money in circulation in Mongol China, 1260–1324, according to Peng Xinwei's approach

Year	Zhongtong notes (in *ding*)	Zhiyuan notes (in *ding*)	Zhida silver notes (in *ding*)	Conversion into Zhongtong units-of-account (in *ding*)[a]	Total amount in circulation, with an annual loss of 5 percent[b]	amount/ capita[c] (in *guan*)[d]	Index (1260=1)
1260	73,352			73,352	73,352	489	1.00
1261	39,139			39,139	108,823	725	1.48
1262	80,000			80,000	183,382	1,223	2.50
1263	74,000			74,000	248,213	1,655	3.38
1264	89,208			89,208	325,010	2,167	4.43
1265	116,208			116,208	424,968	2,833	5.79
1266	77,252			77,252	480,972	3,206	6.56
1267	109,488			109,488	566,411	3,776	7.72
1268	29,880			29,880	567,970	2,840	5.81
1269	22,896			22,896	562,468	2,812	5.75
1270	96,768			96,768	631,113	3,156	6.45
1271	47,000			47,000	646,557	3,233	6.61
1272	86,256			86,256	700,485	3,502	7.16
1273	110,192			110,192	775,653	3,878	7.93
1274	247,440			247,440	984,310	4,922	10.06
1275	398,194			398,194	1,333,289	2,799	5.72
1276	1,419,665			1,419,665	2,686,289	2,283	4.67
1277	1,021,645			1,021,645	3,573,620	3,037	6.21
1278	1,023,400			1,023,400	4,418,339	3,755	7.68
1279	788,320			788,320	4,985,742	4,237	8.66
1280	1,135,800			1,135,800	5,872,255	4,990	10.21
1281	1,094,800			1,094,800	6,673,442	5,671	11.60
1282	969,444			969,444	7,309,214	6,212	12.70
1283	610,620			610,620	7,554,373	6,420	13.13
1284	629,904			629,904	7,806,559	6,634	13.57
1285	2,043,080			2,043,080	9,459,311	8,039	16.44
1286	2,181,600			2,181,600	11,167,945	9,491	19.41
1287	83,200	1,001,017		5,088,285	15,697,833	13,341	27.28
1288		921,612		4,608,060	19,521,001	16,590	33.93
1289		1,780,093		8,900,465	27,445,416	23,324	47.70
1290		500,250		2,501,250	28,574,395	24,284	49.66
1291		500,000		2,500,000	29,645,676	25,194	51.52
1292		500,000		2,500,000	30,663,392	26,059	53.29
1293		260,000		1,300,000	30,430,222	25,861	52.89
1294		193,706		968,530	29,877,241	25,391	51.92
1295		310,000		1,550,000	29,933,379	24,944	51.01
1296		400,000		2,000,000	30,436,710	25,364	51.87
1297		400,000		2,000,000	30,914,875	25,762	52.68

Table 8 (*cont.*)

Year	Zhongtong notes (in *ding*)	Zhiyuan notes (in *ding*)	Zhida silver notes (in *ding*)	Conversion into Zhongtong units-of-account (in *ding*)[a]	Total amount in circulation, with an annual loss of 5 percent[b]	amount/ capita[c] (in *guan*)[d]	Index (1260=1)
1298		299,910		1,499,550	30,868,681	25,724	52.61
1299		970,075		4,850,375	34,175,622	28,480	58.24
1300		600,000		3,000,000	35,466,841	29,556	60.44
1301		500,000		2,500,000	36,193,499	30,161	61.68
1302		2,000,000		10,000,000	44,383,824	36,987	75.64
1303		1,500,000		7,500,000	49,664,633	41,387	84.64
1304		500,000		2,500,000	49,681,401	41,401	84.66
1305		500,000		2,500,000	49,697,331	41,414	84.69
1306		1,000,000		5,000,000	52,212,464	43,510	88.98
1307		1,000,000		5,000,000	54,601,841	45,502	93.05
1308		1,000,000		5,000,000	56,871,749	47,393	96.92
1309		1,000,000		5,000,000	59,028,162	49,190	100.59
1310[e]			1,450,368	36,259,200	92,335,954	76,947	157.36
1311[e]	150,000	2,150,000		10,900,000	66,976,754	55,814	114.14
1312	100,000	2,222,336		11,211,680	74,839,596	62,366	127.54
1313	200,000	2,000,000		10,200,000	81,297,616	67,748	138.54
1314	100,000	2,000,000		10,100,000	87,332,735	71,584	146.39
1315	100,000	1,000,000		5,100,000	88,066,098	72,185	147.62
1316	100,000	400,000		2,100,000	85,762,794	70,297	143.76
1317	100,000	480,000		2,500,000	83,974,654	68,832	140.76
1318	100,000	400,000		2,100,000	81,875,921	67,111	137.24
1319	100,000	1,480,000		7,500,000	85,282,125	69,903	142.95
1320	100,000	1,480,000		7,500,000	88,518,019	72,556	148.38
1321	50,000	1,000,000		5,050,000	89,142,118	73,067	149.42
1322	50,000	800,000		4,050,000	88,735,012	72,734	148.74
1323	50,000	700,000		3,550,000	87,848,261	72,007	147.25
1324	150,000	600,000		3,150,000	86,605,848	70,988	145.17
Total 1260–1324[f]	16,148,751	34,348,999	1,450,368				

Sources: The annual figures of the issued paper notes come from chap. 93 of the *Yuanshi* (History of the Yuan). They are reproduced in many works dealing with Yuan monetary history.

Notes:

[a] The official exchange rate between Zhiyuan and Zhongtong paper money units-of-account is 1 to 5, between Zhida silver notes and Zhongtong units-of-account 1 to 25.

[b] The calculation is based on Peng Xinwei/Kaplan (1994), vol. 2, pp. 506: The total amount of circulating cash in year B is an addition of the amount of paper notes issued in year B plus the amount of circulating cash of year A after a deduction of a 5 percent loss from it.

[c] The following household and population (1 household = 5 persons) figures were used for calculating the amount of circulating paper notes per capita:

1260–1267	1.5 million households, i.e. 7.5 million persons
1268–1274	2.0 million households, i.e. 10.0 million persons
1275	4,764,077 households, i.e. 23,820,385 persons
1276–1294	58,834,711 persons
1295–1313	60,000,000 persons
1314–1324	61,000,000 persons

On the difficult issue of estimating the population figures of the Yuan period see Mote (1994), pp. 618–622.

[d] 1 *ding* = 50 *guan*

[e] The amount of Zhida silver notes issued in 1310 is deducted again for the year 1311, because these notes were withdrawn and destroyed within a short time after their issue. See Peng Xinwei/Kaplan (1994), vol. 2, pp. 510n11.

[f] The total of all paper notes issued from 1260 to 1324 is 51,948,118 *ding*.

have amounted to a value of ca. 86,600,000 million *ding* in Zhongtong paper money units-of-account, and from 1260 to 1324 the amount of *guan* Zhongtong paper money in circulation per capita would have risen from 489 in 1260 to 70,988 *guan* in 1324, or more than 145 times.[227]

While Peng Xinwei's approach can be considered a first attempt to estimate the amount of paper money in circulation and its rate of demonetarization, I think that a calculation based on Wu Qi's parameters is more realistic, because of the reasons already indicated above, but also because it seems unrealistically low to assume, as this was done by Peng Xinwei, only a loss of 5 percent under the Yuan when compared with a loss of 20 percent under the Song dynasty. In Table 9 I present the data at which I arrived by taking Wu Qi's indications as a guideline. Departing from the assumption that a total of 64 percent of the money issued by the Yuan government between 1260 and 1324 was demonetized, this would mean that, when taking the annual figures of the "History of the Yuan" as a basis, we arrive at an annual demonetarization rate of 93 percent. In other words, instead of a nominal value of some 86,600,000 *ding* in Zhongtong paper money in circulation in 1324, this would have been only some 18,600,000 *ding*, or some 68 million less than in Peng Xinwei's estimate. Similarly, instead of almost 71,000 *guan* per capita in circulation in 1324 according to Peng Xinwei's estimate, with Wu Qi's parameters this would only have been some 15,200 *guan*, or 31 times more than in 1260.

Both Table 8 and 9 make clear that the Mongols issued dramatically more paper money than the Southern Song (1127–1279) government. Around 1167 no more than 8 to 9.6 million *guan* (160,000 to 192,000 *ding*)

[227] Actually, Peng Xinwei/Kaplan (1994), vol. 2, p. 510, has somewhat different figures for 1324, namely a total amount of some 84,700,000 *ding* in circulation and a per capita figure of 72,086 *guan*. The difference to our figures seems due to small calculation mistakes in his tables.

Table 9. Amounts of issued paper money and estimates of the total and per capita values of paper money in circulation in Mongol China, 1260–1324, according to Wu Qi's parameters

Year	Zhongtong notes (in *ding*)	Zhiyuan notes (in *ding*)	Zhida silver notes (in *ding*)	Conversion into Zhongtong units-of-account (in *ding*)[a]	Total amount in circulation, with a mean annual demonetarization rate of 93 percent[b]	amount/ capita[c] (in *guan*)[d]	Index (1260=1)
1260	73,352			73,352	73,352	489	1.00
1261	39,139			39,139	44,274	295	0.60
1262	80,000			80,000	87,874	586	1.20
1263	74,000			74,000	87,474	583	1.19
1264	89,208			89,208	107,862	719	1.47
1265	116,208			116,208	141,107	941	1.92
1266	77,252			77,252	110,285	735	1.50
1267	109,488			109,488	147,929	986	2.02
1268	29,880			29,880	75,985	380	0.78
1269	22,896			22,896	71,093	355	0.73
1270	96,768			96,768	146,568	733	1.50
1271	47,000			47,000	103,573	518	1.06
1272	86,256			86,256	146,119	731	1.49
1273	110,192			110,192	176,093	880	1.80
1274	247,440			247,440	321,055	1,605	3.28
1275	398,194			398,194	489,130	1,027	2.10
1276	1,419,665			1,419,665	1,538,474	1,307	2.67
1277	1,021,645			1,021,645	1,239,831	1,054	2.15
1278	1,023,400			1,023,400	1,313,101	1,116	2.28
1279	788,320			788,320	1,149,659	977	2.00
1280	1,135,800			1,135,800	1,552,321	1,319	2.70
1281	1,094,800			1,094,800	1,590,827	1,352	2.76
1282	969,444			969,444	1,542,107	1,311	2.68
1283	610,620			610,620	1,251,144	1,063	2.17
1284	629,904			629,904	1,313,172	1,116	2.28
1285	2,043,080			2,043,080	2,770,441	2,354	4.81
1286	2,181,600			2,181,600	3,051,977	2,594	5.30
1287	83,200	1,001,017		5,088,285	6,111,374	5,194	10.62
1288		921,612		4,608,060	5,987,329	5,088	10.41
1289		1,780,093		8,900,465	10,602,298	9,010	18.43
1290		500,250		2,501,250	4,826,115	4,101	8.39
1291		500,000		2,500,000	4,999,953	4,249	8.69
1292		500,000		2,500,000	5,174,953	4,398	8.99
1293		260,000		1,300,000	4,149,953	3,527	7.21
1294		193,706		968,530	3,909,483	3,322	6.79
1295		310,000		1,550,000	4,558,750	3,799	7.77
1296		400,000		2,000,000	5,117,250	4,264	8.72
1297		400,000		2,000,000	5,257,250	4,381	8.96
1298		299,910		1,499,550	4,896,800	4,081	8.34
1299		970,075		4,850,375	8,352,593	6,960	14.23
1300		600,000		3,000,000	6,841,745	5,701	11.66
1301		500,000		2,500,000	6,551,745	5,460	11.17
1302		2,000,000		10,000,000	14,226,745	11,856	24.24
1303		1,500,000		7,500,000	12,426,745	10,356	21.18
1304		500,000		2,500,000	7,951,745	6,626	13.55
1305		500,000		2,500,000	8,126,745	6,772	13.85

Table 9 (*cont.*)

Year	Zhongtong notes (in *ding*)	Zhiyuan notes (in *ding*)	Zhida silver notes (in *ding*)	Conversion into Zhongtong units-of-account (in *ding*)[a]	Total amount in circulation, with a mean annual demonetarization rate of 93 percent[b]	amount/ capita[c] (in *guan*)[d]	Index (1260=1)
1306		1,000,000		5,000,000	10,801,745	9,001	18.41
1307		1,000,000		5,000,000	11,151,745	9,293	19.00
1308		1,000,000		5,000,000	11,501,745	9,585	19.60
1309		1,000,000		5,000,000	11,851,745	9,876	20.20
1310[e]			1,450,368	36,259,200	43,460,945	36,217	74.06
1311[e]	150,000	2,150,000		10,900,000	20,639,889	17,200	35.17
1312	100,000	2,222,336		11,211,680	21,714,569	18,095	37.01
1313	200,000	2,000,000		10,200,000	21,487,706	17,906	36.62
1314	100,000	2,000,000		10,100,000	22,101,706	18,116	37.05
1315	100,000	1,000,000		5,100,000	17,808,706	14,597	29.85
1316	100,000	400,000		2,100,000	15,165,706	12,431	25.42
1317	100,000	480,000		2,500,000	15,712,706	12,879	26.34
1318	100,000	400,000		2,100,000	15,487,706	12,695	25.96
1319	100,000	1,480,000		7,500,000	21,034,706	17,242	35.26
1320	100,000	1,480,000		7,500,000	21,559,706	17,672	36.14
1321	50,000	1,000,000		5,050,000	19,634,706	16,094	32.91
1322	50,000	800,000		4,050,000	18,988,206	15,564	31.83
1323	50,000	700,000		3,550,000	18,771,706	15,387	31.47
1324	150,000	600,000		3,150,000	18,620,206	15,262	31.21
Total 1260–1324[f]	16,148,751	34,348,999	1,450,368				

Sources: The annual figures of the issued paper notes come from chap. 93 of the *Yuanshi* (History of the Yuan). They are reproduced in many works dealing with Yuan monetary history.

Notes:

[a] The official exchange rate between Zhiyuan and Zhongtong paper money units-of-account is 1 to 5, between Zhida silver notes and Zhongtong units-of-account 1 to 25.

[b] The calculation is based on Wu Qi's indication of an overall demonetarization rate of 64 percent over the period from 1260 to 1324. From the 56,200,000 *ding* issued during that time, 36,000,000 *ding* were demonetized within the same period, leaving theoretically 20,200,000 *ding* in circulation in 1324. If we put these indications in relation to the sum of 51,948,118 *ding*, i.e. the total amount of *ding* issued according to the annual figures given the *Yuanshi* during the period from 1260 to 1324 (see note f), this would result in a total amount of demonetized paper notes of 33,276,375 *ding* in that period (56,200,000 : 36,000,000 = 51,948,118 : x), and thus to the figure of 18,671,743 *ding* still in circulation in 1324 (51,948,118 – 33,276,375). In order to arrive at this figure of 18,671,743 *ding* in circulation in 1324, one has to apply an annual mean demonetarization rate of about 93 percent for the annual issues of paper money mentioned in the *Yuanshi*, as this is done in this table. That this is not an unrealistic assumption is demonstrated by the example of the Swiss National Bank which in 2003 issued 120 million new bank notes and demonetized 115.2 million damaged notes, resulting in a demonetarization rate of 96 percent. Hence, in our calculation the total amount of circulating paper money in year B is an addition of the amount of paper notes issued in year B plus the amount of circulating paper money of year A minus 93 percent of the amount of paper notes issued in year A.

[c] The following household and population (1 household = 5 persons) figures were used for calculating the amount of circulating paper notes per capita:

1260–1267	1.5 million households, i.e. 7.5 million persons
1268–1274	2.0 million households, i.e. 10.0 million persons
1275	4,764,077 households, i.e. 23,820,385 persons
1276–1294	58,834,711 persons
1295–1313	60,000,000 persons
1314–1324	61,000,000 persons

On the difficult issue of estimating the population figures of the Yuan period see Mote (1994), pp. 618–622.

[d] 1 *ding* = 50 *guan*

[e] The amount of Zhida silver notes issued in 1310 is deducted again for the year 1311, because these notes were withdrawn and destroyed within a short time after their issue. See Peng Xinwei/Kaplan (1994), vol. 2, pp. 510n11.

[f] The total of all paper notes issued from 1260 to 1324 is 51,948,118 *ding*.

of account notes or *huizi* were in circulation in Liangzhe, and in 1169 the supply of *huizi* was capped to some 20 million *guan* (400,000 *ding*) in the southeastern provinces. It was then allowed to soar up to 139 million *guan* (2.78 million *ding*) and by 1233 to more than 329 million *guan* (6.58 million *ding*).[228] Even if we take into consideration that paper money was not the only currency under the Southern Song and that these figures refer to the southeastern provinces only, the large difference in the scale of issue and circulation of paper money during the Yuan is glaringly apparent.

Let us next consider the issue of inflation. While it is a matter of fact that inflation was intensifying during Marco Polo's time in China, it appears still to have remained within certain limits. According to the research carried out by Maeda Naonori,[229] the first serious inflationary trend did not set in before the Mongol conquest of the South in 1275. From then until the monetary reforms of 1287, when the state devalued paper money, prices rose from between four to twenty times—or ten times on average—in comparison with the period in and shortly after 1260. Table 10 demonstrates that the mean annual inflation rate between 1260 and 1287 could have varied from 5.28 to 8.93 to 11.75 percent per annum, depending on the rise in prices by four, ten or twenty times respectively. If we assume hypothetically that inflation started only with 1275, then mean annual inflation rates after that date would have been as high as 11.5, 20.0 and

---

228 Von Glahn (1996), p. 53; Peng Xinwei/Kaplan (1994), vol. 1, pp. 410–413.

229 Qiantian Zhidian 前田直典 [Maeda Naonori], "Yuandai zhibi de jiazhi biandong" 元代紙幣的價值變動 (Fluctuations in the Value of Paper Notes during the Yuan Period), in Liu Junwen 劉俊文 (ed.); Suo Jieran 所介然 (transl.), *Riben xuezhe yanjiu Zongguoshi lunzhu xuanyi* 日本學者研究中國史論著選譯 (Translations of Selected Articles of Japanese Scholars Investigating the History of China), vol. 5, *Wudai Song Yuan* 五代宋元 (Five Dynasties, Song and Yuan), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993, pp. 605–606. For the original Japanese article see Maeda Naonori, "Genchō jidai ni okeru . . .," in his *Genchōshi no kenkyū*, pp. 107–143.

Table 10. Hypothetical estimates for the mean annual inflation rate of prices expressed in Yuan paper money, 1260–1287

Year	Inflation starting in 1260			Inflation starting in 1275		
	20-fold price rise	10-fold price rise	4-fold price rise	20-fold price rise	10-fold price rise	4-fold price rise
	11.75 %	8.93 %	5.28 %	26.00 %	20.00 %	11.50 %
1260	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1261	1.12	1.09	1.05	1.00	1.00	1.00
1262	1.25	1.19	1.11	1.00	1.00	1.00
1263	1.40	1.29	1.17	1.00	1.00	1.00
1264	1.56	1.41	1.23	1.00	1.00	1.00
1265	1.74	1.53	1.29	1.00	1.00	1.00
1266	1.95	1.67	1.36	1.00	1.00	1.00
1267	2.18	1.82	1.43	1.00	1.00	1.00
1268	2.43	1.98	1.51	1.00	1.00	1.00
1269	2.72	2.16	1.59	1.00	1.00	1.00
1270	3.04	2.35	1.67	1.00	1.00	1.00
1271	3.39	2.56	1.76	1.00	1.00	1.00
1272	3.79	2.79	1.85	1.00	1.00	1.00
1273	4.24	3.04	1.95	1.00	1.00	1.00
1274	4.74	3.31	2.06	1.00	1.00	1.00
1275	5.29	3.61	2.16	1.26	1.20	1.12
1276	5.92	3.93	2.28	1.59	1.44	1.24
1277	6.61	4.28	2.40	2.00	1.73	1.39
1278	7.39	4.66	2.52	2.52	2.07	1.55
1279	8.25	5.08	2.66	3.18	2.49	1.72
1280	9.22	5.53	2.80	4.00	2.99	1.92
1281	10.31	6.03	2.95	5.04	3.58	2.14
1282	11.52	6.57	3.10	6.35	4.30	2.39
1283	12.87	7.15	3.27	8.00	5.16	2.66
1284	14.39	7.79	3.44	10.09	6.19	2.97
1285	16.08	8.49	3.62	12.71	7.43	3.31
1286	17.97	9.24	3.81	16.01	8.92	3.69
1287	20.08	10.07	4.01	20.18	10.70	4.12

26.0 percent. Such an extreme scenario seems to me, however, not very probable as light inflation must have already started before 1275. This is at least suggested by the per capita figures for circulating paper notes especially in Table 9 which certainly show some degree of correlation with the constantly raising rate of inflation from 1260 to 1287 in Table 10.[230]

[230] I would like to thank Professor Peter Bernholz, University of Basel, for having intensively discussed with me the issue of inflation during the Yuan period and for providing me with his evaluation of the relevant monetary situation in our correspondence of 2011.

After the monetary reform of 1287 Maeda Naonori maintains that prices remained quite stable for some time, until they started to rise again in 1302 up to the time of the official devaluation of paper money during the monetary reform of 1309—that is, a time when Marco Polo had long since left China. In comparison to the period before 1302 prices had increased two times.

From 1310 to 1311 the price increase was modest, but following this, until 1320, they again rose 1.4 to 1.5 times. During the Taiding reign-period (1324–1328) there was then even some fall of prices, but from thereafter until 1345 another increase of about of 1.5 percent took place. In comparison to 1260 prices had increased by fifteen to thirty times, i.e. twenty times on average. For the period from 1280 to 1350, Yang Lien-sheng speaks of a mild but continuous inflation.[231] It was only thereafter that monetary hyperinflation set in and continued until the end of the Yuan dynasty.

Maeda Naonori shares with Herbert Franke the view that the expansion in the issue of paper money was both a necessary and consequent measure in view of the conquest and incorporation of the huge Southern Song (1127–1279) territory and its large population into the Yuan empire. Franke, however, also stated that the general rise of prices since the beginning of the dynasty could have been caused by other factors than an excessive issue of paper notes, such as economic and political crises, speculation and tax loads.[232] This statement would certainly not be supported by Peter Bernholz, who, in his comparative global study of monetary regimes and inflation from the past to the present, comes to the conclusion that, without exception, inflations and hyperinflations are created by a political system issuing more and more paper money.[233] Yet, even until 1330 the amount of printed paper notes issued was not so large as to justify speaking of a serious, dramatic inflation, which only began in the very last years of the Yuan dynasty. Hence, in view of these general evaluations of the inflationary trends during the Yuan period, and especially during the period of the Venetian's stay in China, there was no reason for him to report a dramatic depreciation of paper notes. At any rate, the benefits generated by the Chinese paper money regime seem to have

---

[231] See Yang Lien-sheng (1952), p. 64, but also similarly Gaoqiao Hongchen [Takahashi Hirōmi] (2009), pp. 319–320. "Mild inflation" is perhaps an understatement, because at times rises in prices were quite acute.

[232] Cf. Franke (1949), pp. 104–105, 131, 154–155, 157–158.

[233] See Peter Bernholz, *Monetary Regimes and Inflation: History, Economic and Political Relationships*, Cheltenham, UK, and Northhampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 2003, pp. 61, 110.

been large enough to lure the Persian Ilkhan to establish Yuan-style paper currency in his empire as late as 1294, and even in 1330/1331 another abortive attempt was undertaken by Mahomed Túghlák of Delhi.[234] This all took place in periods when depreciation and devaluation of Yuan paper money was more pronounced than during Marco Polo's time in China. Nevertheless, this did not deter these two rulers from trying out the 'magical powers' and promises of a paper money regime.

Paper money was, however, only one of the currencies to which Marco Polo drew the attention of his readers. We have seen that the places for which the Venetian reported the use of paper money were indeed those areas in which the use and circulation of this currency was very intense, as it is corroborated by the spatial distribution of monetary institutions mentioned in Chinese sources. Apart from this specific perspective centring on paper money, it should also be stressed that Marco Polo's overall depiction of the monetary conditions of the Yuan empire is in striking agreement with the data we have from Chinese sources. This not only concerns places for which he simply does not indicate the use of paper money, such as Fujian, but also regions for which he explicitly mentions the use of other currencies than paper notes. This is particularly the case of southwestern China where, as we will see in the next chapters, Yuan paper money did circulate only to a very limited degree or not at all, but where gold, silver, cowries and salt monies were used instead. Thus, it is not only with regard to a local perspective that Marco Polo's report is surprisingly precise, but also in its overall presentation of the monetary situation of all those parts of the empire with which he was most familiar.

[234] See Henry Yule (1914), *Cathay and the Way Thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices on China*, New Edition, Revised throughout in the Light of Recent Discoveries by Henri Cordier, *Vol. III: Missionary Friars—Rashíduddín—Pegolotti—Marignolli*, p. 150n2.

CHAPTER THREE

COWRY MONIES CIRCULATING IN YUNNAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

> *Capitulo 75. De la provincial de Mangi.*
> [...] Illa si spendi lo coralo per monita, elo qualj he multo caro, perché tucte li soy donnj portano corallj a lo collu e adornasse ⁞⁞ li soy idolj cum isso. [...][1]

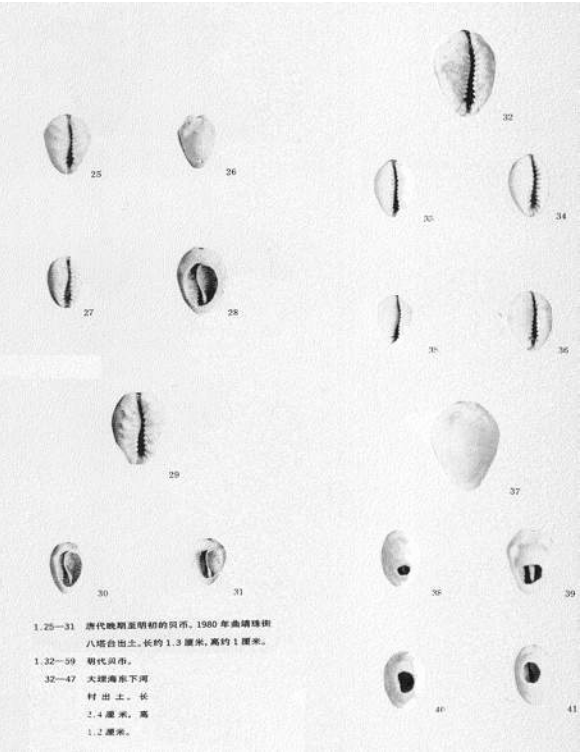
As I have made clear in the previous section, Marco Polo not only made detailed indications on the production, functions, and circulation of paper money, but also dealt with other types of currencies used in the Yuan empire. One of these currencies was cowry which was widely used as money in Yunnan as well as in adjacent regions (Fig. 20). In this chapter I will present a detailed account of Yunnan cowry money during the Yuan period on the basis of research published earlier by me or by other historians.[2] Revisiting this subject serves the two-fold purpose of stressing

---

[1] See the Venetian version of Marco Polo as it is preserved in Sevilla and as it is transcribed in Angélica Valentinetti Mendi, *Una familia veneta del Libro de Marco Polo*, Madrid: Editorial de la Universidad Complutense, Facultad de Filología, Departamento de Filología Italiana, 1992, p. 339. Note that ascribing the use of cowries in Mangi is erroneous. Instead of "Mangi," it should have "Tebet." Cf., e.g., the respective passages in Juan Gil, *El libro de Marco Polo: Ejemplar anotado por Cristobal Colón y que se conserva en la Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina de Sevilla*, Madrid: Testimonio, 1986, pp. 301–302, by which the origin of this error becomes obvious.

[2] On the history of the cowry currency in Yunnan, see Franke (1949), pp. 117–119, and especially Hans Ulrich Vogel, with the research assistance of Sabine Hieronymus, "Cowry Trade and its Role in the Economy of Yünnan, the Ninth to the Middle of the Seventeenth Century," in Roderich Ptak and Dietmar Rothermund (eds.), *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade, c. 1400–1750*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag (Beiträge zur Südasienforschung, Südasien-Institut, Universität Heidelberg), 1991a, pp. 231–262; id., "Cowry Trade and its Role in the Economy of Yünnan: From the Ninth to the Mid-Seventeenth Century," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 36.3 (1993): 211–252; 36.4 (1993): 309–353, and the recent account given by Yang Bin, "Horses, Silver, and Cowries: Yunnan in Global Perspective," *Journal of World History*, 15.3 (2004): 281–322; id., *Between Wind and Clouds: The Making of Yunnan* (*Second Century BCE to Twentieth Century CE*), New York: Columbia University Press, 2009, pp. 192–208, in which the author especially relates to the global dimensions of the cowry trade from the sixteenth century onwards and its repercussions on the monetary systems of Yunnan Province.

An important collection of Chinese articles on the history of cowry currency was edited by Yang Shouchuan 杨寿川 (ed.), *Beibi yanjiu* 贝币研究 (Investigation of Cowry Currency), [Kunming]: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 1997, which contains the most important research articles published in the People's Republic of China, all of them before 1997. The leading scholars in this field include Fang Guoyu 方国瑜, Yang Shouchuan 杨寿川,



Source: Tang Guoyan 汤国彦 et al., *Yunnan lishi huobi* 云南历史货币 (The Historical Currencies of Yunnan), Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1989, p. 62.

Notes:

25–31: Cowries from the late Tang (618–907) to the early Ming (1368–1644) period excavated in 1980 on Batatai Terrace 八塔台 of Zhujie Road 珠街 in Qujing 曲靖; length about 1.3 cm, width about 1 cm.

32–41: Cowries of the Ming period excavated in Xiahecun Village 下河村 of Haidong 海东 in Dali 大理; length about 2.4 cm, width about 1.2 cm.

Figure 20. Cowries found in Yunnan, Tang to Ming Periods.

the uniqueness of Marco Polo's report, especially in monetary matters, and of providing background information for an appraisal of the specific characteristics of the monetary situation in Yunnan Province. After a presentation of the relevant passages in Marco Polo's report, I will proceed by carrying out an analysis of the available accounts in Chinese primary sources referring to cowry money during the Yuan period. The specific topics discussed in this chapter will be exchange rates between cowries and other types of money, cowry denominations, the use of cowry money in the private sector of the Yunnan economy and the role of this currency in public revenue and finance. I will conclude with a comparative summary juxtaposing Marco Polo's report with the description given by Chinese sources.

As is well known in monetary history, the use of cowry was not limited to China. Cowries circulated as money in Western Africa from the fourteenth century and possibly already earlier, from the eleventh century onwards. Moreover, the areas on China's south and southwest borders, that is, Indochina, Thailand, and Burma (Arakan and Pegu), were regions with large-scale use of cowry monies. The most important and oldest cowry-money zone was, doubtless, India, especially the region of Bengal. Some scholars assume that from there the use of cowry—not only in general, but also its adoption as currency—spread to ancient China. The earliest eye-witness account of the use of these shells for money in India comes from the Chinese Buddhist traveller Faxian 法顯 (ca. 337–ca. 422) in about 400 AD, followed then by the reports of a steady number of other Chinese and Arabian observers. In comparison to the regions mention above, other areas were late-comers in the monetary usage of cowry, such as Eastern Africa from somewhat earlier than the eighteenth century and some islands in the Pacific in the nineteenth century.[3]

Jiang Yingliang 江应樑, Li Jiarui 李家瑞, Fang Hui 方慧 and Zhang Bincun 张彬村. For pictures of archaeologically testified cowries found in Yunnan see Tang Guoyan 汤国彦 et al., *Yunnan lishi huobi* 云南历史货币 (The Historical Currencies of Yunnan), Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1989, pp. 59–63. Special investigations on Marco Polo's report on cowries are Paul Pelliot, "Cowries," in his *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. I, pp. 532–563, and Akimoto Naojiro 彬本直治郎, "Chūsei ni okeru Unnan no baika" 中世における雲南の貝貨 (Cowry Currency in Yunnan during the Middle Ages), *Shigaku kenkyū* 史學研究 (Historical Research, 41 (1950): 1–46. I would like to thank Prof. Kuroda Akinobu for having provided me with a copy of Akimoto's article.

[3] See Jan Hogendorn and Marion Johnson, *The Shell Money of the Slave Trade*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (African Studies Series; 49), 1986, pp. 12–19.

Research—especially that carried out by Jan Hogendorn and Marion Johnson—has revealed the specific characteristics which made cowry an ideal commodity money. Although cowries were never a perfect means, for regions of low income their advantages as currency were considerable. To sum up, the following attributes were of advantage for their application as money: they were long-lasting, extremely durable, easy to handle, portable, hard to counterfeit, and of the right unit value for market needs (especially for small payments); and they had adequate constraints on supply, and little leakage into other uses.[4] It might also be mentioned that cowries were very often part of a multiple currency system, alongside the higher denominations of a monetary system, whether these were monies made of precious and less precious metals or other commodity monies.[5] These general characteristics of the use and circulation of cowry money no doubt also hold true for the particular case of the adoption of these shells in the Yunnan region.

1. Marco Polo on Cowry Currencies (1275–1291)

> *LI Von der ebrechunge vorlegin den husvrowin und von der ungehortin muncze.*
> Eyne groze provincie genant Caraam [...]. Das volk dynet den abgotin und sint undirtenik dem grozen chaam. Do get eyne muncze von syme gebote gemacht von eyme [*26rb*] krute da man brengit von dem mere von Indie, und ist *wys* und hot also groze wurczelin das von den werdin schone unde groze schussiln. Man ist do ro vleisch gestozen mit vil knobelouchis unde eyner wurzce. lxxx pfennige gewichte gemacht von dem krute burgil, dy tun eynen sylberyn sagum also genant. Abir der guldin sagum den achtit man also gut als eynen guldin floren. [...][6]

---

[4] Hogendorn and Johnson (1986), pp. 5–7.

[5] Hogendorn and Johnson (1986), p. 2.

[6] See Nicole Steidl, *Marco Polos "Heydnische Chronik": Die mitteldeutsche Bearbeitung des "Divisament dou monde" nach der Admonter Handschrift Cod. 504*, Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2010, Anhang C, p. 33. It is fascinating to note that in this German manuscript the cowries (*portulaca*) of Caraam (Carajan) became a herb, namely portulac (*burgil = Burzelkraut*), brought from India. This will be repeated in chapters LII (Caraam, continued), LIII (Ardadam [Zardandan]), LIX (Tholomaya [Colomon]) of the Admont manuscript. The V variant (MS Barb. lat 2687, Vatican Library, Rom, early 15th century) of the Latin text LA (itself based on the Tuscan version TB), which is the basis of the Admont manuscript, runs as follows: "[...] ubi de eius mandato currit moneta facta de portulacis, que portantur de

Marco Polo was clearly aware of the specific monetary circumstances in the southwest of China as he speaks no less than five times about the cowry money used in Yunnan and neighbouring regions. Hence, in research dealing with the history of Yunnan cowry currency his account is an important source of information complementing data obtained from Chinese sources. Below, I will introduce the relevant passages in *Le devisament dou monde* in their English translation. We will start with his account of the kingdom of Locac in Siam (see Table 11) where the so-called "porcelain shells" were gathered to be used for small change in all those regions, as he "had told before":

> WHEREIN THE ISLES OF SONDUR AND CONDUR ARE SPOKEN OF; AND THE KINGDOM OF LOCAC
> [...] In this kingdom too are gathered all the porcelain shells which are used for small change in all those regions, as I have told you before. [...][7]

In a former chapter, on Coloman, the Venetian traveller not only mentioned the circulation of cowry currency in this area itself and in Anin, but also outside of China in Bangala and Caugigu:

> CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF COLOMAN.
> [...] A good deal of gold is found in the country, and for petty traffic they use porcelain shells such as I have told you of before. All these provinces that I have been speaking of, to wit Bangala and Caugigu and Anin, employ for currency porcelain shells and gold. There are merchants in this country who are very rich and dispose of large quantities of goods. [...][8]

---

mari Indie et sunt albe et tam grossum fustum habent, quod inde fiunt pulcre et magne scutelle." The variant L (Ms. lat. 121, Luxemburg, 1448, written by Tilmannus Pluntsch) and S (Ms. lat. 37, Stiftsbibliothek Schlierbach) of LA have *pculatis* or *pculacis*, while the variant M (Ms. lat. 4973, National Library, Vienna) of LA writes *pticularis*. According to Johann Georg Krünitz's *Oekonomische Encyklopädie oder allgemeines System der Staats-Stadt- Haus- und Landwirthschaft*, Berlin: Pauli, 1773–1858 (digitalized version of the University Library of Trier), portulac (*Burzelkraut*, *Bürzelkraut*, *Bürgelkraut*) is called in Italian *porcellana* and *portulaca*.

[7] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 276. In the French manuscript version B1 this reads as follows: "[...], et de ce regne issent toutes les pourcelainnes que l'en despent par toutes provinces, si comme j'ai vous ai dit." See Dominique Boutet, Thierry Delcourt, and Danièle James-Raoul, *Livre d'Yinde; Retour vers l'Occident*, in Philippe Ménard (ed.), *Marco Polo: Le devisement du monde*, Genève: Librairie Droz, vol. 6, 2009, p. 14.

[8] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 123, and the French B1 manuscript version edited by Blanchard and Quereuil (2005), p. 97: "[...] La monnoie qu'i despendent au menu si est de pourcelainne en telle maniere comme je vous ay dit. Et aussi en toutes ces prouvinces de Bangala et de Cangygu et Amu despendent pourcelainne et or. Il y a marcheanz qui sont moult riches et portent moult d'avoir en marchandises. [...]."

Table 11. Chinese and East Asian regions with cowry currency mentioned by Marco Polo

Name (Yule)	Some variant spellings	Significance	Area
Lolac	Locac Lochac Soncat		Siam
Coloman	Colomam Tholoman Toloman	land of the Tuliaoman 土僚蠻, Tulaoman 土老蠻 /禿老蠻 or Tulaman 禿剌蠻	region of eastern Yunnan along the border with western Guizhou, to as far north as southern Sichuan
Bangala	Bangalan Banganlan		Bengal
Caugigu	Cangigu Caigu Cauçugu		Jiaozhi Guo 交趾國, later called Annam; northern part of today's Vietnam
Anin	Amu Ania Flum	probably land of the Hani 哈尼 people	Southwest Yunnan, north of Annam
Carajan	Caragian Caraian Carazan	country of the "black southern barbarians" or Wuman 烏蠻; "kara" is Mongol for "black"	Kingdom of Dali 大理 (Mongol province of Yunnan)
Zardandan	Çardandan Arddandan Cardandan	"Gold Teeth" in Persian; land of the Jinchi 金齒, identified with today's Dai 傣 people	vicinity of present-day Baoshan 保山 in Western Yunnan

Source: Yule (1903); for the identification of the place names in Marco Polo's account see Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. I, pp. 39–40 (Anin), 73–74 (Bangala), 169–181 (Caragian), 233–234 (Caugigu), 603–606 (Cardandan), vol. II, pp. 766–770 (Lochac), 857–858 (Toloman); Haw (2006), pp. 100, 104, 105.

As I have shown in another article, the use of cowries was well attested by both Arabic and Chinese sources—later also by Western accounts—for a number of regions in South and Southeast Asia, including Bengal, Orissa, Arakan, Martaban, Pegu, Siam and Laos, to mention the most important ones.[9]

[9] Vogel (1993), pp. 221–246.

Marco Polo becomes more specific when he talks about the use of cowry currency as small change in the Yunnan regions of Carajan and Zardandan. He not only relates cowry as a kind of small money to the big currencies of gold and silver, but also reports on an exchange rate between cowries and silver, the origin of these "porcelain shells" from India, as well as their use as adornment. Moreover, in the case of Carajan, he seems also to refer to some kind of denominational unit. In their English translation the relevant passages read as follows:

> CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF CARAJAN
> [...] Their money is such as I will tell you. They use for the purpose certain white porcelain shells that are found in the sea, such as are sometimes put on dogs' collars; and 80 of these porcelain shells pass for a single weight of silver, equivalent to two Venice groats, *i.e.* 24 piccoli. Also eight such weights of silver count equal to one such weight of gold. [...][10]
>
> CONCERNING A FURTHER PART OF THE PROVINCE OF CARAJAN
> [...] In this country gold-dust is found in great quantities; that is to say in the rivers and lakes, whilst in the mountains gold is also found in pieces of larger size. Gold is indeed so abundant that they give one *saggio* of gold for only six of the same weight in silver. And for small change they use porcelain shells as I mentioned before. These are not found in the country, however, but are brought from India. [...][11]
>
> CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF ZARDANDAN
> [...] Their money is gold, and for small change they use pig-shells. And I can tell you they give one weight of gold for only five of silver; for there is no silver-mine within five months' journey. And this induces merchants to go thither carrying a large supply of silver to change among that people. And as they have only five weights of silver to give for one of fine gold, they make immense profits by their exchange business in that country. [...][12]

---

[10] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 66, and Blanchard and Quereuil (2005), p. 76: "Il ont monnoie si faite: car il despendent pourcelainne blanche, seles qui se trueuvent en la mer et que se meitent au col des chiens. Et valent les .IIII^{XX}. pourcelainnes un pois d'argent qui sont .II. veniciens gros de Venice, [qui] est .XXIIII. livres; et les .VIII. pois d'argent si valent un pois d'or." The words in brackets are corrections made on the basis of other early French manuscripts.

[11] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 76, and Blanchard and Quereuil (2005), p. 78: "En ceste contree treuve on aussi or en paillole a grant foison; l'en le trueve es fluns. Et es las et es montaingnes [est] or plus gros de celui de paillole. Il ont tant d'or que je vous di que il donnent un pois d'or pour .VI. pois d'argent. Et encore despendent les pourcelainnes que je vous ay dit. Et encore vous di que en ces prouvinces ne treuve l'en pas les [pourcelainnes], mes leur viennent [d'Yinde]."

[12] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 85, and Blanchard and Quereuil (2005), p. 82: "[...] Leur monnoie est d'or, et despendent aussi la pourcelainne, et si vous di que il donnent un pois d'or pour .V. pois d'argent, et ce avient pour ce que il n'ont nulle argentiere a plus de .V. mois de chemin. Et pour ce y viennent les marchans, qui leur aportent moult d'argent, et le changent a ceste gent et leur donnent .V. pois d'argent fin pour un pois d'or fin; et de ce

There is no need here to dwell too long on the question as to why cowries were called *porcelaine, porcelane, porcellane, porciellane, porzelane* etc. in the various mediaeval Marco Polo texts. Paul Pelliot has already shown a long time before the writing of the present text that one of the meanings of "porcelains" was (1) 'cowries,' besides standing for (2) 'chinaware,' (3) 'vases of mother of pearl' (?), and (4) 'purslane.' Pelliot, following Henry Yule, argued that the designation "porcelains" for cowries almost certainly derived from their strong resemblance to the body and back of a pig and thus ultimately can be traced to the Latin *porcus* or "pig[-shell]."[13] The term "little pig" survived for centuries in the cowry trade, as we can see from the writing from a Portuguese pilot from about 1540 stating that in Italy these shells are called *porcellette*.[14]

In the next chapter I shall deal with the reports given by Chinese sources on the characteristics and functions of cowry currency during the Yuan period and juxtapose and compare them with the account provided by the Venetian traveller.

2. Chinese Sources on Yunnan Cowry Currencies during the Yuan Period (1271–1368)

> […] 江南田地裡市舶司裡見在有的貝子多有. 譬如空放着, 將去雲南, 或換金子, 或換馬呵, 得濟的勾當有. […][15]

This chapter will concentrate on information on Yunnan cowry currencies as it can be found in Chinese sources. The topics that will be addressed include exchange rates between cowries and other monies, denominations of cowry currency, cowry imports, the use of cowry money in private markets and in society and the role of cowry in public revenue and expenditures. At the same time and if feasible, Chinese information will be compared and contrasted with Marco Polo's account. Eventually, a

---

font li marchant grant gaaing et en traient grant pourfit de ceste province par ce change." Cf. also the Franco-Italian manuscript in Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 474.

[13] See Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. II, pp. 805–807.

[14] Hogendorn and Johnson (1986), p. 15.

[15] See *Tongzhi tiaoge jiaozhu* 通制條格校注 (Regulations of the [Book of the] Comprehensive Rules [of the Great Yuan], Collated and Annotated), with a preface of Beizhulu Chong 孛朮魯翀 (1279–1338); collated and annotated by Fang Linggui 方齡貴, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001, chap. 18, p. 552. For a translation see chapter III.2.3 below.

final appraisal of this comparative exercise will be provided in the final sub-chapter.

Here we will discuss only the Yuan period, as I have dealt thoroughly with the history of Yunnan cowry currency during other periods in another article.[16] Nonetheless, a few words about the general history of cowry currency in Yunnan seem appropriate. Yunnan sites in which cowries were excavated are Yuanmou 元谋 (middle and late Shang Period, 1600–1100 BC), Deqin 德钦 (early Spring and Autumn Period, 770–650 BC), Jianchuan 剑川 (middle Spring and Autumn Period to the Warring States, 650–221 BC), and Jinning 晋宁 and Jiangchun 江川 (Dian Culture, 278 BC–115 AD). These archaeological finds also make clear that cowries were especially present in the Dian 滇 Culture during the late Warring States (475–221 BC) and Western Han (206 BC–24 AD) periods, as more than ten thousand of them were excavated in Jinning and Jiangchuan around the Dianchi 滇池 Lake.[17] It is, however, debated whether cowries already served as currency in Yunnan during that early period.[18] At any rate, in the Eastern Han period (25–220), the cowry-use of the Dian Culture came to an end and did not show any relationship with its re-emergence from the Tang period (618–907) onwards.[19]

Fragmentary textual evidence of its function as money on a local level in Yunnan cannot be dated earlier than the beginning of the ninth century AD. From the late ninth century onwards this monetary practice gained in momentum, though due to a lack of sources it is hard to tell how much. With the Yuan period (1271–1268) we are on safe ground, however, because historical records provide sufficient evidence of its widespread use. Rather than being indicative of a qualitative and quantitative development of the cowry currency itself, in comparison with earlier periods, it is the richer flow of data which is responsible for this altered picture. This itself has, no doubt, to do with the conquest of Yunnan by Mongol forces in 1253 and the gradual, but intense incorporation of its territory into the Chinese realm from this period onwards. The use of cowry money

---

[16] See Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade."

[17] See Peng Ke and Zhu Yanshi, "New Research on the Origins of Cowries Used in Ancient China," *Sino-Platonic Papers*, 68 (1995): 1–18.

[18] On the pros and cons see Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade," pp. 216–218. Cowries appear to have been used as medium of exchange in China during the late Shang (14th–11th centuries BC) and during the Western Zhou (11th–8th centuries BC) periods. See von Glahn (1996), pp. 24–25.

[19] Peng Ke and Zhu Yanshi (1995), pp. 1, 12.

in Yunnan Province lasted at least until the middle of the seventeenth century, after which it declined.[20]

In contrast to the rather general and unspecified material available for the pre-Mongol period, the greater wealth and detail of data thereafter permits us to gain insight not only into the development of the exchange rate and the denominational system, but also the use of cowry money in private and official transactions. Here we will concentrate, in a summarizing manner, on those records that refer to the Yuan period in order to show that Marco Polo's frequent references to cowry money were not accidential, but represented an important part of the monetary, economic, fiscal and cultural conditions in Yunnan under Mongol rule.

2.1. *Exchange Rates*

Besides a number of other things to be discussed below, Marco Polo stated that eighty of the so-called porcelain shells passed for a single weight of silver or *saggio* equivalent to two Venice groats.[21] No doubt the phrase "single weight of silver" refers to the *saggio*, a weight often mentioned by Marco Polo also in other contexts.[22] Yule thinks that Marco Polo, when

---

[20] See Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade," pp. 220–221, 331–337. Wood (1995), p. 54, writes that the use of cowry currency persisted in Yunnan into the thirteenth century. This is wrong as we still have reports about the use of cowry money in Yunnan well into the seventeenth century. See Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade," pp. 309ff.

[21] Cf. Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 66: "[…] and 80 of these porcelain shells pass for a single weight of silver, equivalent to two Venice groats, i.e. 24 *piccoli*." Consider note 4 of Yule about the word "*piccoli*": "The word *piccoli* is supplied, perhaps, in lieu of an unknown symbol. If correct, then we should read '24 *piccoli* each' for this was about the equivalent of a *grosso*." The Franco-Italian version—probably the earliest manuscript that had survived—puts it like this, without mentioning *piccoli*: "[…] Il ont monoie en tel mainere com je voç dirai: car il espendent porcelaine blance—celle que se trovent en la mer et que se metent au cuel des chienç—et vaillent les LXXX porcelaines un saje d'arjent, que sunt deus venesians gros, et sachiés que les VIII sajes d'arjent fin vailent un sajes d'or fin." Cf. Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 469. *Piccoli* is also not to be found in the Ramusio version. Note also that the rate of 1 to 24 would not fit any more the monetary conditions of the time after Marco Polo's return from China where the rate depreciated at least to 1 to 32. See Appendix 3. In contrast to the Franco-Italian version, the early French text B1, though not mentioning *piccoli*, speaks of 24 "livres." Cf. Blanchard and Quereuil (2005), p. 76.

[22] Cf. the Franco-Italian version which has "saje d'arjent," while the early French text B1 has "pois d'argent." See Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 469, and Blanchard and Quereuil (eds.) (2005), p. 76, respectively. Pipino speaks of "sagia argenti." See Gil (1986), p. 304. The Latin edition of the Z manuscript writes "saçio uno argenti." See Alvaro Barbieri, *Marco Polo, Milione: Redazione latina del manoscritto Z, versione italiana a fronte*, Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo / Ugo Guanda, 1998, p. 142.

describing conditions is China, used *saggio* in the sense of a Persian *miskal*.[23] If we now assume, as I have done in Appendix 6, that the weight of two Venetian groats (*grossi*), one *saggio* or one *miskal* amounted to roughly 4.3 g and the average weight of one *liang* silver during the Yuan period to 39.04 g, thus implying a relationship of about 9.0791 *saggi* = 1 *liang*, then the exchange rate between cowry currency and silver indicated by Marco Polo would have amounted to about 726 cowries per 1 *liang* silver.[24]

So far, we know of only two indications on the exchange rate between cowries and other types of money relating to the Yuan period. One can be found on the reverse side of Li Yuandao's 李源道 stele "Record of the Renovated Yuantong [Buddhist[Monastery" (*Chuangxiu Yuantongsi ji* 創修圓通寺記) in Kunming 昆明 where a contribution by a Mr. Wang 王 to the amount of 150 *ding* of paper money (*chao* 鈔) is mentioned, each *ding* at a value of 300 *suo* 索 ("strings") of cowries (*ba* 貝).[25] In other words, one *guan/liang* (50 *guan/liang* = 1 *ding*) of paper money valued 6 *suo* (1 *suo* = 80 cowries) or 480 pieces of cowries. If we take the official exchange rate between paper money and silver of 2 : 1 during the period from 1260 to 1286, then 1 *liang* of silver would have exchanged for 12 *suo* or 960 cowries. This is quite near to the value that I have calculated for the indication made by Marco Polo.

Another indication refers to 1282, when for tax payments (*shuifu* 稅賦) a rate of 20 *suo* 索 of cowries for 1 *qian* 錢 gold was adopted. If we consider that, according to Marco Polo's report, the exchange rate between gold and silver in Yachi (Yunnanfu 雲南府 or modern-day Kunming) was one to eight, in Carajan (Dali) one to six, and in Zardandan (Yongchangfu

---

[23] Yule indicates the following: 8 *saggi* or Persian *miskal* would be 592 grains troy or 38.36 g or 1 *liang* or tael; 1 grain troy is 0,0648 g; 1 *saggio* is about 4.8 g. See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 217. Cf. these 4.8 g, however, with my own calculations about the average or intended weight of two groats, one *saggio* or one *miskal* in Appendix 6 where I came to the conclusion that a weight of 4.3 g seems adequate for one *saggio*.

[24] For a discussion of the exchange rates between cowries and other types of money see Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade," pp. 338–341. Note, however, that the statement (in note b to table 2) "saggio seems to denote the silver money unit-of-account *ch'ien* [*qian*]" is wrong, because 1 *liang* amounts not to 10 *saggi*, but to about 9.0791 *saggi*, while 10 *qian* = 1 *liang*. Hence the exchange rate in that table would have to be corrected from 600 to roughly 726 cowries.

[25] See Fang Hui, "Cong jinshi wenqi kan Yuan Ming ji Qingchu Yunnan shiyong beibi de qingkuang" 从金石文契看元明及清初云南使用贝币的情况 (The Use of Cowry Currency in Yunnan during the Yuan, Ming and Early Qing as Seen from Stele Inscriptions and Contracts), in Yang Shouchuan (ed.) (1997), *Beibi yanjiu*, pp. 137, 141.

永昌府) one to five, then an exchange rate of 2,000, 2,667 and 3,200 cowries per 1 *liang* silver would result, respectively.[26]

When revisiting the available data on exchange rates between cowries and silver available from the Yuan period onwards, it becomes clear that during the Yuan period the cowry was quite expensive in relation to silver when compared with the ensuing Ming dynasty (1368–1644). During the Ming period exchange rates amounted to, e.g., 8,000 (about 1368, [market] exchange rate), 7,200 (1524, market exchange rate in Yanglinyi 楊林驛 near Yunnanfu), 4,405 (1540, Tengchong 騰冲, conversion of taxes collected in cowry into silver), 7,200 (1548, Tonghai 通海, current market exchange rate), or 10,400 (1610).[27] Thus, the value of cowry money against silver was from two and a half times to four times higher under the Mongols than in the period that followed. Though there is some substantial difference between the results obtained from Marco Polo's (726) indication and that of the Chinese sources (960, 2,000 and more), this may be explained by various reasons, such as temporal fluctuations or generally changing conditions in the regional supply and demand of cowries, silver or gold. Another cause may have been the existence of different exchange rates as they were used on the one hand on the markets and on the other hand in governmental conversions of cowry payments into silver and vice versa. A large gap between official and market exchange rates can be clearly noticed in the case of Yanglinyi (1524, 7,200), Tengchong (1540, 4,405) and Tonghai (1548, 7,200) and as well as in many other instances of different, but comparable, currency constellations in Chinese monetary history.

2.2. *Denominations*

A striking feature of Marco Polo's account is his mentioning of 80 cowries passing for a single weight of silver. While it cannot be excluded that the figure of 80 may have no deeper meaning as it was a silver unit that served as the original unit-of-account in which another currency was expressed, it should be pointed out that 80 constituted an important element within the denominational system for cowry currency in Yunnan. Information in Chinese sources that can be traced back probably to the early fourteenth century gives the following denominations for Yunnan cowry currency:

---

[26] See Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade," pp. 338–341.

[27] For more figures, also for the period after 1610, see Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade," pp. 338–341.

		1 *zhuang*	庄	=	1 cowry
4 *zhuang*	=	1 *shou*	手	=	4 cowries
4 *shou*	=	1 *miao*	苗	=	16 cowries
5 *miao*	=	1 *suo*	索	=	80 cowries[28]

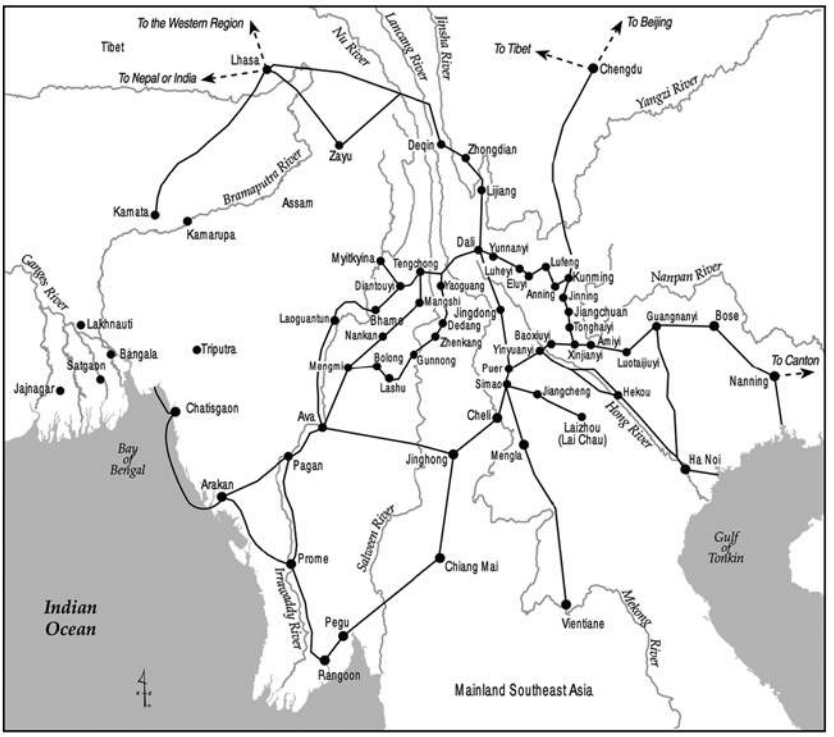
Together with the pattern "4 × 20 = 80," the pattern "4 × 4 × 5 = 80" was the dominant denominational system for Yunnan cowry currency up to the beginning of the seventeenth century. The figure 80 was a mainstay also in the cowry denominational system of Bengal. Like in Yunnan we find in Bengal the pattern "4 × 20 = 80." The basis of this was formed, however, by the combination "4 × 5 × 4 = 80," which differs somewhat from the Yunnan pattern "4 × 4 × 5 = 80." Interestingly, both the patterns "4 × 5 × 4 = 80" and "4 × 4 × 5 = 80" are to be found in the silver denomination systems in Siam. Hence, the combination of fours and fives is not accidental, but points to a close relationship between the denominational and reckoning systems in Bengal, Siam and Yunnan. This is also corroborated by the fact that 64 appears to be another denominational cowry unit occurring both in Bengal and Yunnan, though much less testified than the arrangements discussed above.[29]

2.3. *Cowry Imports*

In this chapter we will deal with the question whether Marco Polo was right in stating that the cowries of Carajan (and certainly also those of other places in Yunnan) were not found in the country, but in the sea, and were brought from India. Cowry currency existed not only in Yunnan, but also in India, Bengal, Burma, Thailand and Laos. This is indicative of the fact that use of cowry currency in Yunnan was an expression of the commercial ties of Yunnan with South and Southeast Asia and that as a consequence of the trade relations with these regions, cowries were imported into Southwest China and circulated there also as money. Map 2 shows the situation of the so-called Southwest Silk Road during the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries connecting Yunnan overland with South and Southeast Asia. There is good reason to assume that the bulk of cowry arrived in Yunnan via Burma and Siam, with some smaller part also

[28] See especially the *Yunnan zhilüe* 雲南志略, by Li Jing 李京, "Zhuyi fengsu" 諸夷風俗, in Fang Guoyu 方国瑜 (chief ed.), Xu Wende 徐文德 and Mu Qin 木芹 (compilers and collators), *Yunnan shiliao congkan* 云南史料丛刊 (Collection of Historical Materials of Yunnan), Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 1998–2001, vol. 3, p. 130.

[29] For more details and data, including indications of the sources, see Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade," pp. 246–252.



Source: Yang Bin, "Horses, Silver, and Cowries: Yunnan in Global Perspective," *Journal of World History*, 15.3 (2004), p. 293. Courtesy of the Journals Department of the University of Hawai'i Press.

Map 2. The Southwest Silk Road during the late thirteenth to nineteenth centuries.

imported via Jiaozhou 交州 (Tongking). And it is perhaps not too much exaggerated to speak rather of a "Cowry Currency Road" than of a "Silk Road," as was suggested recently by a Yunnanese historian.[30]

Reports about commodities that were exported from Yunnan (in exchange for cowries and other goods) are rare and mostly coming from periods later than the Yuan. Ralph Fitch (d. 1611), the first Englishman to have left a record of his travels in Southeast Asia (1583–1591) reported that to the town of "Jamahey" (Chiangmai) "come many merchants out of China, and bring great stores of Muske, Gold, and Silver, and many other

[30] See Lin Wenxun 林文勋, "Shi 'sichou zhi lu' haishi 'beibi zhi lu'?" 是 "丝绸之路" 还是 "贝币之路"? ("Silk Road" or "Cowry Currency Road"?), *Sixiang zhanxian* 思想战线 (Ideological Front), 27.5 (2001): 134–135.

things of China worke."[31] According to Andrew D. W. Forbes' research, the most important goods exported from Yunnan to northern Thailand from the fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries were probably raw silk and salt from Yunnan, as well as tea that had been imported from the Laos-Yunnan frontier region. Principal items of import into Yunnan were cotton from northern Thailand and Kengtung and tea from Kengtung and the Laos-Yunnan frontier region. Transport was carried out by means of mule, or mule and pony caravans, and from the thirteenth century onwards, most of the caravaneers were probably Yunnanese Huimin (Chinese Muslims).[32]

From the perspective of Marco Polo research other important products exported to Southeast Asia have to be mentioned. One of these was the trade in Yunnan horses which were brought to Bengal and from there re-exported via maritime trade.[33] Marco Polo mentions both the "large" and excellent horses of Carajan (Dali) which were taken to India for sale,[34] as well as the plentiful supply of horses of Anin (southwest Yunnan, north of Annam), sold in great numbers to the Indians, and making a great profit thereby.[35] Already during the Chinese middle ages Yunnan horses were well known in China. In a memorial to the future Sui ruler, Liang Rui 梁瑞—the general who had pacified Sichuan late in 580—emphasized the wealth of the Yunnan region, especially from its salt wells and excellent horses.[36] Horses were offered by the Nanzhao Kingdom 南詔 (738–902) to the Tang court as tribute. It was the Luoluo 儸儸 people who raised the so-called Yuedan 越賧 or Yuedan Tonglun 越賧統倫 horses in

[31] See Ralph Fitch, "The Voyage of Master Ralph Fitch, Merchant of London . . .," in *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pligrims* (Glasgow, 1905), vol. 10, p. 195, quoted by Andrew D. W. Forbes, "The 'Cin-Ho' (Yunnanese Chinese) Caravan Trade with North Thailand during the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Journal of Asian History*, 21 (1987): 3.

[32] See Andrew D. W. Forbes, "The Role of Hui Muslims in the Traditional Caravan Trade between Yunnan and Thailand," in Denys Lombard and Jean Aubin (eds.), *Marchands et hommes d'affaires asiatiques dans l'Océan Indien et la Mer de Chine, 13e–20e siècles*, Paris: Ed. de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1988, pp. 289–294; Forbes (1987), pp. 4, 19–25, and p. 22 for a more detailed list of export and import items of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

[33] See Yang Bin (2004), referring to the work of Ranabir Chakravarti, "Early Medieval Bengal and the Trade in Horses: A Note," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 42.2 (1999): 194–211.

[34] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 78. Cf., however, also note 4 on the size of the horses in Yule (1903), vol. 2, pp. 81–82. It is assumed there that "numerous" is meant instead of "large."

[35] Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 119.

[36] Charles Backus, *The Nan-chao Kingdom and T'ang China's Southwestern Frontier*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, p. 9.

a region about 200 km west of Dali, and the defeats of the Tang armies suffered at the hands of the Nanzhao Kingdom may have been due to the Nanzhao cavalry being equipped with such good horses.[37] The Southern Song (1127–1279) government opened markets in Guangxi to buy annually 1,500 to 3,000 Yunnanese horses bred in the highlands of Dali.[38] This trade appears also to have promoted frontier trade in other items—notably musk, medicinal items, felts and swords from Yunnan—which were exchanged for Chinese salt, silk and silver.[39]

Silver was probably an important item of export from Yunnan, especially to Bengal. For the period from 1291 to 1533, John Deyell has established regular flows of silver, though of varying intensity, to Bengal. The origins of these silver flows were, most probably, the mines of Yunnan and the northern Shan states.[40] And as we have already mentioned, Kuroda Akinobu links the prosperity and decline of Bengal silver coin issues closely to the rise and fall of Yuan paper money currency and to military and political developments in Southwest China and beyond. He argues that with the establishment of a Yuan garrison, the Bangya Pacification Commission 邦牙宣慰司, at Pinya in the Shan states the outflow of silver from China to Bengal increased rapidly from 1339 onwards, but then dried up dramatically with the decline of Shan rule in Burma and the collapse of the Mongol empire in China in the early 1360s. A hoard containing large quantities of rupees issued mainly during the mid-fourteenth century was found in Sylhet, a place inland in eastern Bengal. Located at the eastern frontier of the Muslim rulers at that time, Sylhet was the gateway to Yunnan, by a trade route passing through Burma. In a similar way to Yunnan, Sylhet depended heavily on cowries as medium of exchange as well as for

---

[37] Li Lincan (Li Lin-ts'an) 李霖燦, *Nanzhao Daliguo xin ziliao de zonghe yanjiu* 南詔大理國新資料的綜合研究 (A Study of the Nan-chao and Ta-li Kingdoms in the Light of Art Materials Found in Various Museums), Nankang, Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica (Monographs; 9), 1967, pp. 53, 72.

[38] See Jacov Paul Smith, *Taxing Heaven's Storehouse: Horses, Bureaucrats, and the Destruction of the Sichuan Tea Industry, 1074–1224*, Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, Council on East Asian Studies (Harvard-Yenching Institute monograph series; 32), 1991, p. 26; Zhang Xilu 张锡禄, *Nanzhao yu Baizu wenhua* 南诏与白族文化 (The Nanzhao Kingdom and the Culture of the Bai People), Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 1991, p. 234.

[39] Backus (1981), p. 163.

[40] See John Deyell, "The China Connection: Problems of Silver Supply in Medieval Bengal," in John F. Richards (ed.), *Precious Metals in the Later Medieval and Early Modern World*, Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 1983, pp. 213–224. The contribution of Yunnan silver to China's monetary transition to silver and its economic development is discussed by Yang Bin (2004), pp. 301–304.

tax collection until the early nineteenth century, thus providing strong evidence of the economic and monetary ties existing between Bengal and Yunnan.[41]

We know from Marco Polo that the exchange rate between gold and silver of 1 to 8 in Yachi (Yunnanfu or modern Kunming) in eastern Yunnan differed considerably from the 1 to 6 exchange rate in Carajan (Dali) and the 1 to 5 exchange rate in Zardandan (Yongchang) in western Yunnan. The Chinese historian Li Jiarui assumed that the reason for the difference in the exchange rate was that gold was mined in western Yunnan, and that the silver mines were mainly in the eastern part of this province, so that gold became cheaper the nearer one got to western Yunnan.[42] This is borne out to a certain extent by Marco Polo who reported that in Carajan (Dali) gold-dust is found in great quantities in rivers and lakes and in pieces of larger size in the mountains, while for Zardandan (Yongchang) the high price of silver is attributed by him to the absence of silver mining "within five months' journey."[43]

How do we have to deal with Marco Polo's statement about the abundance of gold mining in the area of Carajan and that there was no silver mining in Zardandan "within five months' journey"? Can this statement be substantiated or has it to be modified in the light of textual and archaeological evidence of the mining and smelting history of Yunnan?[44] As is well known, Yunnan Province is famous for her abundance in deposits of precious and non-ferrous metals. Archaeological remains in Haimenkou 海门口, Jianchuan 剑川, yielded copper utensils already from the twelfth century BC, and the finds of the Dian 滇 culture (278 BC–115 AD) reveal a highly developed bronze industry covering the seventh to the first centuries BC. Also the kingdoms of Nanzhao 南詔 (738–902) and Dali 大理 (937–1253) showed a high level of metallurgical expertise and consumed

---

41 Kuroda Akinobu (2009), pp. 253–255.

42 See Li Jiarui 李家瑞, "Gudai Yunnan yong beibi de daigai qingkuang" 古代云南用贝币的大概情况 (A General Account of the Use of Cowry Currency in Ancient Yunnan), *Lishi yanjiu* 历史研究 (Historical Research), 9 (1956): 93.

43 Yule (1903), vol. 2, pp. 76 and 85.

44 The following excursion into the mining and smelting history of Yunnan was prompted by a critical remark of Mark Elvin in a personal communication in February 2010 in which he highlighted the problematic of Marco Polo's remark on the absence of silver mining in Yongchang "within five months' journey." This excursion is based on my former work, namely: Hans Ulrich Vogel, "Bergbau auf Gold, Silber, Kupfer und Zinn in Yunnan bis zum Ende der Mongolenzeit," in Albert Lutz (ed.), *Der Goldschatz der Drei Pagoden: Buddhistische Kunst des Nanzhao- und Dali-Königreichs in Yunnan, China*, Zürich: Museum Rietberg Zürich, 1991, pp. 75–78.

substantial amounts of copper, gold and silver for precious goods and religious objects.[45] Because, from the mid-thirteenth century, Yunnan was considered the province richest in precious and non-ferrous metals and, as a matter of fact, produced such metals in large quantities especially during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there is good reason to assume that the raw materials used in earlier periods were all extracted from local deposits.

In contrast to the rich archaeological metallurgical remains, textual evidence of Yunnan's mining and smelting industry is sparse for the first two thousand years. Before the mid-fourteenth century, relevant information in Chinese sources is only available for the Han period (206 BC–220 AD), from the mid-ninth century of the Tang dynasty (618–907), and from the Yuan period. This is, insofar, not accidental as there exists a close relationship between these reports and the political developments in this region: in the year 109 BC the Han subjugated the Dian and, with the establishment of Yizhou Commandery 益州郡, brought this territory under their control. In the middle of the eighth century the Tang attempt to subdue the independent Nanzhao kingdom was abortive. It was only in 1253 that Yunnan Province became a firm part of the Chinese empire, though this was not achieved by a Chinese dynasty, but by the Mongols who, after their conquest in 1253, established there a Branch Secretariat in 1274.[46]

The first written source informing us about mining operations in Yunnan comes from the Han period. A typical entry in the *Hanshu* ([History] Records of the [Western] Han [Dynasty]) reads as follows: "Bengu 賁古: In the north [of Bengu] there is tin in the Cai Mountain 采山; in the west there is silver and lead in the Yang Mountain 羊山; in the south there is tin in the Wu Mountain 烏山."[47] The Cai Mountain was probably located in the region of Gejiu 個舊, which later in the eighteenth century became famous for its tin production.

Marco Polo's report about the gold resources in the kingdom of Dali (Carajan), its gold-dust found in great quantities in rivers and lakes and its pieces of larger size obtained in the mountains, is confirmed by Chinese sources from early on. Gold is said to have been produced in Bonan 博南 as well as in Ailao 哀牢 (see Map 3), and Wang Chong 王充 (27–92), in

[45] On the manyfold religious objects in bronze, gilded bronze, silver and copper see Albert Lutz (ed.), *Der Goldschatz der Drei Pagoden: Buddhistische Kunst des Nanzhao- und Dali-Königreichs in Yunnan, China*, Zürich: Museum Rietberg Zürich, 1991.

[46] See Farquhar (1990), p. 398.

[47] *Hanshu*, by Ban Gu 班固, 58–76, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962, vol. 6, chap. 28a, p. 1601.

his *Lunheng* 論衡 (Discourses Weighed in the Balance) has the following interesting entry on the gold resources of Yongchang:

> In Yongchang Commandery there is also gold. It is fine and loose [?] and has the size of millet grains. It is found in the sand of river banks. People collecting it obtain per diem gold of a weight of 5 *shu* 銖 [about 3 g]. It is thoroughly of pure golden colour.[48]

Another source, not only mentioning the panning of gold dust, but also the extraction of nuggets in a similar way to the report from Marco Polo is Fan Chuo's 樊綽 *Manshu* 蠻書 (Book of the Southern Barbarians) or *Yunnan zhi* 雲南志 (A Record of Yunnan) describing the situation around the mid-ninth century. On the gold production in the region between the Irrawady and the Salween we are told that convicts of both sexes were sent to the Li River 麗江 for panning gold dust (*fujin* 麩金), while local inhabitants extracted the so-called "raw gold" (*shengjin* 生金). Seventy to eighty percent of the production had to be handed over to the Nanzhao officials. The winning of gold is described in the following way:

> Raw gold (*shengjin* 生金) is a product of the various mountains of Jinshan 金山 (Gold Mountains) and Changbang 長傍. The method adopted by the natives of the Jinbao 金寶 (Gold and Jewel) Mountains north of Tengchong 藤充 is as follows: Between spring and winter they first dig trenches on the mountains, over a *zhang* deep and several tens of paces broad. In the summer months, when the water comes flooding down, more and more the mud runs into the trenches. There, in the places where the earth has accumulated, among the sand and stones, they discover and pick out [the gold]. They may get flakes (*pian* 片) or nuggets (*kuai* 塊). Big ones may weigh 1 *jin*, some even 2 *jin*. Small ones may be 3 to 5 *liang*. The price is several times higher than that of gold-dust (*fujin* 麩金). But the Man 蠻 rules being strict

---

[48] See Alfred Forke, *Lun-Hêng: Miscellaneous Essays of Wang Ch'ung*, 2nd ed. New York: Paragon Book Gallery, 1962, p. 215, and the original text in *Lunheng jiaoshi* (*Fu Liu Pansui jijie*) 論衡校釋 (附劉盼遂集解) ("Discourses Weighed in the Balance," Collated and Explained (Including the Collected Explanations by Liu Pansui)), by Wang Chong 王充, possibly completed between 70 and 80 AD; collated and explained by Huang Hui 黃暉, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju (Xinbian zhuzi jicheng (diyi ji) 新編諸子集成(第一輯)), 1995, vol. 3, p. 839: 永昌郡中，亦有金焉，纖靡大如黍粟，在水涯沙中。民採得，日重五銖之金，一色正黃。 As we learn from the Chinese *Lunheng* edition quoted above, the gold production of Yongchang is also mentioned for the south of Bonan District 博南縣 in the administrative-geographical chapters ("Junguo zhi" 郡国志) of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 ([History] Records of the Later Han [Dynasty]) and in the *Huayang guozhi*, stating that when crossing the Western Mountains at a height of 15 *li*, one reaches the Lancang River 蘭滄水. Gold sands are washed out and melted to gold. For the latter source see *Huayang guozhi* 華陽國志 (Records of the States South of Mount Hua), by Chang Qu 常璩, ca. 332–350, ed. *Huayang guozhi jiaozhu* 華陽國志校注 (Record of the Country South of Mount Hua, Collated and Annotated); collated and annotated by Liu Lin 劉琳, Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1984, p. 440.

> and steep, 70 to 80 percent must be paid to the government. The rest they are allowed to take home for their private use. If the duty is not paid to the government, they may hand in a report denouncing each other.
>
> Gold dust (*fujin*) comes from the Lishui 麗水 [river]. They hold sand [in a container], and scour and rinse it, and take [the gold]. The rule of the Hetan 河賧 is that men and women who commit crimes are generally sent to wash the gold of the Lishui.
>
> The mountains bordering on the three sides of the Changbangchuan 長傍川 [river valley], all yield gold. The tribesmen all pay their taxes in gold. They have no other duties to pay, no conscription, nor forced labour.[49]

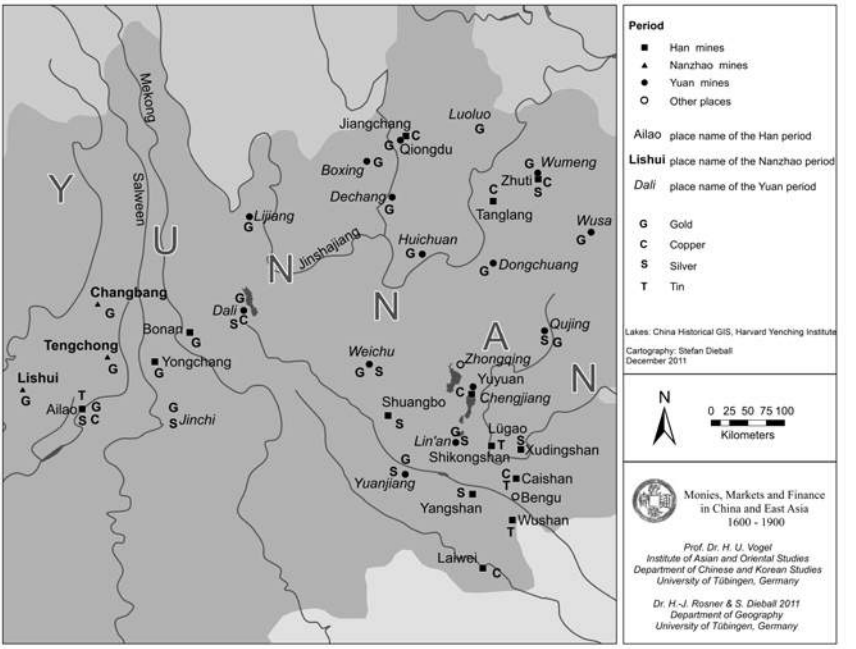
With the incorporation of Yunnan into the Yuan empire in 1253 and the establishment of regular administrative units there, governmental control of mining was substantially intensified. In 1267 Directorates-General for Mining and Smelting (*dongye zongguanfu* 洞冶總管府) were established in the Routes (*lu* 路) of the empire, which later were supplemented by Directorate-Generals for Panning Gold (*taojin zongguanfu* 淘金總管府). For the work in the mines and smelters homeless people not recorded in the official population registers (*loujihu* 漏籍戶) were employed, but also included specialists like smelter households (*yehu* 冶戶) compulsorily registered under the profession. In addition, soldiers and convicts worked likewise as miners. It seems that in the beginning production was monopolised by the state, but that already from 1285 private mining, including for gold and silver, was more and more tolerated, with tax rates ranging between 10 to 30 percent of the output and with special exactions levied by the state. As Yunnan was a province rich in ores, especially those containing precious metals, it is more than probable that these or similar mining administration units were also set up there.[50]

Marco Polo's indication of the richness of gold resources in Western Yunnan finds its corroboration in the "History of the Yuan" (*Yuanshi*) which, like the sources of the Han and Tang periods, mentions gold

---

[49] *Yunnan zhi jiaoshi* 雲南志校釋 (A Record of Yunnan, Collated and Annotated), written by Fan Chuo 樊綽, ca. mid-ninth century; collated and annotated by Zhao Lüfu 趙吕甫, Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1985, chap. 7, p. 274; Gordon H. Luce (transl.) and Giok Po Oey (eds.), *The Man Shu* (*Book of the Southern Barbarians*), Ithaca, New York: Department of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University, 1961, pp. 70–71.

[50] See Ning Chao 宁超, "Yuan Ming shiqi Yunnan kuangye fazhan gaikuang" 元明时期云南矿业发展概况 (The General Situation of the Development of Mining in Yunnan during the Yuan and Ming Periods), *Xueshu yanjiu* 学术研究 (Academic Research), 1 (1962): 13–14, 16, 19. On mining and mining administration during the Yuan period see also Xia Xiangrong 夏湘荣, Li Zhongjun 李仲均 and Wang Genyuan 王根元, *Zhongguo gudai kuangye kaifashi* 中国古代矿业开发史 (The History of the Development of the Ancient Chinese Mining Industry), Beijing: Dizhi chubanshe, 1980, pp. 119–135.



Source: Vogel (1991) and text.

Ailao	哀牢	Lügao	律高 (with Xuding Mountain 盵町山 in the southeast and Shikong Mountain 石空山 in the west)
Bengu	賁古 (with Cai Mountain 采山 in the north, Yang Mountain 羊山 in the west, and Wu Mountain 烏山 in the south)	*Luoluo*	羅羅
Bonan	博南	Qiongdu	邛都
Boxing	博興	*Qujing*	曲靖
Caishan	采山	Shuangbo	雙柏
Changbang	長傍	Tanglang	堂狼
Chengjiang	澄江	**Tengchong**	藤充
Dali (Carajan)	大理	*Weichu*	威楚
		Wumeng	烏蒙
Dechang	德昌	*Wusa*	烏撒
Dongchuan	東川	Yongchang (Zardandan)	永昌
Huichuan	會川		
Jianchang	建昌	Yuyuan	俞元
Jinchi	金齒	*Yuanjiang*	元江
Laiwei	萊唯	*Zhongqing*	中慶
Lishui	麗水	Zhuti	朱提
Lin'an	臨安		

Notes: The map shows the extension and frontiers of the Yuan period around 1330. The places Ailao, Lügao, Yuyuan, Laiwei and Shuangbo of the Han period as well as the deposits of Luoluo and Jinchi during the Yuan period cannot be located with more precision. Zhuti (Han) and Wumeng (Yuan) are more or less the present-day Zhaotong, while Qiongdu (Han) and Jianchang (Yuan) represent the present-day Xichang in Sichuan Province. The relevant symbols and place names are, however, set side by side in order to highlight the differences in time and types of deposits. Chengjiang had twelve copper mines during the Yuan period.

Map 3. Production of gold, silver, copper and tin in Yunnan, ca. first century BC to fourteenth century AD.

production in the regions of Lijiang 麗江, Dali 大理 and Jinchi 金齒 in western Yunnan. In 1277 gold levies (*jinke* 金課) in Yunnan amounting to some 5,250 *liang* are mentioned, and 1328 9,200 *liang*, the latter constituting the richest provincial gold revenue out of an empire-wide total of 26,600 *liang* of gold levies.[51] However, contrary to Marco Polo's remark about the absence of silver mining "within five months' journey" from Zardandan (Yongchang), it also records silver mining in Dali and Jinchi[52]—that is, certainly places less than a five months' journey from Zardandan. Yunnan was indeed not just the place producing most of the gold in the Yuan empire, but this province possessed also the most productive silver mines. "Annual levies" (*suike* 歲課) of Yunnan silver mines in 1328 amounted to 36,784.3 *liang* of silver, compared to 23,103.5 *liang* for Jiangxi and 11,809.0 *liang* for Huguang.[53] Silver production in western Yunnan, in Ailao, had already been recorded for the Han period (see Map 3). Moreover, silver mining took a new upsurge in Yunnan from the early fifteenth century onwards, and silver deposits exploited from the fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries are mentioned, among others, for Dali, Chuxiong 楚雄, Yongchang 永昌, Yao'an 姚安, Nan'an 南安, Zhenyuan 鎮沅, Binchuan 賓川, Dengchuan 鄧川, Tengchong 騰川, Heqing 鶴慶 and Lancang 瀾滄, i.e. all places in Western Yunnan around Dali and the Erhai 洱海 Lake.[54]

How can it thus be explained that Marco Polo claimed that there was no silver mining within a rather wide radius of Zardandan (Yongchang)? An explanation may be that during Marco Polo's time silver mining in western Yunnan had indeed declined. Although some marginal silver mining may have still taken place in the Yongchang and Dali regions, its productivity must have been much lower than under the Dali kingdom. After all, the 1328 annual levy figures for Yunnan silver mines come from a later period than Marco Polo's observations. As a matter of fact, compared with the total of 36,784.3 *liang* of annual silver levies in 1328, a commissioner sent to Yunnan in 1290 for investigating silver mining had reported

---

51 Ning Chao (1962), p. 14 (figures given in the unit of *ding*).

52 See Schurmann (1956), pp. 153, 154.

53 Cf. Schurmann (1956), p. 161 (figures given in the unit of *ding*).

54 Ning Chao (1962), p. 23; Xia Xiangrong (1980), p. 144; Bernd Eberstein, *Bergbau und Bergarbeiter zur Ming-Zeit (1368–1644)*, Hamburg: Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens e. V., Hamburg, and Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens e. V., Tokyo (Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens; 62), 1974, pp. 71, 77, 79.

the collection of 4,048 *liang* only.[55] Moreover, these figures are not regionally specified in the sense of allowing us to state how much was produced in Yunnan's east and how much in its west.

That silver mining in western Yunnan had passed its best days is also borne out by palaeolimnological research of the sediments of Lake Erhai 洱海 in Dali. High values in lead (Pb), a by-product of silver smelting in the Diancangshan Mountains 點蒼山 west of the lake, cover the period from about 350 to 1700, with a peak from 550 to 750 and followed by a gradual decline until the present time. The relevant scientific report also states that the data suggest that mining was rather localised in its operation and effect, as the Pb curve is not in phase with the erosion curve.[56] In other words, when Marco Polo visited western Yunnan, silver mines of local importance may have existed, but silver mining was generally in decline and had lost in importance compared with earlier periods. Thus, his informants may not have deemed it necessary to point any of the remaining, rather small-scale mining operations out to him, or they themselves may even have not known them.

Apart from the lower productivity of silver mining in western Yunnan compared to its eastern part, the increasing demand of export silver from the regions west of Yunnan may have been another, and perhaps more important, factor contributing to the phenomenon of rising silver prices in Carajan (Dali) and Zardandan (Yongchang). This likewise could have been one of the reasons why, according to Marco Polo's statement, merchants were induced "[…] to go thither carrying a large supply of silver to change among that people [in Zardandan]. And as they have only five weights of silver to give for one of fine gold, they make immense profits by their exchange business in that country."[57]

A first indication for the export of Yunnan silver to regions outside of China may be provided by its metallurgical characteristics. New silver coins issued in Trebizond and Cyprus in the thirteenth and fourteenth

---

[55] *Xu wenxian tongkao* 續文獻通考 (General Investigation of [Important Historical] Records, Continued), comp. by Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉, Ji Heng 嵇璜, Liu Yong 劉墉 et al., based on Wang Qi's 王圻 (1529–1612) *Xu wenxian tongkao*, preface of 1784, ed. *Shitong* 十通, Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2000, chap. 23, "Zhengque" 征榷, "Kengye" 坑冶, p. 2997; Ning Chao (1962), p. 13; Xia Xiangrong (1980), p. 130.

[56] See J. A. Dearing, R. T. Jones, J. Shen, X. Yang, J. F. Boyle, G. C. Foster, D. S. Crook, and M. J. D. Elvin, "Using Multiple Archives to Understand Past and Present Climate–Human–Environment Interactions: The Lake Erhai Catchment, Yunnan Province, China," *Journal of Paleolimnology*, 40.1 (2008), especially the text relating to figures 6f and 9e. Also here I would like to thank Mark Elvin for having pointed out this article to me.

[57] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 85.

centuries were of a whiter appearance than the darker silver previously in circulation. These "white" silver coins probably contained higher trace amounts of antimony. Silver ingots shipped to Yemen on Chinese vessels were found to be softer, which likewise points to a higher amount of antimony, making silver not only white, but also brittle. This relatively high concentration of antimony was shown—especially, though probably not exclusively—in Chinese silver-copper ores in Yunnan, thus rendering silver from Yunnan to be whiter and softer than other silver.[58]

After this excursion into the mining and smelting history of Yunnan, let us now return to the possible import routes of cowry into the southwest of China. Documents from the Yuan period make clear that the shells were imported into Yunnan not only on the Southwest Silk Road, but also from the Chinese coast, from where they were transported to Yunnan, upstream and on overland routes. Interesting documentation of these cowry shipments is especially available from the Yuan period. One entry comes from the [*Da Yuan*] *tongzhi tiaoge* [大元]通制條格 (Regulations of the [Book of the] Comprehensive Rules [of the Great Yuan]) and concerns a policy discussion which took place in May 1276. This communication was written down in a Mongolized Chinese as it was current during the Yuan period and is thus not easy to understand. My tentative translation of the original text, as it is copied below, is based on Fang Hui's rendering into a more standardized Chinese, though I have changed it in some places when deemed necessary:

> 至元十三年四月十三日, 中書省奏： 雲南省裏行的怯來小名的回回人, 去年提奏來, 江南田地裏做買賣的人每, 將着貝子去雲南, 是甚麼換要有. 做買賣的人每, 私下將的去的, 教禁斷了. 江南田地裡市舶司裡見在有的貝子多有. 譬如空放着, 將去雲南, 或換金子, 或換馬呵, 得濟的勾當有. 奏呵, 那般者, 聖旨有呵, 去年的貝子教將的雲南去來. 那其間, 那裏的官人每說將來, 雲南行使貝子的田地窄有, 與鈔法一般有. 貝子廣呵, 是甚麼貴子[=了], 百姓生受有. 腹裏將貝子這裏來的, 合教禁子[=了]有, 說將來呵, 兩個的語言不同有, 那裏眾人每與怯來一處說了話呵, 說將來者麼道, 與將文書去來. 如今眾人商量了說將來: 將入來呵, 不中. 是甚麼貴子[=了], 百姓每也生受有. 百姓每將入來得, 官司將入來的, 禁斷了, 都不合教入來, 麼道, 說將來有. 俺商量得, 不教將入去呵, 怎生, 奏呵. 休教將入去者, 聖旨了也. 欽此.

---

[58] See Kuroda Akinobu (2009), pp. 254–255, but also Robert P. Blake, "The Circulation of Silver in the Moslem East down to the Mongol Epoch," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 2.3/4 (1937): 328.

> On the thirteenth day of the fourth month of the thirteenth year of the Zhiyuan reign-period [May 27, 1276][59] the Metropolitan Secretariat (*zhongshusheng* 中書省) memorialized the following to the emperor: "In the Yunnan Branch Secretariat there is a Muslim (huihuiren 回回人) with the personal name Qielai 怯來 who in the last year had memorialized 'that some merchants of the Jiangnan region in the interior had transported cowries (*bazi* 貝子) to Yunnan to exchange them against all kinds of goods. A prohibition against these clandestine shipments by merchants had been issued. Now [as a result of this prohibition] great amounts of cowries are stored up in the Maritime Trade Supervisorate (*shibosi* 市舶司) of Jiangnan for which there is no use. If these cowries are now released and shipped to Yunnan, they could be exchanged [there] against gold and horses, which is a profitable [official] transaction (*goudang* 勾當).' An Imperial Rescript was then issued stating the following: 'When in the last year cowries had been ordered to be imported into Yunnan, the officials of Yunnan had then memorialized that in Yunnan the area in which cowries are used is limited. [The regulations concerning cowries] are the same as the laws for paper money (*chaofa* 鈔法). Once cowries are too many, the prices of goods in the markets will soar and cause deep distress to the population. One should therefore [so the Yunnan authorities said] prohibit the shipment of cowries from the interior to Yunnan. The statements [of the Yunnan authorities and Qielai] are contradicting each other.' Hence an order was sent to the officials there [i.e. in the Yunnan Branch Secretariat] to discuss this with Qielai. Now these men have discussed this and propose the following: 'Shipments are not appropriate, as prices for goods would soar and cause distress to the people. Hence we request that all official and private shipments of cowries to Yunnan are not ordered to take place or are prohibited respectively.' After we [in the Metropolitan Secretariat] had received this proposal and discussed it, we request now in a memorial that no imports of cowries are ordered." An Imperial Rescript was received: "Shipments of cowries have to be desisted from! Respect this!"[60]

Qielai was probably none other than Qielie 怯烈 (d. 1300/1301), a man from Central Asia who had lived in Taiyuan 太原, Shanxi for generations. He first belonged to the staff of Saiyid Ajall Shams al-Din 'Umar [al-Bukhari] (Saidianchi Zhansiding 賽典赤　瞻思定, 1211–1279), Grand Councilor of the Yunnan Branch Secretariat from 1274 to 1275, and later rose as high as to the post of an Assistant Administrator (*canzhi zhengshi*

---

[59] Pelliot gives the date February 7, 1276, which is wrong. See Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, p. 456.

[60] For the Chinese text see *Tongzhi tiaoge jiaozhu*, chap. 18, pp. 552. Cf., however, also Fang Hui (1997), pp. 149–150. For a French translation, differing in some instances from mine, see Ratchnevsky (1972), *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 2, pp. 181–182.

參知政事) and an Assistant Director of the Left (*zuocheng* 左丞) of the Yunnan Branch Secretariat.[61]

As we will see below, in February 1276 cowries had already been officially established as a medium of exchange in Yunnan, both for public and private transactions. This is corroborated, as we will likewise see below, by the establishment—six years later, in October 1282—of an official exchange rate between cowries and gold for the payment of [land] taxes.

From the policy discussion of May 1276, as it has been transmitted in the "Regulations of the [Book of the] Comprehensive Rules [of the Great Yuan]," we learn that merchants brought cowries from the Jiangnan region to Yunnan where they exchanged them for gold and horses. This business must have been extremely profitable, as gold was relatively cheap in Yunnan and because horses were in high demand in China's interior.[62] There is small wonder that regional state officials aspired in taking over this profitable transaction. Although both private and official imports were eventually prohibited, the May 1276 policy discussion makes clear that such imports from the east via the Yangzi River and on overland routes did occur. Cowry imports to Yunnan along overland routes are corroborated by a central government order to the Yunnan Branch Secretariat in September/October 1301, reiterating the prohibition of private cowry imports, and pointing out that commoners as well as civil officials and military officers had colluded in circumventing the prohibition. As a consequence the local officials of Shunyuan 順元, Dali 大理, Lin'an 臨安, Qujing 曲靖, Wusa 烏撒 and Luoluosi 羅羅司 were ordered to strictly supervise all strategic places along land and water routes leading into Yunnan. A translation of this command runs as follows:

> Order of the Metropolitan Secretariat of the eighth month of the fifth year of the Dade reign-period to the Branch Secretariat of Yunnan in order to notify a prohibitive paragraph related to Yunnan matters respectfully received from an Imperial Edict: The regulations concerning the circulation of cowry currency (*bahuo* 貝貨) in Yunnan are equal to the [monetary] regulations and laws in China. [Cowries] have to circulate according to their original number and thus to equalize prices. Both officials and commoners profit from this. In the last years [however] well-to-do people have committed abuses by contrabanding illegal cowries (*siba* 私貝) everywhere. This had long since been strictly prohibited. The military officers and civil officials have not been strict in observing [this prohibition]. Some have accepted

[61] See Fang Linggui's note 2 on pp. 552–553 in *Tongzhi tiaoge jiaozhu*.
[62] On the import of Yunnan horses to China, see Yang Bin (2004), pp. 294ff.

> bribes and have permitted the inflow [of cowries] into the territory, so that the number of illegal cowries increased to the harm of both officials and privates. All the local authorities of Shunyuan, Dali, Lin'an, Qujing, Wusa and Luoluosi have to have military and civil officials prevent permanently and strictly this contraband at each and every pass, ford, ferry, port and strategic place. When a criminal is seized, a report is to be presented immediately to the superior authorities who in accordance with the laws will decide on the verdict. The illegal cowries will be confiscated by the state. Those who file a charge [against a smuggler] or arrest [him], will receive a reward according to the regulations. In cases where the responsible officials and underlings do not block [contraband] or where they collude [with the smugglers] in committing abuses, they will be brought to trial and punished. Respect this![63]

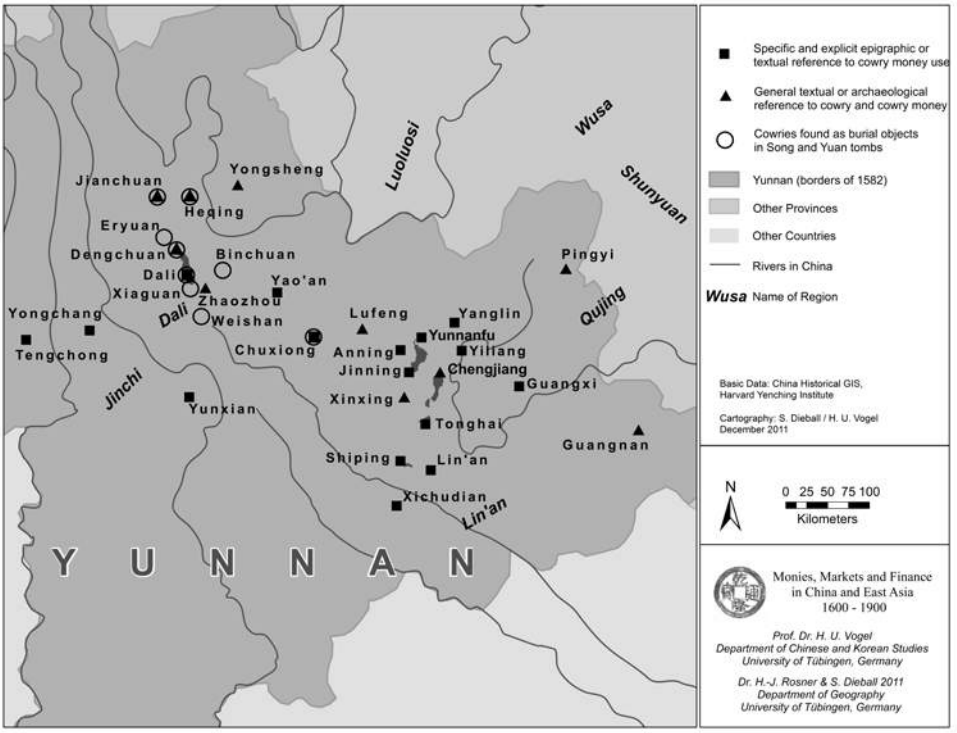
The prohibition of importing and using illegal cowries was repeated in an order of November 21, 1305, when the Grand Councilor of the Branch Secretariat of Yunnan was reminded that "non-native" (*fei bentu zhe* 非本土者) cowries were the same as counterfeit paper money.[64] Thus, about thirty years after the initial prohibition of cowry shipments from the east of China to Yunnan, these regulations had to be promulgated again. This shows that in spite of the prohibitions and measures against contraband such illegal shipments of cowries continued unabated. The reason for this was that profits were apparently simply too lucrative, not only for the traders and merchants undertaking the shipment, but also for the bribed officials and officers who colluded with the merchants by carrying out only bogus controls at the frontier stations.

The administrative units mentioned in the central government order of 1301 make clear that, at least during the Mongol rule, cowries not only came to Yunnan on the Southwest Silk Road via Burma (Dali), Siam (Dali and Lin'an), and Tongking (Lin'an), but also via Guangxi (Lin'an), Guizhou (Qujing, Wusa, Shunyuan) and Sichuan (Wusa and Luoluosi) (see Map 4). The policy discussion of May 1276 explicitly mentioned the Maritime Trade Supervisorate (*shibosi* 市舶司) of Jiangnan. It may well have been that other Maritime Trade Supervisorates, like those in Shanghai 上海, Hangzhou 杭州, Qingyuan 慶元, Ganpu 澉浦, Wenzhou 溫州, Quanzhou 泉州 or Guangdong 廣東 were likewise destinations of cowry imports to China and further to Yunnan.

---

[63] *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang*, chap. 20, p. 31a (vol. 1, p. 314), and German translation in Franke (1949), p. 118.

[64] See *Xu wenxian tongkao*, chap. 9, p. 2853c, and the translation into German by Franke (1949), p. 118.



Sources:
For the boundaries and location of places, see Tan Qixiang (chief ed.) (1982), vol. 7, pp. 76–77.
For places using or referring to cowries, see Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade."

Map 4. Places with cowry and cowry currencies, Yunnan, late thirteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries.

Legend:
Places with specific and explicit epigraphic or textual reference to the use of cowry money.

Anning 安寧
Chuxiong 楚雄
Dali 大理
Guangxi 廣西
Jinning 晉寧
Lin'an 臨安
Shiping 石屏
Tengchong 騰冲
Tonghai 通海
Xichudian 溪處甸
Yangling 楊林
Yao'an 姚安
Yiliang 宜良
Yongchang 永昌
Yunnanfu 雲南府
Yunxian 雲縣

Places with general textual or archaeological reference to cowry and cowry money. The reference is often locally unspecified, pointing to general conditions in Yunnan Province, and originate mostly from local gazetteers. From these locally unspecified references, those concerning Dengchuan, Guangnan, Heqing, Jianchuan, Lufeng, Xinxing, Yongsheng and Zhaozhou originate from Li Jiarui (1956), p. 98. The reason for their inclusion into the list of places related to cowries is, in many cases, the rather general reference to cowries in the local gazetteer of the place concerned. The same holds true for Chengjiang and Pingyi which are not mentioned by Li Jiarui, but occur in Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade."

Chengjiang 澄江
Dengchuan 鄧川
Guangnan 廣南
Heqing 鶴慶
Jianchuan 劍川
Lufeng 祿豐
Pingyi 平彝
Xinxing 新興
Yongsheng 永勝
Zhaozhou 趙州

Places where in the forties and fifties of the last century cowries were found as burial objects in a number of Song and Yuan tombs. See Yang Shouchuan 杨寿川, "Beibi yanjiu: Zhongyuan yu Yunnan yong haibei zuo huobi de lishi kaocha" 贝币研究—中原与云南用海贝作货币的历史考察 (Cowry Currency Research: A Historical Investigation of the Use of Cowry as Money in the Central Plain and in Yunnan), in Yang Shouchuan (ed.) (1997), *Beibi yanjiu*, p. 15.

Binchuan 賓川
Chuxiong 楚雄
Dali 大理
Dengchuan 鄧川
Eryuan 洱源
Heqing 鶴慶
Jianchuan 劍川
Weishan 巍山
Xiaguan 下關

There is good reason to believe that Marco Polo was basically correct in his statement that the cowries circulating in Yunnan were coming from the "Indies." This holds true not only for the shells that were transported overland from the cowry-currency regions in Southeast Asia via the Southwest Silk Road (or Cowry Currency Road) to Southwest China, but also for a part of those shells that came to Yunnan via the coastal Maritime Trade Supervisorate(s), the Yangzi River and other fluvial and overland routes. Regardless of the different import routes into Yunnan, there can hardly be any doubt that the Maldive Islands were the principal suppliers of the Asian (as well as the African) regions that used cowry as money. *Cyprea moneta* and *cyprea annulus*—the latter being different from the former by its little yellow-orange circle on the shell's crown—occur quite widely in shallow lagoons in the basins of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Although their habitat ranges from the Red Sea to Mozambique in the west, to Hawaii, New Zealand, and the Galapagos in the east, it was the Maldives in the Indian Ocean that served as the source of most of the *cyprea moneta* that entered world trade. In one part of this small chain of islands cowries not only occur in quantities nowhere surpassed elsewhere in the world, but also in relatively "pure stands," that is with few admixtures by *cyprea annulus*. Apart from the fact that the principle of "competitive exclusion of closely related species" is especially favourable in the Maldivian atolls, there also applies there the "Rule of Bergman" (dating from 1847), which stipulates that the warmest waters produce the smallest specimen. In other words, the main producing atolls of the Maldive Islands bring forth specimen of *moneta* significantly smaller than in other parts of the world. While the average length of the Maldive shells varies between 12.5 and 16 mm, the average length of *moneta* coming from other habitats is mostly distinctly larger (Hawaii 21.0 mm; West Australia 18.8 mm; Philippines 16.4 mm; Ryukyus 15.0 mm; East Pacific 25.1 mm; Guam 16.8 mm; Thailand 23.0 mm). All these factors—abundance, purity in occurrence, and smallness—worked in favour of Maldive cowries, as high productivity and low waste reduced labor input as well as transportation costs, and increased the profits of the traders, because basically one cowry shell, regardless of its size, represented the value of one monetary unit. Hence, the smaller the cowries the greater the number of them that could be transported and the higher the resulting profits derived from their production and trade.[65]

[65] Cf. Hogendorn and Johnson (1986), pp. 7–12.

In order to refine our argument, a look at the length of the cowries indicated in Figure 20 above is interesting. For the cowries from the late Tang to the early Ming period excavated in 1980 on Batatai Terrace 八塔台 of Zhujie Road 珠街 in Qujing 曲靖 a—presumably average—length of about 13 mm is mentioned, while for those of the Ming period excavated in Xiahecun Village 下河村 of Haidong 海东 in Dali 大理 the [average ?] length amounts to about 24 mm. Although we do not know whether these cowries actually served as money, the first set appears to be clearly smaller in length than [some of ?] the second one. The length indicated for the Qujing cowries is very similar to the length of the small Maldivian cowries, while in the case of at least some of the Dali cowries another provenance is suggested. According to the account given by Hogendorn and Johnson, major concentrations of *cypraea moneta* outside of the Maldives existed in the Sulu Islands southwest of the main Philippine Islands, in present-day Indonesia (especially from Bima near Makassar, Borneo, and coastal Sumatra), in the Ryukyu Islands as well as on two isolated spots on the China coast.[66] Moreover, concentrations of *cyprea annulus* exist on various islands in the Philippines. Thus, it is indeed probable that apart from the Maldive cowries inported into Yunnan via the Southwest Silk Road or via the coastal ports in China and Annam, we can and should not exclude the inroad of cowries from other cowry-producing regions during the Yuan and other periods in Chinese history.[67]

---

[66] See, however, Peng Ke and Zhu Yanshi (1995), p. 2, who state that due to water temperature and salinity conditions both *annulus* and *moneta* occur in the South China Sea (Nanhai 南海), but in none of the Chinese coastal seas.

[67] See Hogendorn and Johnson (1986), pp. 7 and 13. It is interesting to note that most of the cowries found in Dian culture sites were *cyprea annulus*. This concerns the considerable amounts of cowries found in graves of Shizhaishan 石寨山, Lijiashan 李家山 and Tianzimiao 天子庙. Only in one grave (M41) of Tianzimiao *cyprea moneta* were to be found. See Mi Pilazuoli 米· 皮拉左里 (Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens), "Dian wenhua zhong de bei he tongqian" 滇文化中的贝和铜钱 (Cowries and Copper Coins in Dian Culture), transl. into Chinese by Jiang Zhilong 蒋志龙, in Yang Shouchuan (ed.) (1997), *Beibi yanjiu*, p. 231. Based on an analysis of cowry distribution patterns in archaeological sites, Peng and Zhu come to the interesting conclusion that cowries used in ancient China did not disseminate from southeast to northwest, but in the opposite direction—from northwest to southeast. Hence, cowries then did not originate from the South China Sea nor were imported from southeast coastal areas. They assume that the origin of the cowries used in ancient China originated in the coastal areas of the Indian Ocean and were brought to China via the Read Sea by way of the Near East, Turkmenia, the Russian Central Steppes, Lake Baikal and the Mongolian Steppe to ancient eastern Qinghai. Another "Cowry Road" may have been from the Near East and the Caucasus to China. For their arguments see Peng Ke and Zhu Yanshi (1995), pp. 1–18.

2.4. *Cowry Currency in Private Transactions*

For the period before the Yuan we lack records of the function of cowry money in the Yunnan economy. There is only a passage in the *Xin Tangshu* (New [History] Book of the Tang [Dynasty]) stating that in the Nanzhao Kingdom (738–902) market exchange was carried out by means of silken fabrics (*zengbo* 繒帛) and cowries (*bei* 貝).[68] This shows that cowries were not the only medium of exchange, but nothing is said about the values of, and the relation between, the two exchange media—silken fabrics and cowries. Again, it is with the incorporation of Yunnan by the Mongol conquerors into the Chinese realm that more information also becomes available on the use of cowry currency within the Yunnan economy. If we include the information that we have from the Ming (1368–1644) period, then it can be summarized that there is historical evidence that cowries were used for donations to religious institutions, especially for their purchase of land, religious contributions for bell casting, supporting the print of Buddhist scriptures, sales of houses, the purchase of books, cloth and shoes, short-term loans, and for treasuring.[69] These domains certainly only represent the tip of the iceberg, as there must have existed many other areas of application for which we do not have any textual or archaeological evidence so far.

By limiting ourselves here to the Yuan period let us now adduce the few known examples of cowry money use in private transactions. One area concerned donations given to religious institutions, especially for the purchase of land. Some time after 1323 different donations were given to the Dayuanjue Buddhist Monastery 大圓覺寺 in Xishan 西山, west of Kunming, for the purchase of paddies in Jinningzhou 晉寧州 and Daji aqiaocun 大迦橋村 [in Kunyangzhou 昆陽州?]. According to the stele inscription,[70] the amounts varied from 2,000 to 15,000 *sa* 卅 (i.e. *suo* 索) of cowries for which 1 or 2 *shuang* 雙 of paddy could be bought, the price per *shuang* ranging from 2,000 to 7,500 *suo*. A whole series of similar data is preserved in a stele inscription of the Panlong Buddhist Temple 盤龍庵 in Jinning 晉寧 from the years 1360 to 1369. Donations recorded in the

---

[68] *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1043–1060), ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975, vol. 20, chap. 222 *shang*, p. 6270.

[69] For much more details, especially on the Ming and Qing periods, see Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade," pp. 313–320.

[70] The inscription is called *Chujian Huatingshan Dayuanjuesi changzhu gongde bei* 初建華亭山大圓覺寺常住功德碑 or "Stele for Recording the Merits of the Resident Priest[s] of the Dayuanjue Monastery at Huating Mountain."

Panlongan zhuren sheshi changzhu ji 盤龍庵諸人捨施常住記 (Record of the People's Charity Contributions for Resident Priest[s] of the Panlong Temple) varied between 225 and 3,500 *sa*/*suo* of "genuine cowries" (*zhenba* 真貝) for which various types of paddy, seed, dry, grain and wheat land were purchased with prices ranging from about 1,067 to 9,600 *sa*/*suo* per *shuang*. Another record is preserved from the Baoen Buddhist Monastery 報恩梵刹 at Qixian Mountain 棲賢山 of Yongchang 永昌 mentioning a donation of more than 3,000 *suo* of "genuine cowries" (*zhenba*).[71]

Using cowries as store of value is another function of this currency documented for the Yuan period. The "Draft Account of Yunnan" (*Yunnan zhilüe* 雲南志略; 1303 or 1304) mentions that the Woni 斡泥 barbarians,[72] 500 *li* southwest of Lin'an 臨安, buried cowries in the numbers of 120 *suo*. When the *pater familias* was about to die, he assembled his sons instructing them to take several of his buried hoards for themselves, but also leave some of them for his own use when he "comes to live [again]."[73] As related to this practice the Yunnan historian Li Jiarui mentions another custom which was widespread during the Yuan and Ming periods—namely to

---

[71] For a more detailed account see Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade," pp. 313, 344–347. See the text of the Baoen Buddhist Monastery in Fang Guoyu (chief ed.), *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, vol. 3, p. 302. For the stele texts of the Dayuanjue Temple and Baoen Monastery see the short description in *Xinzuan Yunnan tongzhi* 新纂雲南通志 (Provincial Gazetteer of Yunnan Province, Newly Compiled), comp. by Qin Guangyu 秦光玉 et al., 1943, chap. 93 ("Jinshi kao" 金石考 13) and 94 ("Jinshi kao" 14) respectively. A short description of the [Da]yuanjue and Baoen steles can be found in *Xu Yunnan tongzhi gao* 續雲南通志稿 (Draft of the Provincial Gazetteer of Yunnan Province, Continued), comp. by Wang Wenshao 王文韶 et al., 1898, ed. *Zhongguo bianjiang congshu* 中國邊疆叢書 (Collection on Chinese Frontier Regions), Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe, chap. 102, pp. 19b–20a (vol. 13, pp. 10200–10202). Fang Hui 方慧, "Guanyu Yuandai Yunnan de 'zhenba' 'siba' wenti" 关于元代云南的《真貝》《私貝》问题 (On the Question of "Genuine Cowries" and "Illegal Cowries" in Yunnan during the Yuan Period), in Yang Shouchuan (ed.) (1997), *Beibi yanjiu*, p. 209, mentions a second stele text of the Panlong Temple, namely the *Da Panlongan Dajue chanshi Baoyunta ming* 大盤龍庵大覺禪師寶雲塔銘 (Inscription of the Baoyun Pagoda by the Priest Dajue of the Great Panlong Monastery). Fang Hui's article was originally published in *Yunnan shehui kexue* 云南社会科学 (Yunnan Social Sciences), 3 (1982): 77–79.

[72] The Woni are also called Hani 哈尼 and live in the region which was called Anin by Marco Polo. As we have seen above, this was also one of the areas for which Marco Polo mentioned the circulation of cowry money. For an investigation of the Hani's use of cowries as money, adornments for dresses, and in sacrifices, see Yang Shouchuan 杨寿川, "Hannizu yu beibi" 哈尼族与贝币 (The Hani People and Cowry Currency), in Yang Shouchuan (ed.) (1997), *Beibi yanjiu*, pp. 216–229.

[73] See the *Yunnan zhilüe* 雲南志略, by Li Jing 李京, "Zhuyi fengsu" 諸夷風俗, in Fang Guoyu (chief ed.), *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, vol. 3, p. 130. See also the quotation in Li Jiarui (1956), p. 99; Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade," p. 319.

bury urns containing cowries or to bury urns together with earthenware jars or bronze vessels filled with cowries.[74]

When we include the reports of cowry money usage during the Ming dynasty, we can conclude that cowry fully covered the three monetary functions of 1) medium of exchange, 2) measure of value, 3) means of payment, and 4) store of value.[75] As the next chapter will show, cowries were also used as a means of state payments—a further important function of money as was stressed by Richard von Glahn.[76] Historical documentation also makes it clear that the use of cowry in private monetary transactions was not only limited to retail trade. In Yunnan, cowry money was highly appreciated for a long time, not only because it was available in sufficient quantities, but also because it was of physical stability and represented a relatively high degree of standard. All these were characteristics which often made it the preferred means of payment, even in such large transactions as the purchase of houses and land or in loan arrangements, in which it was used side by side with paper money or silver.[77] Already Li Xun 李珣, in the late ninth century, stated that in Yunnan "cowries are very extensively used as money (*qianhuo* 錢貨) in trade exchange (*jiaoyi* 交易)."[78] Thus, contrary to the fragile and leaden *picis* in early seventeenth-century Java, the *caixas* (cash coins) imported by the Portuguese into Tongking during the seventeenth century and the low-valued cowries in many parts of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century India, it might be not too far-fetched to assume that cowries in Yunnan enjoyed great esteem and were relatively highly valued up to the end of the sixteenth century.[79]

As we will also see in the chapter on salt currencies, it is perhaps much more adequate also in the case of cowry to speak of "monies" and "currencies"—that is, in the plural, rather than in the singular. This means

---

[74] Li Jiarui (1956), p. 99.

[75] On these four monetary functions see Horst Claus Recktenwald, *Wörterbuch der Wirtschaft*, Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1987, p. 200.

[76] Von Glahn (1996), p. 18.

[77] For some evidence see Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade," pp. 319–320.

[78] See Li Xun's *Haiyao bencao* 海藥本草 (Materia Medica of the [Countries Beyond the] Seas), quoted in *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 (Materia Medica, Arranged according to Drug Descriptions and Technical Aspects), by Li Shizhen 李時振, 1596, ed. Hefei: Huangshan shushe, vol. 2, chap. 46, p. 648a.

[79] See Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade," pp. 320–321. On an interesting parallel see the dissimilarity between the usage of cowry money in Bengal and that in West Africa. While in Bengal the little shells were used only to buy food, clothing and hundreds of other small items of daily life, in West Africa cowries also became the shell money of the slave trade. See Hogendorn and Johnson (1986), p. 19.

that apart from perhaps the large bulk of cowries that were of some unified standard, cowries or shells of other origin circulated in Yunnan and that there may have existed different types of cowry currencies in different regions, or that different types of cowries circulated in the same region which were appreciated and distinguished between in relation to their size, quantity and quality and thus in accordance with supply and demand conditions of various markets, customs, and customers. We can find evidence of at least a certain degree of diversity in the cowry money sector, especially during the Yuan period when the government attempted to prohibit the import into Yunnan of "illegal cowries" (*siba* 厶貝) from the stocks in the warehouses of the Maritime Trade Supervisorate (*shibosi*) in Jiangnan in 1276,[80] "other cowries" (*ta ba* 他貝) in 1301,[81] or "non-native" (*fei bentu zhe* 非本土者) cowries in 1305.[82] Although the prohibition of 1301 suggests that the main target of this order was to keep the number of circulating shells constant and thus to equalize prices, we may nonetheless speculate whether cowries imported via Chinese provinces were different in appearance or quality from those imported through Siam and Burma. In this context it is worthwhile to notice that, perhaps in contrast to cowries of a different origin, stele inscriptions called legally acceptable shells "genuine cowries" (*zhenba* 真貝)[83] or "cash cowries" (*qianba* 錢貝).[84] Regardless of whether the state was successful or, perhaps not, in flushing out "illegal cowries," a distinction between "illegal" and "genuine cowries" only makes sense if they show some external difference either in

[80] See *Tongzhi tiaoge jiaozhu*, chap. 18, p. 552; Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, p. 546.

[81] *Yuanshi*, vol. 9, chap. 104, p. 2650; Franke (1949), p. 118.

[82] *Yuanshi*, vol. 2, chap. 21, p. 466; Franke (1949), p. 118.

[83] See *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 96, p. 2468, as well as the donation steles of the Panlong Buddhist Monastery in Jinning (*Panlongan zhuren sheshi changzhu ji* 盤龍庵諸人捨施常住記 (Record of the People's Charity Contributions for Resident Priest[s] of the Panlong Temple); 1360–1368), the Zhizhao Hermit's Cell 智照蘭若 in Tonghai 通海 (1377) and the Baoen Buddhist Monastery at Qixian Mountain in Yongchang (*Qixianshan Baoen fansha ji* 棲賢山報恩梵刹記 (Record of the Baoen Monastery at Qianxian Mountain); 1314). For more details on the stele inscriptions see Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade," pp. 344–349; Fang Guoyu 方国瑜, "Yunnan yong bei zuo huobi de shidai ji bei de laiyuan" 云南用贝作货币的时代及贝的来源 (On the Period during which Yunnan Used Cowry as Money and the Origin of Cowry), in Yang Shouchuan (ed.) (1997), *Beibi yanjiu*, p. 54. This article is also contained in Fang Guoyu, *Dianshi luncong* 滇史论丛 (Collected Articles on Yunnan History), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1982, vol. 1, and in Fang Guoyu, *Fang Guoyu wenji* 方国瑜文集 (Collected Essays of Fang Guoyu), Kunming: Yunnan jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003, vol. 3, pp. 350–389.

[84] See the stele inscription of the Xingbao Buddhist Monastery 興寶寺 in Yao'an 姚安 (*Xingbaosi changzhu ji* 興寶寺常住記 (Record of the Resident Priest[s] of the Xingbao Monastery); 1376). Cf. Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade," pp. 344–349.

shape, colour or size. If we assume that they were of the same kind, then nobody could have been able to differentiate between them once they had entered into monetary circulation in Yunnan. In my former research I hazarded the guess that the latter were *cypraea moneta* originating from the Maldives, while those different from Maldivian cowries were *cypraea annulus*.[85] Another assumption may be that *cypraea moneta* of different provenance were involved which, as we have discussed above, differed in their length. No doubt, clarification of this question needs further research, especially in the field of archaeology.

2.5. *Cowry Money in Public Revenue and Finance*

At least in the beginning of their rule, the Mongols attempted to replace Yunnan cowry money by paper notes, but after some time officials had to concede that this regional customary type of currency could not be easily abolished. In 1275 Saiyid Ajall Shams al-Din 'Umar [al-Bukhari] (Saidianchi Zhansiding 賽典赤 瞻思定, 1211–1279), Grand Councilor of the Branch Secretariat of Yunnan from 1274 to 1275,[86] had submitted a report in which he appealed to the throne that cowries be permitted as a medium of exchange for both official and private transactions:

> In the first month of the thirteenth year of the Zhiyuan reign period [February 1276] cowries were [officially] established as medium of exchange in Yunnan: In Yunnan people use cowries instead of coins. When paper money was first introduced, this was not held convenient by the population. The Grand Councilor Shams al-Din said: "Yunnan is not accustomed to [use] paper money. It would be best to take cowries (*bazi* 貝子) as means of exchange for private and public transactions." This was granted.[87]

A slightly different version of Shams al-Din's argument is to be found in another source:

---

[85] Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade," p. 330.

[86] On this important Bukharan official, a typical product of the polyethnic and multicultural environement of the Mongol realm, and his activities in Yunnan see Paul D. Buell, "Saiyid Aǰall (1211–1279)," in Igor de Rachewiltz, Chan Hok-lam, Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing and Peter W. Geier (eds.), pp. 466–479. See also Morris Rossabi, "The Muslims in the Early Yüan Dynasty," in John D. Langlois, Jr. (ed.), *China under Mongol Rule*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981, pp. 287–291, where he highlights that Saiyid Ajall sought to promote economic and military advances, to integrate Yunnan with the rest of China, and to foster sinicization—and not islamicization—of the non-Chinese people there.

[87] See *Xu wenxian tongkao*, chap. 9, p. 2853c, and the translation into German by Franke (1949), p. 118. For the exact date of this regulation, see next footnote.

> The Grand Councilor of the Branch Secretariat of Yunnan said: "Yunnan's trade is not to be compared with that of the middle regions of the empire. It is indeed not yet accustomed to paper money. It would be best to take cowries (*bazi* 貝子) as means of exchange for private and public transactions. This will be for the benefit of the population." This was granted.[88]

The consequence of the official toleration of cowry money was that the use of it was also instituted in the public finances of Yunnan Province. On the revenue side cowries were accepted in the payment of land, household and poll taxes, liquor taxes, commercial levies and in tribute offerings. In October 16, 1282, it was stipulated that for the payment of taxes (*shuifu* 稅賦) gold was to be taken as a measure, but that taxes converted to, and paid in, cowries at a rate of 20 *suo* of cowries (*beizi* 貝子) per 1 *qian* 錢 of gold were acceptable.[89]

A number of additional historical records make clear that cowries were the main means used in tax payments during the early and mid Yuan period. In 1297, when Liu Zheng 劉正 (?–1319) was appointed Assistant Director of the Left of the Branch Secretariat (*xing zhongshu sheng zuocheng* 行中書省左丞) of Yunnan, the provincial treasury had in store 2.7 million *suo* of cowries (*ba* 貝巴) and 100 *ding* 釘 of silver. Four years later, however, Liu Cheng had increased these amounts to 10.7 million *suo* of cowries, 100 *ding* of gold and 3,000 *ding* of silver.[90]

Fang Guoyu, the famous Yunnan historian and anthropologist, assumed that one reason why the Mongols allowed the use of cowries in tax payments in Yunnan was because of the prospects of large profits derived from exchange transactions. Thus, if we take the official exchange rate of 20 *suo* of cowries against 1 *qian* of gold, the 10.7 million *suo* stored in the provincial treasury in 1301 represented theoretically a value of 53,500 *liang* of gold, together with the 100 *ding* of gold and the 3,000 *ding* of silver even a value of 73,500 *liang* of gold. In comparison to the rest of China

---

[88] See *Xu tongdian* 續通典 (Comprehensive Regulations, Continued), comp. by Ji Huang 稽璜 and Liu Yong 劉墉 on imperial commission, 1783, ed. *Shitong* 十通, Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, chap. 13, p. 1181b, and the German translation in Franke (1949), p. 117. Cf. also the entries in the *Yuanshi*, vol. 10, chap. 125, p. 3065, and vol. 1, chap. 9, p. 177, under the date Zhiyuan 13/1/*dinghai* (Feb. 7, 1276), and the English translations in Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, p. 546. Pelliot's translation "... to permit the circulation of the cowries *of both official and private origin* ... [emphasis added]" is, however, misleading.

[89] See *Yuanshi*, vol. 1, chap. 12, p. 246; *Xu wenxian tongkao*, chap. 9, p. 2853c, and the translations in Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, p. 547, and Franke (1949), p. 118.

[90] See *Yuanshi*, vol. 14, chap. 176, p. 4108; Fang Guoyu (chief ed.), *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, vol. 2, p. 598; Fang Guoyu, "Yunnan yong bei zuo huobi de shidai ji bei de laiyuan," in Yang Shouchuan (ed.) (1997), *Beibi yanjiu*, p. 48.

where the official exchange rate between gold and silver was 1 : 7.5 in the period from 1260 to 1286 and 1 : 10 from 1287 onwards (see IV.5.3 below), in Yunnan gold was cheaper, with an exchange rate varying regionally—as reported by Marco Polo—between 1 to 8 in Yachi (Yunnanfu 雲南府 or modern-day Kunming), 1 to 6 in Carajan (Dali 大理), and 1 to 5 in Zardandan (Yongchang 永昌). In other words, in Yunnan gold was relatively cheap which, in the opinion of Fang Guoyu, gave the government the opportunity to exchange low-value cowries received in tax payments against precious gold.[91] While we may assume that the Yuan government would not have tolerated a form of tax payment detrimental to its fiscal income, profits derived from such exchange transactions might have been less dramatic. This was so because a part of the cowry received in tax payments was not exchanged, but was spent on the spot for public and military expenditures. Yet, in general, Fang Guoyu was certainly correct when he stressed the profitability of the exchange of cowries for gold and other goods to be exported from Yunnan. From the policy discussion of 1276, as well as from the reiterations of the cowry import prohibitions of 1301 and 1305, we know that shipping cowry from the Maritime Trade Supervisorate in Jiangnan to Yunnan was a highly profitable business. Cowries were indeed exchanged against gold which is hardly surprising given the fact that Yunnan was the main producer of gold.[92] But cowries were also traded for horses, another major Yunnan export good. These transactions were a great lure not only for merchants, but also for civil and military officials and their underlings colluding with the traders.

Another example showing the adoption of cowries in Yunnan taxation during the Yuan period is the tomb inscription for Wang Sheng 王昇, who took up his office of Supervisor of Confucian Schools (*ruxue tiju* 儒學提舉) in the beginning of the Zhizheng reign-period (1341–1371). The text informs us that, in Dali 大理, Wang had collected [tax] debts amounting to 620,000 [*suo*] of cowries (*ba* 貝) and more than 19,000 *shi* 石 of grain.[93]

---

[91] See Fang Guoyu, "Yunnan yong bei zuo huobi de shidai ji bei de laiyuan," pp. 47–48.

[92] The "annual levy" (*suike* 歲課) for gold in Yunnan amounted to 9,201.9 *liang* in 1328, followed by Jiangxi with 9,015.1 *liang* and Huguang with 4,020.1 *liang*. See Franke (1949), p. 120.

[93] See the tomb inscription in the *Yunnan tujing zhishu* 雲南圖經志書 (Records of Yunnan [Province] with Maps [and Illustrations]), comp. by Chen Wen 陳文, 1455, as quoted in Li Jiarui (1956), p. 97. For the complete text of this inscription called "Anwei fushi Zhian Wang gong muzhiming" 安慰副使止庵王公墓志銘 (Funerary Inscription for the Soothing Vice-Commissioner Mr. Wang Zhian) see Fang Guoyu (chief ed.), *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, vol. 2, pp. 328–329.

In a tax assessment of 1328, 1,133,119 *suo* cowries (*ba* 貝) of the monetary part of the household taxes (*baoyin* 包銀) and 201,117 *suo* cowries (*bazi* 叭子) of liquor taxes are mentioned for Yunnan, while for the tax revenue of all other regions of the empire paper money was the common form of payment for these and other levies.[94] Cowries were also used in tribute payments, after military submission, and one such instance took place in 1318, when Kukedian 枯柯甸 and others of the Jinchi 金齒 people near Yongchang 永昌 surrendered and offered to hand over, annually, 1,000 *suo* of cowries (*ba* 貝).[95]

Because cowries were collected as a main item in tax payments, official expenditures in Yunnan likewise had to be paid in cowry currency. Some accounts that have survived from the Yuan period demonstrate the cowry outflow from official treasuries. In 1299 pharmacies to support the needs of the common population were to be set up in every Route (*lu* 路). It was, however, only in Yunnan that funds provided for establishing these institutions were given in cowries—that is 11,500 *suo* of "genuine cowries" (*zhenba* 真貝).[96] In an incident, two years later, on September 2, 1301, the Branch Secretariat of Yunnan was ordered by the emperor to pay to the 2,000 volunteers willing to fight against the aboriginal Babaixifu 八百媳婦 60 *suo* of cowries (*beizi* 貝子) each, thus totalling 120,000 *suo*.[97] Another example refers to December of the same year, when the Branch Secretariat of Yunnan had ordered the Aboriginal Official (*tuguan* 土官) Puli 普利 to purchase horses by using cowries (*ba* 貝). Puli answered this by saying that horses could be bought only with gold, but the Branch Secretariat appears not to have believed him and subsequently reproached Puli, saying he "was hesitating and unwilling to hand in [the horses]."[98]

Although there is no direct evidence from the Yuan period, we may assume that under the Mongols Yunnan local and regional officials were paid partly in cowries. We know from the Ming period (1368–1644) that officials received part of their salaries, based on rice stipends, in cowries. This held also true for the Ming princes residing in this southwestern province who received a part of the revenue in this currency, apart from

---

[94] See *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 93, p. 2363, and chap. 94, p. 2396; Franke (1949), p. 136; Schurmann (1956), pp. 98–104; see also Table 27 in Appendix 8.

[95] Cf. *Xin Yuanshi* 新元史 (New History of the Yuan), comp. by Ke Shaomin 柯劭忞, 1890–1920, ed. *Ershiwu shi* 二十五史, [Taibei:] Yiwen yinshuguan, chap. 248, p. 7b (vol. 3, p. 2198); see also Li Jiarui (1956), p. 97.

[96] See *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 96, p. 2468; Li Jiarui (1956), p. 97.

[97] See *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 20, p. 435.

[98] See *Xin Yuanshi*, chap. 248, p. 18 (vol. 3; p. 2203); see also Li Jiarui (1956), p. 97.

paper money, gold and silver.[99] Conditions under the Yuan were certainly not much different.

It appears that paper money was eventually introduced in Yunnan in 1305 at the latest. Evidence of the use of paper money, parallel to that of cowries, comes from an entry dated November 21, 1305, which referred to the following fiscal transaction:

> In the eleventh month of the ninth year of the Dade reign-period the Grand Councilor of the Branch Secretariat of Yunnan was given 10,000 *ding* of paper money, and he was ordered to use it in addition to cowry money. Non-native cowries (*fei bentu zhe* 非本土者) were regarded the same as counterfeit paper money.[100]

That in later years of the Mongol rule other types of money were used in Yunnan besides cowries is revealed by stele inscriptions recording donations to temples covering the years from 1323 to 1368. For instance, the use of both paper money and cowries in donations is evidenced by a stele inscription, dated 1323, of the newly founded Dayuanjue Buddhist Monastery in Xishan, west of present-day Kunming.[101] Another example dates from 1356 when land was purchased by the Panlong Buddhist Monastery in Jinning by using donations made in paper money. All other land purchases of this temple, however, were made by means of cowry money.[102] A stele inscription of the Taihua Buddhist Monastery 太華寺 near Kunming mentions, however, only donations in silver which was then used for purchasing land during the years from 1363 to 1368.[103]

In conclusion, the historical records make clear that the role of Yunnan cowry money was more important than simply functioning as a means for small payments. Both in private and public transactions the relatively large unit of *suo* was used when making substantial payments, for instance, for land or house purchases, or for land and household taxes. Therefore, the Yunnan case is more comparable to the situation in Bengal and Orissa, where a large part of taxes was likewise collected in cowries, than to the Western Deccan, where cowry served mostly for fractional payments and charges.[104]

---

[99] Vogel, "Cowry Trade," pp. 327–329.

[100] See *Xu wenxian tongkao*, chap. 9, p. 2853c, and the translation into German by Franke (1949), p. 118.

[101] See Li Jiarui (1956), p. 94.

[102] See Fang Guoyu, "Yunnan yong bei zuo huobi de shidai ji bei de laiyuan," in Yang Shouchuan (ed.) (1997), *Beibi yanjiu*, p. 47.

[103] See Fang Guoyu (chief ed.), *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, vol. 3, pp. 117.

[104] See Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade," p. 329.

3. Yunnan Cowry Currencies: Comparing Marco Polo's Account and Chinese Sources

> And whereas many people consider the Armenian Haiton [?–ca. 1320] and the Venetians Niccolo, Maffeo, and Marco Polo to be apocryphal in several particulars, we cannot deny the much illumination and information which they have given us regarding this vast and opulent region, although one is amazed and astonished to find so many marvels and riches crammed into such a short small memoir, which is why, even during their lifetimes, their own countrymen gave them the nickname Million or Liars.[105]

In her book in which she doubted that Marco Polo had ever been in China Frances Wood devotes some space to what she calls Marco Polo's confusion in distinguishing between cowry shells and the Chinese ceramic known as porcelaine. She states that he used the same term—namely *porcelaine, porcelane, porcellana, porzelane, porcelliane* etc.—for the different material of which these two items consisted. She also writes that cowries appear to have been imported to Western Europe before *Le devisament dou monde* was written since they were listed in the *Consolat del mar* published in about 1250 in Barcelona.[106] Whatever the reference might be in this mid-thirteenth-century work,[107] Wood's argument is not convincing. First of all, Marco Polo certainly did not mix up cowry shells and porcelain because, as a Venetian, he was well aware of the importance of cowries as a commodity. As Hogendorn and Johnson have suggested, it is very probable that at the time of Marco Polo, Venice was already an

---

[105] George Bryan Souza and Jeffrey S. Turley, *The Commentaries of D. García de Silva y Figueroa on his Embassy to Shah Abbas of Persia on behalf of Philip III, King of Spain*, manuscript of 2011, to be published by the Hakluyt Society. I would like to thank George Bryan Souza for having pointed out this passage to me and made available to me a copy of his and Jeffrey S. Turley's work on D. García de Silva y Figueroa's (1555–1624) embassy to Persia (1614–1624).

[106] See Wood (1995), p. 54. This has its origin in Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, p. 807.

[107] A quick electronical check of the English translation of the *Consolat del mar* with the words "cowry," "cowries," "shell," "porcelaine," and "porcelana" did not yield any results. For an online facsimile reproduction of the *Libre apellat Co[n]solat de mar* see Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes and La Biblioteca Virtual Joan Lluís Vives, http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/56850541999959389277791/thm0000.htm (accessed May 24, 2012); for an English translation see Stanley S. Jados, *The Consulate of the Sea and Related Documents*, University of Alabama Press, 1975, in the Library of Iberian Resources Online, http://libro.uca.edu/consulate/consulate.htm (accessed May 24, 2012).

important entrepôt for the transhipment of Maldive cowries arriving from Egypt by the way of the Red Sea. From Venice they were exported to the Maghreb and then carried across the Sahara to Western Africa. *Porcellani* is the diminutive of *porco*, pig, and was a term that survived, for instance, as *porcellette*, little pig, in Italy (mentioned around 1540), *porcelains* in Marseille (eighteenth century), and *Porzellanschnecken* in Germany (nineteenth century).[108] Second, what makes Marco Polo's account unique is not that he mentioned cowries in general or whether he was the first or not in Europe to refer to them, but that he reported specifically about cowries *in Yunnan*, especially as one of the elements of the currency mix in this region. As a matter of fact, the production and trade of cowry and its use as currency in Southeast Asia and Africa was already noted by such Arabic authors as Sulaiman at-Tagir (about 850–900), al-Mas'udi (was in Ceylon in 916), al-Biruni (record of about 1030), Idrisi (1099–1186), Tabakat-i-Nasiri (about 1240), Minhaj As-Siraj (around 1242–1244), Ibn Battuta (1304–1368 or 1369), and, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries by Portuguese, Dutch, French, English, and other European authors as well as many Chinese travellers.[109] According to these reports, cowry money circulated in Bengal, Orissa, Arakan, Martaban, Pegu, Siam, Laos, Annam and some other places in Southeast Asia. With regard to Yunnan, as we have seen above as well as in other research works, it was especially from the Yuan period onwards, when this province was incorporated into the Mongol empire and subsequently became a permanent part of the Ming and Qing empires, that Chinese sources abound in their mention of cowries used as currency. It is, however, important to note that among the non-Chinese authors it was only Marco Polo who mentioned the use and circulation of cowry currency in that region. The same unique feature holds true in a similar vein for salt currency of which Marco Polo's work provides the only non-Chinese evidence, but for which likewise, as the next chapter will make clear, there exist a number of testimonies in Chinese sources, both before and after the Yuan period.

Apart from this uniqueness of the Venetian traveller's account, Marco Polo is also correct in stating that the shells did not come from the province itself, but were imported from India. Other, no doubt exact, observations concern the use of cowry as small money, vis-à-vis gold and silver

[108] Hogendorn and Johnson (1986), pp. 15 and 17.

[109] For a thorough account of these reports see Vogel (1993), "Cowry Trade," pp. 225–235, as well as Hogendorn and Johnson (1986), pp. 14–19, 23–25, 28–36.

as currencies used in large transactions, as well as his indication of eighty porcelain shells serving, as it seems, as a peculiar unit of account. As we have seen in our juxtaposition with information obtained from Chinese sources, Marco Polo's report is in almost total agreement with what we know about the monetary conditions of Yunnan during the Yuan period, especially its particular status as a region in which paper money could not be—or could only partially be—enforced, and in which gold and silver were still adopted both in private sectors and in public finance and governmental transactions. While in almost all other parts of the empire the use of paper money was compulsory and silver and gold were not permitted to be used as means of payment, Yunnan was the only exception in this respect. The exceptional position of this province in monetary terms and public finance is well reflected in Marco Polo's work.

Another astonishing congruence can be asserted in the regions and places mentioned by Marco Polo and Chinese sources as areas with cowry currency circulation. Marco Polo's Coloman is largely in agreement with the temple inscription of the Dayuanjue and Yuantong monasteries of Kunming and the Panlong Monastery of Jinning, his Anin with the region inhabited by the Woni (Hani) people with their custom of bequeathing cowry hoards, his Carajan with Wang Sheng's tomb inscription describing the tax collection in cowries in Dali, and his Zardandan with the inscription of the Baoen monastery in Yongchang and the cowry tribute payments of the nearby Jinchi people. Moreover, the prohibition against the import of "illegal cowries" (*siba*) of 1301 provides further evidence that Marco Polo's cowry currency regions of Coloman, Anin, Carajan and Zardandan are in perfect agreement with historical facts, because in the 1301 regulation the local authorities of Luoluosi, Wusa, Shunyuan, Qujing, Lin'an, Jinchi and Dali were order to prevent this contraband. The local administrative regions mentioned in the 1301 order are either surrounding, or overlapping with, Marco Polo's Coloman, Anin, Carajan and Zardandan. The same picture results if we map all the historically known places with textual or archaeological reference to cowry and cowry currency from the late thirteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries, as has been done in Map 4. In other words, Marco Polo's documentation is unrivaled, not only with regard to statements on the origin of cowry, the cowry currency unit-of-account, and the monetary mix within which cowry operated, but also in geographical precision. Hence, I wish to stress once again—and without even mentioning the accuracy of his account—that, with the exception of Marco Polo, we do not know of any other report on Yunnan cowry currency by an author who is non-Chinese.

CHAPTER FOUR

SALT PRODUCTION AND SALT MONIES IN YUNNAN AND *TEBET*

> *De prouincia Cayndu capitulum XXXVIII.*
> [. . .] Minor uero talis est: sal in caldaria coquunt, quod postea in formella proiciunt ubi consolida{n}tur, et talem monetam expendunt. [. . .][1]

The production and taxation of salt, salt trade and the use of salt as currency are important themes in Marco Polo's acount. Hence they have been also discussed, though to varying degrees of intensity, in research on Marco Polo. For instance, Frances Wood mentions that because Marco Polo was the son and nephew of traders it is hardly surprising that he often dealt with goods and products, including the "salt of the mines of Sichuan."[2] She also notes that Marco Polo's "account of the East does consist of tons of salt and distances" which is due to the character of the book as representing more a merchant's view of the world than that of a creative writer.[3] She then continues as following:

> Its production from wells, saline earth and sea pans is mentioned in many areas as distant as Yunnan, Shandong and the coast of Zhejiang, although Marco Polo's Yunnanese reference may perhaps be to the Zigong area in the neighbouring province of Sichuan, where for many centuries the rock salt was drawn up from underground wells by wheels moved by water-buffaloes. While this is one possible explanation, mention of salt and its significance in China is not surprising, for salt was a government-controlled product, closely linked to the new paper money. [. . .] (Marco Polo mentioned it as a form of currency in Tibet.)[4]

Wood is certainly right in stressing the significance of salt as a government monopoly under the Yuan dynasty, and thus in some sense also linked to paper currency. As we will see later, salt revenues occupied the

---

[1] See *De consuetudinibus et condicionibus orientalium regionum, e uulgari in Latinum traductus per fratrem Franciscum de Pepuris de Bononia*, as it is transcribed in Juan Gil, *El libro de Marco Polo: Ejemplar anotado por Cristobal Colón y que se conserva en la Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina de Sevilla*, Madrid: Testimonio, 1986, p. 302.

[2] Wood (1995), p. 10.

[3] Wood (1995), pp. 37–38.

[4] Wood (1995), p. 125.

largest share in Mongol public monetary income. Writing about salt was thus equivalent to describing one of the fiscal main pillars during that period. Moreover, given the importance of salt for Venice it is also not too far-fetched to assume that salt production, taxation and trade along the sea coast as well as in the interior caught Marco Polo's special attention, in addition to the specific use of salt as currency in Yunnan and *Tebet*.[5] As we will see in an instance, however, there is no need to suspect that Marco Polo had Zigong in Sichuan in his mind when writing about Yunnan as this southwestern province has its well-known own history in salt production.

1. Marco Polo on Salt Production in Yunnan (1275–1291)

> *[XLIV]*.
> Aquesta província [Carian] és molt gran [...] Attressí an moltes salines, mas an a bulir l'aygua en grans calderes tro que torna sal; e aquesta sal fornex totes aqueles encontrades, de què la seyoria ha'n grans rendes. [...][6]

---

[5] While some Chinese scholars—as we will see below—have done substantial research on the salt monies of Yunnan and *Tebet*, including Marco Polo's accounts, the Venetian's information about salt production techniques as well as salt taxation and trade were much less in their research focus. Outside China there were several authors who took the salt passages more comprehensively into account. One was certainly Guillaume Pauthier in his *Le livre de Marco Polo, citoyen de Venise, conseiller privé et commissaire impérial de Khoubilaï Khaân, rédigé en Français sous sa dictée en 1298 par Rusticien de Pise*, Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et C., Imprimeurs de l'Institut de France, 1865. Another, to a certain extent, was Yule (1903). Marco Polo's salt passages were also more or less fully mentioned by U. A. Casal in 1958, William W. Boddie in 1972, and Franco Brunello in 1986. Though Boddie even made a reference to the Yuan salt monograph *Aobo tu* completed in 1334 by Chen Chun (see chapter V.1 below), none of them undertook a deeper analysis of the material offered by Marco Polo. Moreover, Boddie exaggerated the Chinese achievements in salt production technologies by overstating the age of the deep drilling technology for brine in Sichuan Province. See U. A. Casal, "Salt," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 14.1/2 (1958): 61–90, especially 63–64; Brunello (1986), pp. 94–96; Mark Batterson and William W. Boddie, *Salt, the Mysterious Necessity*, New York: Dow Chemical Company, 1972. With regard to the latter, I consulted the Chinese translation published under the title W. W. Bodi 波迪 (William W. Boddie) (1972), "Wu ke zhiyi de wenming" 無可置疑的文明 (A Civilization not Being Open to Doubt); transl. by Wang Haiqian 王海潛 and rev. by Peng Jiusong 彭久松, *Jingyanshi tongxun* 井盐史通讯 (Well Salt History Newsletter), 1.5 (1978): 36–40, 50–58. This article was reprinted in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), *Make Boluo jieshao yu yanjiu*, pp. 259–274.

[6] Annamaria Gallina, *Viatges de Marco Polo: Versió catalana del segle XIV*, Barcelona: Editorial Barcino (Els nostres clàssics; A 85), 1958, pp. 106–107.

> *Capitulo 39. De la provincia de Carayam.*
> […] Hazese en esta Ciudad mucha sal de agua de pozos, de que saca el Rey gran prouecho. […][7]

In the chapter on the Province of Carajan or Yunnan[8] Marco Polo talks about brine wells from which the people make salt. He also says that all the people of those parts make a living by this salt, while at the same time it produces great revenue for the King.[9] Frances Wood certainly errs when suggesting that the salt wells mentioned by Marco Polo may have referred to the Sichuan salt wells in general and to the Zigong 自貢 area in particular, "where for many centuries the rock salt was drawn up from underground wells by wheels moved by water-buffaloes."

First of all, Yunnan itself has a number of quite famous and ancient salt wells, so that there is no need to search for them in Sichuan Province. Salt offices (*yanguan* 鹽官) are listed for Lianran 連然[10] (Anning 安寧), Nanguang 南廣[11] (probably Yanjin 鹽津) and Qingling 青蛉[12] (Dayao 大姚) already for the Han period (206 BC–220 AD). The *Manshu* (Book of the Southern Barbarians) or *Yunnan zhi* 雲南志 (A Record of Yunnan) of the mid-ninth century tells us that in the Nanzhao kingdom (738–902) there were stone salt-wells (*shiyanjing* 石鹽井) with a depth of 80 *chi* (about 24 m) everywhere in Anning City 安寧城. Four wells were also located outside the city. Commoners were urged to boil [the brine] themselves. The various Cuan 爨 and Man 滿 people of Shengma 升麻 (i.e. Xundian 尋甸) and Tonghai 通海 all consumed the salt of Anning.[13] The *Manshu* also mentions a number of other wells, showing that many of the wells

---

[7] *Historia de las grandezas y cosas marauillosas de las Prouincias Orientales. Sacada de Marco Paulo Veneto, y traduzida de Latin en Romance, . . .*, Con Licencia, en Caragoça: Por Angelo Tauano, Año. M. DCI, pp. 95–96.

[8] For the identification of this place name, see Table 11 on p. 232.

[9] Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 66. In the early French text B1 this reads as follows: "[…] Ils ont puis salmace, des quel il font sal; et de cest sal vivent tuit cele de la contree; et voç di que le roi en a grant profit de cest sal." See Blanchard and Quereuil (2005), p. 470.

[10] See the administrative-geographical chapters of the *Hanshu*, vol 6, chap. 28A, p. 1601.

[11] See *Huayang guozhi jiaozhu*, pp. 422–423. This salt office in Nanguang was set up probably during the Eastern Han period (25–220 AD).

[12] See *Huayang guozhi jiaozhu*, p. 447, and also the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 ([History] Records of the Later Han [Dynasty]), by Fan Ye 范曄, 450, with the monograph chapters by Sima Biao 司馬彪 (d. 305), and with commentary by Liu Zhao 劉昭 (ca. 510), ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965, vol. 12, *zhi* chap. 23, pp. 3511–3512, quoting the *Huayangguo zhi*.

[13] Luce (transl.) and Oey (ed.) (1961), p. 67; *Yunnan zhi jiaoshi*, chap. 7, pp. 262–263.

Table 12. Yunnan salt production places mentioned for the Tang and Nanzhao periods, eighth to ninth centuries

Place name during the Nanchao	Place name under the Tang	Number of wells	Indications about wells, springs, or their names	Modern place name[a]	Saltern in later days[b]
Anningcheng 安寧城	Kunzhou Anning 昆州安寧	5?	Shiyanjing 石鹽井	Anning 安寧	Anningjing 安寧井
Lantancheng 覽賧城		1	Langjing 郎井	Lufeng 祿豐	Langjing 琅井
Lu'nan 瀘南	Yaozhou Lu'nan 姚州瀘南	1?	Meijing 美井	Dayao 大姚	Baijing 白井
Longqie 龍怯		2		Yanyuan 鹽源?[c]	Yanyuan 鹽源 ?
Jianxun 劍尋		4	Bangmiqianjing 傍彌潛井	Jianchuan 劍川	Mishajing 彌沙井
			Shazhuijing 沙追井	Jianchuan	Mishajing
			Ruoyejing 若耶井	Lanping 蘭坪	Lijiang Laomujing 麗江老母井
			Huinijing 諱溺井	Lanping	Lijiang Laomujing
Jianchuan 劍川	Luolucheng 羅魯城	1?	Xinuodengjing 細諾鄧井	Jianchuan 劍川	Nuodengjing 諾鄧井
Lishuicheng 麗水城		1	Luojujing 羅苴井		Lijiangjing 麗江井 ?
Changbang zhushan 長傍諸山		several?			
Liuzhuihecheng 柳追和城		dozens[d]		Zhenyuan 鎮沅	Anbanjing 安板井
Weiyuancheng 威遠城		dozens[d]		Jinggu 景谷	Baomujing 抱母井
					Xiangyanjing 香鹽井
Fengyicheng 奉逸城		dozens[d]		Pu'er 普洱	Mohei 磨黑
				Yiwu 易武	Shigaoqing 石膏箐
Liruncheng 利潤城		dozens[d]		Yibang 倚幫	Moxie 磨歇 etc.
				Mengla 孟臘	
Yanquanxian 鹽泉縣[e]			"salt spring" (*yanquan* 鹽泉)	Lufeng 祿豐	Heijing 黑井

Sources: *Yunnan zhi jiaoshi*, pp. 262–263, 245; for Yuanqianxian see *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Old [History] Records of the Tang [Dynasty]), comp. by Liu Xu 劉煦, 945, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975, chap. 41; Huang Peilin 黃培林 and Zhong Changyong 钟长永, *Dianyanshi lun* 滇盐史论 (An Account of the History of Yunnan Salt), Zigong: Sichuan renmin chubanshe and Zigong yanye chuban bianjishi, 1997, p. 24.

Notes:
[a] Allocation based on Huang Peilin and Zhong Changyong (1997), p. 29, and Guo Zhengzhong 郭正忠 (chief ed.), *Zhongguo yanyeshi: Gudai bian* 中国盐业史: 古代编 (Chinese Salt History: Volume on the Ancient Period), Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1997, p. 106.
[b] Allocation based on Huang Peilin and Zhong Changyong (1997), p. 29.
[c] There was a Longqie River passing through modern-day Yanbian 鹽邊 and located south of Yanyuan. It is probable that the Yuanyuan salines were meant, as they are the only saltworks in this region.
[d] Some 100 wells in Liuzhuihecheng, Weiyuancheng, Fengyicheng and Liruncheng alltogether.
[e] Lit.: "Salt Spring District". The name suggests the existence of a salt spring. The district belonged to Yinzhou 尹州 department.

Table 13. Yunnan salt production places mentioned for the Yuan dynasty

Place name during the Yuan	Indications about wells, springs, or their names	Modern place name[a]	Saltern in later days[a]
Dalilu Baiyancheng 大理路白鹽城[b]		Dayao 大姚	Baijing 白井
Zhongqinglu 中慶路[b]	"salt wells" (*yanjing* 鹽井)	Anning 安寧	Anningjing 安寧井
Weichujun 威楚郡	"there are salt wells" (*you cuojing* 有鹺井)	Lufeng 祿豐	Heijing 黑井
Langjing 琅井	Langjing 琅井	Lufeng	Langjing 琅井
Boluojian 波羅澗[c]	"there is brine" (*you lushui* 有滷水)	Chuxiong 楚雄	
Gaodengshan 高登山[c]	"there are salt wells" (*you yanjing* 有鹽井)	Guangtong 廣通	
Lijianglu 麗江路	"there is the product of seven salt wells" (*you yan qi jing zhi huo* 有鹽七井之貨)[d]	Yunlong 雲龍 Lanping 蘭坪	Yunlongjing 雲龍井 Lijiangjing 麗江井
Weiyuanzhou 威遠州	Baiyanjing 白鹽井	Jinggu 景谷	Baomujing 抱母井 Xiangyanjing 香鹽井
Caindu	"they boil salt"	Yanyuan 鹽源	Yanyuan 鹽源

Sources: See Huang Peilin and Zhong Changyong (1997), pp. 26-29, for details about the sources. For Caindu we refer to Marco Polo.

Notes:
[a] Allocation based on Huang Peilin and Zhong Changyong (1997), p. 29.
[b] A tax official (*queshuiguan* 榷稅官) was established there.
[c] Already closed at an early date.
[d] These seven wells were probably located in Yunlong and Lanping.

Table 14. Production and taxation of the Yunnan saltworks, second half of the seventeenth century

Saltworks	Tax since the 1640s (in tael or *liang* of silver)	Annual salt quota (in *jin*)
Heijing 黑井	120,000	5,640,000
Baijing 白井	28,500	2,373,216
Langjing 琅井	9,600	1,599,906
Yunlongjing 雲龍井	4,760	1,510,014
Anningjing 安寧井	1,752	428,496
Alou-Houjing 阿陋猴井	2,923	531,000
Jingdongjing 景東井	320	169,200
Mishajing 彌沙井	400	47,201
Zhijiujing Caoxijing 只舊井 草溪井	262	49,922
Anban tujing 安板土井	–	–
Baomu tujing 包母土井	–	–

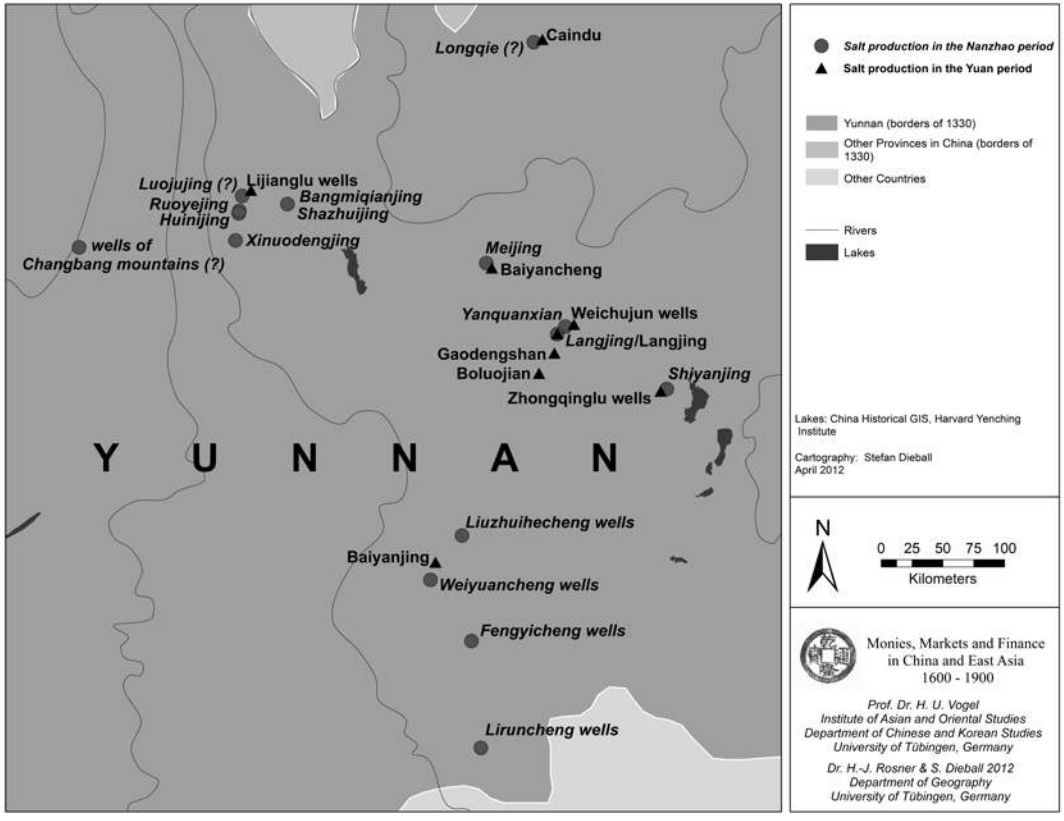
Sources: For the tax data of Heijing, Baijing and Langjing, see Li Bi 李芯, *Diannan yanfa tu* 滇南鹽法圖 (Illustrations of Salt [Production] Methods of Yunnan), 1707, ill.1–3; Zhu Xia 朱霞, "Cong 'Diannan yanfa tu' kan gudai Yunnan shaoshu minzu de jingyan shengchan" 从《滇南盐法图》看古代云南少数民族的井盐生产 (Production of Well Salt in the Ancient Period by the Minorities of Yunnan as Seen from the "Illustrations of the Salt [Production] Methods of Yunnan"), *Ziran kexueshi yanjiu* 自然科学史研究 (Studies in the History of Natural Sciences), 23.2 (2004): 144; for all other data see He Zhenru 何珍如, "Kangxi shiqi de Yunnan yanzheng" 康熙時期的雲南鹽政 (The Salt Administration in Yunnan during the Kangxi Reign-period [1662–1722]), *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan guankan* 中國歷史博物館館刊 (Chinese History Museum Journal), 3 (1983): 75.

that later became well-known in Yunnan were already in operation during the Tang period (618–907) at the latest (see Table 12 and Map 5).

For the Yuan period, Huang Peilin and Zhong Changyong in their history of the Yunnan salt industry[14] have listed a number of salt production places mentioned in various sources (see Table 13 and Map 5). Table 14 gives us an impression of the production and taxation of the most important Yunnan saltworks during the early Qing period (1644–1911). At this time the most productive saltworks (Heijing, Baijing and Langjing) were located in central Yunnan, followed by Yunlongjing in the western part of the province. It was only during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that most of the southern saltworks were opened or developed (see Map 6).

From an empire-wide perspective, the economic and fiscal relevance of Yunnan well salt production during the imperial period was minor when compared with the production of salt at the salt lake of Xiezhou

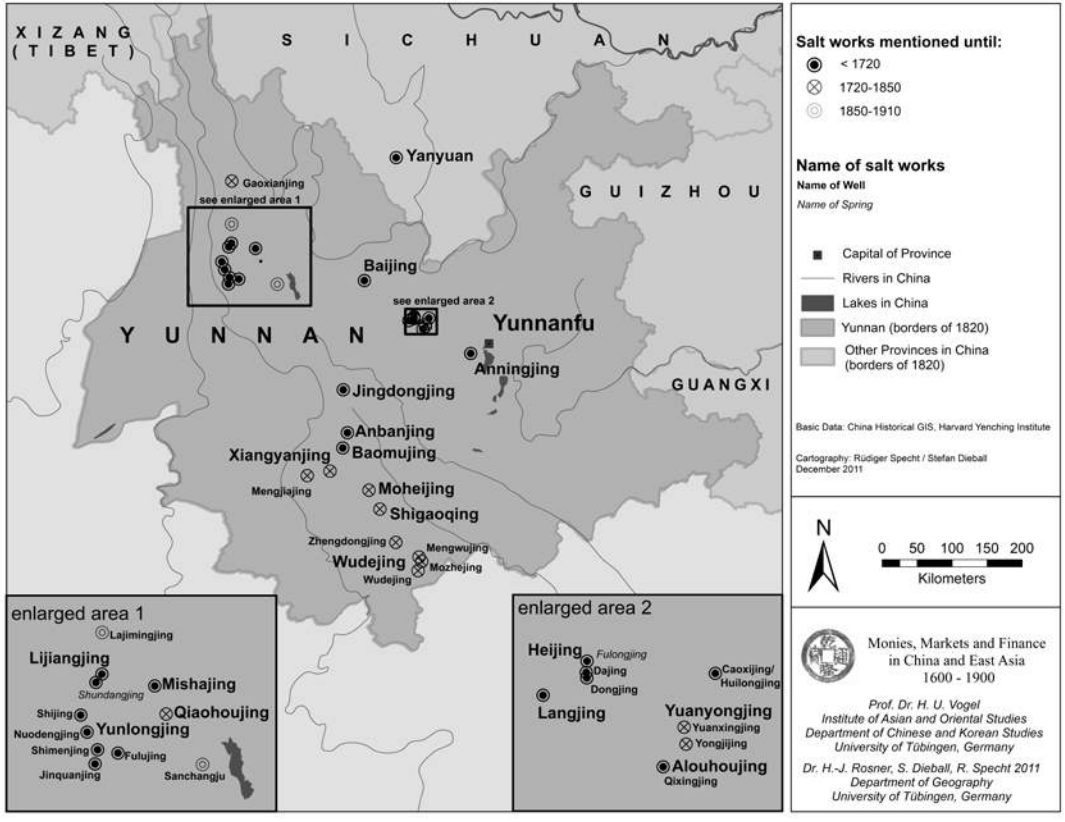
[14] Huang Peilin 黃培林 and Zhong Changyong 鐘長永, *Dianyan shilun* 滇鹽史論 (An Account of the History of Yunnan Salt), Zigong: Sichuan renmin chubanshe and Zigong yanye chuban bianjishi, 1997.



Sources: Tables 12 and 13.

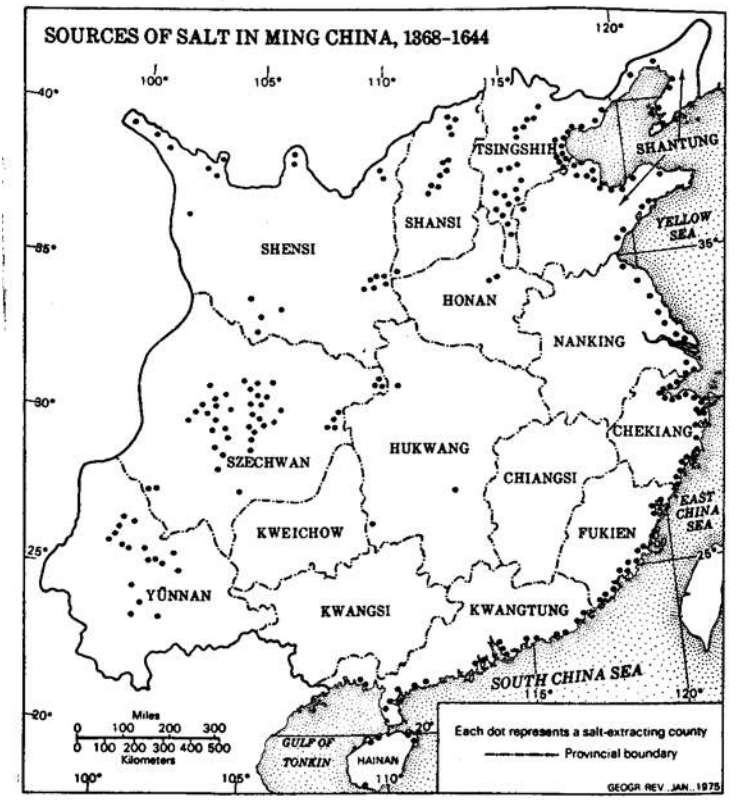
Note:
Only the approximate locations of the salt works are given.

Map 5. Salt production places in Yunnan, eighth to fourteenth centuries.



Source: Data collected by Hans Ulrich Vogel.

Map 6. Saltworks in Yunnan, seventeenth to early twentieth century.



Source: Chiang Tao-chang, "The Salt Industry of Ming China," *Geographical Review*, 65.1 (1975): 94. Courtesy of *Geographical Review*, the journal of the American Geographical Society.

Map 7. Sources of salt in Ming China, 1368–1644.

解州 (Hedong 河東 or Hotung) and especially sea salt along the Chinese coast.[15] During the Ming dynasty, from which we have, for the first time, figures for Yunnan salt production and taxation in an empire-wide context, the share of Yunnan salt in the overall registered salt output varied between 0.37 and 1.9 percent only.[16] The rather small amounts of salt

[15] See Map 7 showing the empire-wide distribution of saltworks during the late fourteenth century.

[16] See Guo Zhengzhong 郭正忠 (chief ed.), *Zhongguo yanyeshi: Gudai bian* 中国盐业史：古代编 (Chinese Salt History: Volume on the Ancient Period), Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1997, pp. 648–649. The percentages refer to the Hongwu reign-period (1368–1398; 0.39 %), the Hongzhi reign-period (1488–1505; 1.9 %), and the sixth year of the Wanli reign-period (1578; 0.37 %).

that were produced in Yunnan were, however, rather heavily taxed. Thus, while in 1578 the percentage of Yunnan salt in the registered empire-wide production amounted to only 0.37 percent, the share of salt tax silver sent to the National Silver Vault (*taicangku* 太倉庫) annually constituted 2.76 percent.[17] In other words, although the production of Yunnan salt might have been of minor importance from an empire-wide perspective, it nonetheless constituted a substantial source of income, perhaps even more so for the regional administration than for the central government. There is no doubt that all this is in agreement with Marco Polo's statement about the revenue generated by the salt administration in Yunnan, a region in which salt was precious, rare and heavily taxed.

Second, the Zigong area of Sichuan rose to prominence only in the late imperial period. It is a common misinterpretation to project this well-developed salt production centre of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries back to earlier periods. Moreover, it would have certainly been difficult to find capstans powered by water buffaloes during the Yuan period, as has been suggested by Frances Wood. The first mention of water-buffaloes for driving the Sichuan hoisting wheels comes from the famous Yujing 淯井 brine spring of Changning District 長寧縣 where in 1253 hoisting by convicts was replaced by an apparatus powered by buffaloes.[18] It was, however, not before the late Ming period that the use of buffaloes became more widespread.[19] During the late Ming period only one buffalo was harnessed to a capstan, whereas in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Zigong and other similarly developed saltworks up to four buffaloes powered a capstan (Fig. 21).[20]

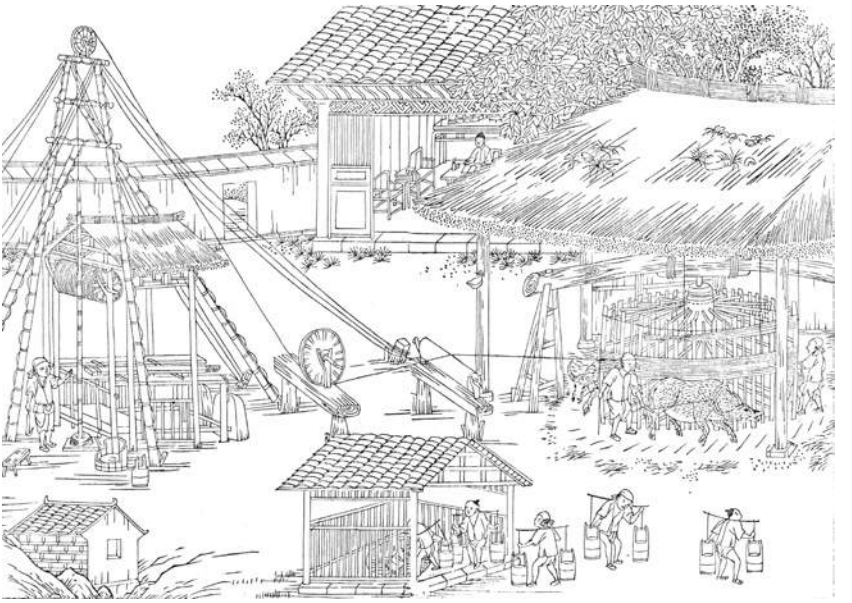
---

[17] Cf. Guo Zhengzhong (chief ed.) (1997), p. 649.

[18] See Lin Yuanxiong 林元雄, Song Liangxi 宋良曦 et al., *Zhongguo jingyan kejishi* 中国井盐科技史 (The History of Science and Technology of Chinese Well Salt), Chengdu: Sichuan kexue jishu chubanshe, 1987, p. 287.

[19] See Hans Ulrich Vogel, "Ma Jis 'Yanjing tushuo' (Illustrierte Abhandlung über die Salzbrunnen [Sichuans]) aus der späten Ming-Zeit und seine technikgeschichtliche Bedeutung," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 155.1 (2005): 281; Sun E-Tu Zen and Sun Shiou-Chuan, *T'ien-kung K'ai-wu: Chinese Technology in the Seventeenth Century, by Sung Ying-Hsing*, University Park, Penn., and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966, p. 119.

[20] Hans Ulrich Vogel, "Die Darstellung der Salzproduktion in Sichuan: Eine chinesische Bildrolle aus der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Thesis: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Bauhaus-Universität Weimar* (*Internationale Tagung am Lehrstuhl für Bauaufnahme und Baudenkmalpflege: Investitionen im Salinenwesen und Salzbergbau: Globale Rahmenbedingungen, regionale Auswirkungen, verbliebene Monumente—Gewidmet Rudolf Palme* (*1942–2002*)), 4/5 (2002): 338, 345. For the illustrations and a German translation of the texts of the scroll see id., "Die Darstellung der Salzproduktion in Sichuan—Eine chinesische Bildrolle aus der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts," http://www.uni-tuebingen.de/?id=24313 (accessed September 8, 2012).



Source: *Sichuan yanfa zhi* 四川鹽法志 (Salt Laws Gazetteer of Sichuan), comp. officially at the request of Ding Baozhen 丁寶楨, Governor-General of the province, 1882, chap. 2, pp. 20b–21a.

Figure 21. Hoisting of brine at the deep-drilled wells of Zigong 自貢 (Ziliujing 自流井 and Gongjing 貢井), Sichuan, ca. 1880.

As I will show in my forthcoming volume in the *Science and Civilisation in China* series,[21] the Yunnan salt industry differed from that of Sichuan, both in being less technologically advanced, and also in other respects. In contrast to Sichuan, no natural gas was available in Yunnan for salt boiling, nor was coal used extensively for this purpose before the twentieth century. Instead, firewood or brushwood, often short in supply, was consumed. Typically, Yunnan salt wells exploited underground brines with

[21] See Hans Ulrich Vogel, *The Salt Industry*, Part 37 of Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilisation in China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming. For details on the Yunnan salt history see, however, also my "A Short History of Salt Production in Yunnan Province in South-west China: Technical and Economic Aspects," in Nuria Morère Molinero (ed.), *Las salinas y la sal de interior: Economía, medio ambiente y sociedad—Inland Salt Works and Salt History: Economy, Environment and Society*, Madrid: Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2007, vol. 2, pp. 809–834, and my "Types of Fuel Used in the Salt Works of Sichuan and Yunnan in South-western China: A Historical Overview," in Olivier Weller, Alexa Dufraisse et Pierre Pétrequin (eds.), *Sels, eau et forêt d'hier à aujourd'hui*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2008, pp. 451–477. The following account is mainly based on these two articles.

the help of perpendicular or inclined shaft wells, which in most cases were not deeper than 22 m (Figs. 22–24). J. Coggin Brown, who visited many Yunnan saltworks in 1909, remarked that they provide illustrative evidence of "the persistence with which even small deposits are worked by the Chinese, and their ingenuity in overcoming natural difficulties."[22] Some salt wells or springs were also located on small islands in midst of rivers. Another remarkable feature of Yunnan salt production is that this province was one of the very few places in China where from the late eighteenth century onwards salt was mined.[23] Another characteristic in the history of Yunnan salt industry and administration was that the saltworks, even in the late imperial period, were not operated by Chinese, but mainly by members of indigenous ethnic groups.[24] Later, in connection with salt currency, we will talk also about the various salts that were manufactured at the Yunnan saltworks and whose special forms obviously served as a kind of trademark.

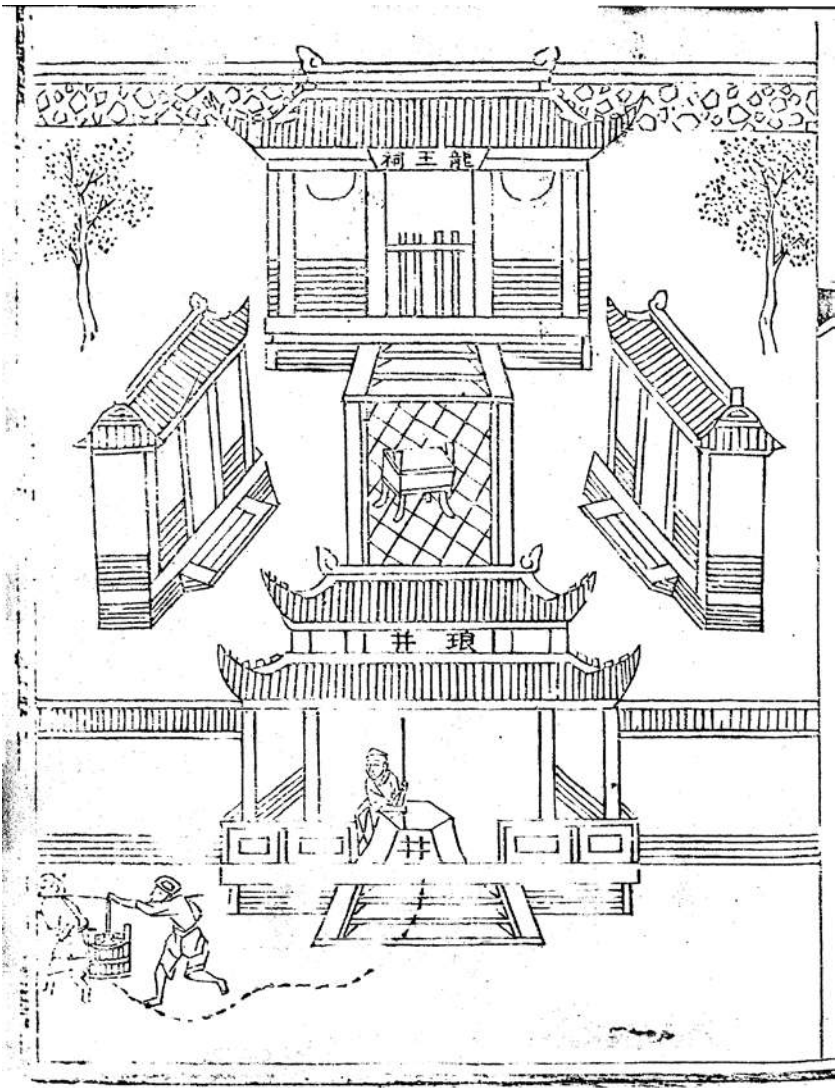
The summarizing account given above on the rich history of Yunnan salt production demonstrates clearly that when Marco Polo talked about brine wells in the Province of Carajan, he indeed referred to the salt industry of Yunnan Province, and not to the Sichuan saltworks. He is correct not only in pointing out that salt was produced from boiling down brine hoisted from wells, but also with regard to the fiscal importance of this indispensable condiment in this region of limited salt supply. As I will show below, it was these saltworks which not only produced salt for purposes of consumption, but also manufactured the various salt monies current in parts of Yunnan and *Tebet*.

---

[22] See J. Coggin Brown, "The Mines and Mineral Resources of Yunnan, with Short Accounts of its Agricultural Products and Trade," *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*, XLVII, 1923, pp. 165, 175, 179.

[23] For more details on the history of Yunnan salt mining, in a period much later than Marco Polo, see Vogel (2007), pp. 827–830.

[24] 朱霞, "Cong 'Diannan yanfa tu' kan gudai Yunnan shaoshu minzu de jingyan shengchan" 从滇南盐法图看古代云南少数民族的井盐生产 (Production of Well Salt in the Ancient Period by the Minorities of Yunnan as seen from the "Illustrations of the Salt [Production] Methods of Yunnan"), *Ziran kexueshi yanjiu* 自然科学史研究 (Studies in the History of Natural Sciences), 23.2 (2004): 135–137; Brown (1923), pp. 165, 175. Zhu Xia's article is now also available in English translation. See Zhu Xia (author); Cao Jin, Ailika Schinkothe, Hans Ulrich Vogel et al. (transl.), "The Production of Well Salt by Ethnic Minorities in Pre-modern Yunnan: The 'Illustrations on the Salt Production Methods of Yunnan," *East Asian Science, Technology and Medicine*, 33 (2011): 33–82.



Source: *Langyanjing zhi* 琅鹽井志 (Gazetteer of Langyanjing [in Yunnan]), comp. by Sun Yuanxiang 孫元相 and Zhao Chun 趙淳, 1756, chap. 1, p. 15a.

Note: In the foreground is the "Tower for the Consideration of the Well" (Choujinglou 籌井樓) which protects the hexagonal well orifice. In the background is the Dragon King Temple (Longwangci 龍王祠) which was built shortly after the tower. Two men are transporting brine in a large tub to the boiling house with a carrying pole, while one man is hoisting brine. The depiction of the well and the hoisting operation seems to be somewhat strange, because the sources mention that the well was equipped with a staircase made of stone and that brine was carried upwards. Hence one would expect a larger orifice.

Figure 22. The Langjing 琅井 saltworks in Chuxiong Prefecture 楚雄府, Yunnan Province, about 1712.

Source: *Diannan yanfa tu*, ill. 4; Zhongguo guojia bowuguan 中国国家博物馆 (National Museum of China) (ed.), *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guancang wenwu yanjiu congshu; Huihua juan: Fengsu hua* 中国国家博物馆馆藏文物研究丛书；绘画卷：风俗画 (Collection of Research on Historical Relics Stored in the National Museum of China; Volume on Paintings: Paintings on Customs), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007, p. 140. Courtesy of the National Museum of China.

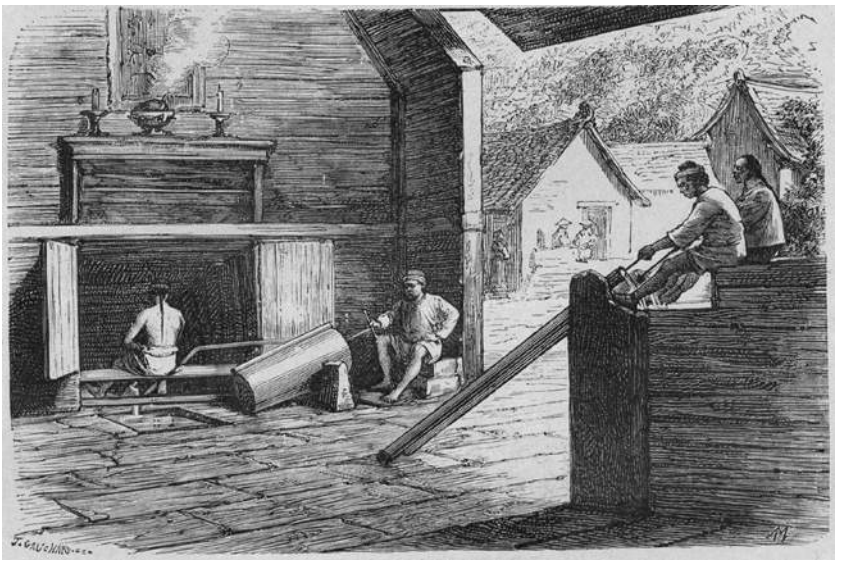
Note: This illustration presents the whole process of salt production at the Big Well of the Yunlongjing Salt Works. In the centre we can see how brine is hoisted from a shaft well with the help of a windlass, which was set up over the well orifice and was held in place by two support structures on either side. The handles of the windlass are operated by two men—one on the left and one on the right. Other brine wells, such as the Zijing Shimenjing 子井石門井 in the same department, employed four men for hoisting brine. There the protruding ends of the windlass axle formed a treadle wheel which was set in motion by two treadling men leaning on a support frame. These two men placed on the outside of the two supports were assisted by two other men standing inside, each turning the windlass with the help of handles.

A large leather bag was used for lifting the brine. One can see an additional worker, who is taking care of the leather bag which is going to be emptied into a round wooden storage container. Two other workers carry the brine in transport tubs to the hearth.

The hearth in the boiling house (*zaofang* 灶房) on the right side is t-shaped and is equipped with a number of round pans of different sizes used for pre-warming and crystallisation. Firewood served as fuel. Besides the hearth, round brine containers are set up.

On the left side of the well the "place for moulding the salt" (*nieyanchu* 捏盐處) is shown. Two workers form the salt of whitish colour to elongated pointed tablets in the form of *gui* 圭 jade which was popularly called "lampstand salt" (*dengtaiyan* 燈台鹽).

Figure 23. Salt production at the Big Well (Dajing 大井) of the Yunlongjing 雲龍井 salt works in Yunlong Department 雲龍州, Yunnan, about 1707.



Source: Francis Garnier, *Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine, effectué pendant les années 1866, 1867 et 1868*, Paris: Hachette et Cie., 1873, vol. 1, p. 433. Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg.

Note: This picture shows the upper end of a pumping line. Such pumping devices were probably used in saltworks only from the eighteenth century or so. The two men on the right lift the brine from a underground basin located at the well entrance into a large brine reservoir. Air is being blown into the shaft by means of a cylindrical bellows-box, probably equipped with a double-acting piston device, for the men working underground. Above the shaft entrance an altar is visible, on which incense and two candles are burning, probably in front of a statue or effigy of the well god.

Figure 24. Mouth of an inclined salt well in the saltworks of Ho-boung Village, near Pu'er 普洱, Yunnan Province, late 1860s.

2. Marco Polo on Salt Currencies in *Tebet* and Caindu (1275–1291)

> *116. Ci dit le .C. et .XVI. chapitre de la prouvince de Gaindu.* [...] Il ont monnoie en tel maniere: il ont or en verge et le poisent a pois; tant comme il [poise], si vaut. Mais nulle monnoie coingnie n'ont. Lor petite monnoie est telle: il prennent le sel et le font cuire, et puis le gietent en fourme, et est si grande chascune que bien puet peser demie livre, et les .IIII^{xx}. formes de tel sel vault un saje d'or fin, c'est un pois. Et ceste est la petite monnoie que il despendent. [...][25]

[25] See the early French Marco Polo manuscript B1 as presented by Blanchard and Quereuil (eds.) (2005), p. 74.

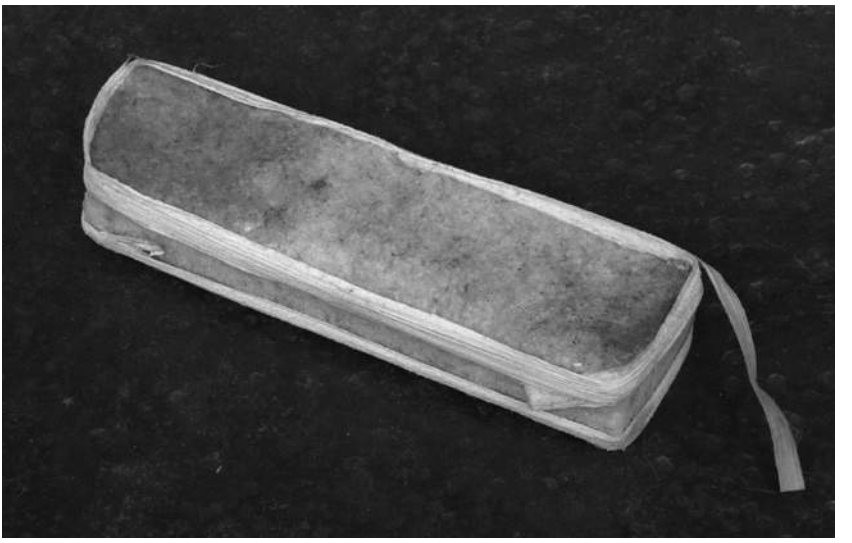
In the monetary history of China, Yunnan and the adjoining regions are of particular interest because not only cowries, but also salt was used as money for long periods of time. Dong Xianqing has argued that salt money may have even preceded cowry money in southwest China.[26] The use of solid salt pieces as money was, however, not limited to these Chinese regions. The Roman word *salarium* from which, e.g., the English *salary*, the French *salaire* and German *Salär* is derived linked employment, salt and soldiers, though the exact link is unclear.[27] More clear instances of the use of salt pieces or salt lumps as money are known, e.g., from Africa in the sixth and fifteenth centuries, as well as from Burma in the nineteenth century.[28] Until the end of the nineteenth century frustrum-shaped salt pieces served as means of payment between the Chad and Fessan. They were called *kantous* and weighed between 10 and 20 kg. The Ethiopians used smaller pieces as currency, which they named *amolé* or "amulet" (Fig. 25). This was salt from the Lafta Mountains in the form of tablets, which in case of demand could be subdivided into small rods. Later on, Ethiopians used bars with a weight of about 700 g and 20–25 cm long. This salt came from the Asale Lake south of Mitsiwa. The value of this type of *amolé* varied in relationship to the distance of the place of consumption to the saltworks. In the 1890s in Addis Abeba 4 to 5 *amolé* could be bought

---

[26] Dong Xianqing 董咸庆, "Yanbi: Yunnan shichang liutongguo de huobi" 盐币: 云南市场流通过的货币 (Salt Money: A Currency once Having Circulated in Yunnan Markets), in Peng Zeyi 彭泽益 and Wang Renyuan 王仁远 (eds.), *Zhongguo yanyeshi guoji xueshu taolunhui lunwenji* 中国盐业史国际学术讨论会论文集 (Collected Articles of the International Symposium on the History of the Chinese Salt Industry), Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1991, pp. 547–548.

[27] "The least common theory is that the word 'soldier' itself comes from the Latin *sal dare* (to give salt). Alternatively, the Roman historian Pliny the Elder stated as an aside in his Natural History's discussion of sea water, that '[I]n Rome . . . the soldier's pay was originally salt and the word salary derives from it . . .' *Plinius Naturalis Historia* XXXI. Others note that soldier more likely derives from the gold *solidus*, with which soldiers were known to have been paid, and maintain instead that the *salarium* was either an allowance for the purchase of salt or the price of having soldiers conquer salt supplies and guard the Salt Roads (Via Salarium) that led to Rome." See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salary (accessed May 24, 2012). See also M. R. Bloch, "Salz in der Geschichte des Geldes," *Mitteilungen der List-Gesellschaft*, 12/13.8 (1975/1976), p. 253.

[28] Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 57: "This exchange of salt cakes for gold [as mentioned by Marco Polo] forms a curious parallel to the like exchange in the heart of Africa, narrated by Cosmas in the 6th century, and by Aloisio Cadamosto in the 15th." Chen Ran 陈然, "Woguo xi'nan shichang shang ceng liutong de yizhong teshu huobi: Yanbi" 我国西南市场上曾流通的一种特殊货币—盐币 (Salt Money: A Special Type of Currency which once Circulated on the Markets in the Southwest of our Country), *Zhongguo qianbi* 中国钱币 (China Numismatics), 4 (1997): 65, mentions Ethiopia with the Kingdom's salt currency, as well as Abyssinia, which had salt currency consisting of pieces 10 inches long and 2 inches thick.



Source: http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amole; author Bertramz (accessed May 24, 2012).

Figure 25. A bar of salt used as currency in Ethiopia.

with a silver *talari*, while in Harar one received 7 to 8 *amolé* for the same amount.[29] In the beginning of the twentieth century five different currencies circulated in Ethiopia which served different monetary purposes. These were the Maria Theresa Dollar (*talari*), Indian silver rupees, Italian paper *lira, amolé*, and cotton cloth. Tax revenues and state expenditures were transacted in gold, *talari, amolé*, ivory and cotton cloth, with *amolé* having a share of about 27 percent in tax income in 1903.[30]

Salt money also circulated in pre-Columbian America, in Mexico and in the Andes. Mansizabal reports, for instance, that the Indios used salt for paying for small items.[31] Salt rods served as currency also for the Lun Bawang or Lun Dayeh in the northwest of Eastern Kalimantan in Borneo. Tom Harrison (1911–1976) reported in 1945/1946 that the salt of Kelabit-Kerayan was used as means of payment. The lowest means of payment was

[29] René Sedillot, *Muscheln, Münzen und Papier: Die Geschichte des Geldes*, Frankfurt, New York: Campus Verlag, 1992, p. 39.

[30] On the use and functions of salt money in Ethiopia see especially Richard Pankhurst, "'Primitive Money' in Ethiopia," *Journal de la Societé des Africanistes*, 32.2 (1962), pp. 213–247; Kuroda Akinobu, "The Maria Theresa Dollar in the Early Twentieth-century Red Sea Region: A Complementary Interface between Multiple Markets," *Financial History Review*, 14 (2007): 89–110; http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amole (accessed May 24, 2012).

[31] Mansizabal, *Relaciones des Meztitlan*, as referred to in Bloch (1975/1976), p. 252.

borak liquor, followed by salt, and by buffaloes as the highest.[32] Another example can be seen in the Baruya of New Guinea who, in the late twentieth century, still made salt from plant ashes and produced three different kinds of bars 60 to 72 cm long and 10 to 13 cm wide, with an average weight of about 1.8 kg. These salt bars were apparently used as a medium of exchange for all goods and services needed by the Baruya.[33] Thus, in historical periods salt currency could serve as a monetary substitute, similar to cacao beans which constituted a major currency system in pre-Columbian Mesoamerican civilizations.[34] Salt and cacao shared the common characteristics that they were used both as means of payment and for consumption.

We have seen above that Marco Polo is the only non-Chinese author who referred to the use of cowry currency in southwestern China prior to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The same statement also holds true for the mentioning of the circulation of salt as money in this region. Therefore, I will first discuss Marco Polo's reports about salt currency and then present a complete history of Yunnan salt monies, from their beginning to the mid-twentieth century.[35] By proceeding in this way, it is

---

[32] See Martin Baier, "Salzgewinnung und Töpferei der Dayak im nordwestlichen Ost-Kalimantan (Indonesisch-Borneo)," *Tribus* (*Jahrbuch des Linden-Museums*), 54 (2005): 62, referring to Tom Harrison, *World Within*, London: The Cresset Press, 1959, p. 83.

[33] Maurice Godelier, "La 'monnaie de sel' des Baruya de Nouvelle-Guinée," *L'homme: Revue française d'anthropologie*, 9.2 (1969): 11, 18–19, 27.

[34] See, for instance, the following passage in chap. 3 of José de Acosta, *Historia Moral y Natural de las Indias Orientales*, Sevilla: Juan de Léon, 1590, which was pointed out to me by Beatriz Puente-Ballesteros: "Había algunas cosas de más estima que corrían por precio en lugar de dinero; y hasta el día de hoy dura entre los indios esta costumbre. Como en las provincias de Méjico usan de cacao, que es una frutilla, en lugar de dinero, y con ella rescatan lo que quieren. En el Perú sirve de lo mismo la coca, que es una hoja que los indios precian mucho. Como en el Paraguay usan cuños de hierro por moneda, y en Santa Cruz de la Sierra algodón tejido." On the role of cacao beans as small money see now especially Arturo Giraldez, "Cacao Beans in Colonial México: Small Change in a Global Economy," manuscript, 2010. I am gratefull to Prof. Giraldez for having sent me a copy of his manuscript.

[35] The first Chinese scholar who paid substantial attention to the salt currencies of *Tebet* and Yunnan and to Marco Polo's records appears to have been the famous Yunnan historian and anthropologist Fang Guoyu. See Fang Guoyu 方国瑜, "Yunnan yong bei zuo huobi de shidai ji bei de laiyuan—fu: Yunnan yong yankuai dai qian de jizai" 云南用贝作货币的时代及贝的来源—附：云南用盐块代钱的记载 (On the Period during which Yunnan Used Cowry as Money and the Origin of Cowry: With an Appendix Containing Records of the Substitution of Money by Salt Pieces in Yunnan), *Yunnan shehui kexue* 云南社会科学 (Yunnan Social Sciences), 1 (1981): 24–41, especially p. 41. See also Fang Guoyu and Lin Chaomin 林超民, "Yanbi" 盐币 (Salt Currency), in their *"Make Boluo xingji" Yunnan shidi congkao* 《马可波罗行纪》云南史地丛考 (Collected Investigations on the Historical Geography of Yunnan Related to *Marco Polo's Travels*), Beijing: Minzu

not only the uniqueness of Marco Polo's account that will be again highlighted, but also due consideration will be given to Yunnan's particular monetary situation, characterized by the adoption of both cowry and salt currencies, and also by the concurrent use of gold, silver, and—later—paper money. As we have already mentioned, the conditions in Yunnan contrasted with other regions of the Yuan empire, where for the most part only paper money was current. Independently from each other, both the Venetian's report and the information obtained from Chinese sources are in agreement in their description of the general monetary conditions and developments in China under Mongol rule.

The dates suggested by Chinese and Western researchers for Marco Polo's mission to Yunnan vary widely, as at least nine different suggestions have been proposed.[36] For instance, according to Stephen G. Haw's opinion, Marco Polo made his earliest visit to Yunnan at some time between 1276 and 1280, followed probably by another travel as far as Mian (Burma) after the fall of most of this country to the Khan's armies in 1287.[37] A much narrower date for Marco Polo's first and only travel to Yunnan is, however, suggested by Fang Guoyu and Lin Chaomin who think that this trip lasted from about May 1287 to April 1288.[38] Another Chinese historian, Peng Hai,

---

chubanshe, 1994, pp. 127–128. On the difficulties with the publication of this seminal work as a book, ten years after the death of Fang Guoyu, see Tan Xiaolin 谭晓琳 and Gong Jianzhong 弓建中, "Xin yi lun de zhiyi yu huida: 'Make Boluo daoguo Zhonguo ma?' suo yinfa de lunzhan ji sikao" 新一轮的质疑与回答—《马可波罗到过中国吗？》所引发的论战及思考 (A New Round of Doubts and Answers: Debates and Reflections Aroused by "Did Marco Polo Go to China?"), *Mengguxue xinxi* 蒙古学信息 (Mongol Studies News), 3 (1999): 25. This was then followed by studies of Chai Jiguang, Dong Xianqing, Chen Ran, Huang Peilin and Zhong Changyong, Wu Chengyue, and Zhao Xiaoping, of which the most original and substantial study is that of Dong Xianqing. See Chai Jiguang 柴继光, "Qite de Yunnan *yanbi*" 奇特的云南盐币 (The Peculiar Salt Currency of Yunnan), in his *Zhongguo yan wenhua* 中国盐文化 (The Salt Culture of China), Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe, 1991, pp. 148–154; Dong Xianqing (1991), pp. 539–556; Chen Ran (1997); Huang Peilin and Zhong Changyong (1997), pp. 239–254 (basically identical with the article of Dong Xianqing); Wu Chengyue 吴承越, "Yan yu Dian yanbi" 盐与滇盐币 (Salt and Yunnan Salt Currency), *Yanyeshi yanjiu* 盐业史研究 (Salt Industry History Research), 2 (1997): 43; Zhao Xiaoping 赵小平, "Lishi shiqi Yunnan yanbi liutong tanxi 历史时期云南盐币流通探析 (A Study of the Circulation of Yunnan Salt Currency in Historical Times), *Yanyeshi yanjiu*, 2 (2007): 13–19.

[36] See Shi Jianjun 石坚军, "Make Boluo chushi Yunnan shijian kao" 马可波罗出使云南时间考 (An Investigation on the Date of Marco Polo's Mission to Yunnan), *Yunnan shifan daxue xuebao* (*zhexue shehui kexue ban*) 云南师范大学学报 (哲学社会科学版) (Yunnan Normal University Journal (Philosophy and Social Sciences Issue)), 39.1 (2007): 68.

[37] Haw (2006), pp. 94, 107.

[38] Fang Guoyu and Lin Chaomin (1994), p. 15.

gives the date 1278–1280,[39] while Shi Jianjun argues for a period from 1281 to 1282.[40]

Regardless of the exact date of the Venetian's travels to Southwest China, let me present here Marco Polo's records of the use of salt currency and the exchange of salt for gold in *Tebet* and the Province of Caindu[41] in Yule's English translation.[42] This will serve as a basis for comparison with information on salt currencies transmitted by Chinese sources from the periods before and after the Yuan period. Marco Polo describes the people of *Tebet* as follows:

> [Text MP A]
> Those rascals have great numbers of large and fine dogs, which are of great service in catching the musk-beasts, and so they procure great abundance of musk. They have none of the Great Kaan's paper money, but use salt instead of money. They are very poorly clad, for their clothes are only of the skins of beasts, and of canvas, and of buckram.[43] They have a language of their own, and they are called Tebet.[44]

Moreover, concerning the Province of Caindu, in the present-day region of Xichang in southern-most Sichuan, Marco Polo reports the following monetary practices:

> [Text MP B]
> The money matters of the people are conducted in this way. They have gold in rods which they weigh, and they reckon its value by its weight in *saggi*, but they have no coined money. Their small change again is made in this way. They have salt which they boil and set in a mould and every piece from the mould weighs about half a pound. Now, 80 moulds of this salt are worth one *saggio* of fine gold, which is a weight so called. So this salt serves them for small change.[45]

---

[39] Peng Hai (2010), pp. 90–92, 132, 143–144.

[40] Shi Jianjun (2007).

[41] Gaindu, Kaindu, etc.; Jiandu 建都 or Jianchang 建昌, now Xichang 西昌 in Sichuan Province. For the identification of this toponym see Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, pp. 728–730; Haw (2006), pp. 98–100.

[42] For passages on salt currency in the most important Marco Polo manuscripts and print version see Appendix 7, where, for the sake of convenience for the reader, they are numbered V 1, V 2, etc.

[43] For Pelliot buckram is high-quality cotton-cloth. See his *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, pp. 110–112. On the difficulties to identify this cloth (or: these cloths) see Cardona (1975), pp. 568–570.

[44] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 45.

[45] Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 54.

While there is quite a number of the more detailed and longer manuscripts of Marco Polo's account that provide the above-mentioned information on the use of salt money in *Tebet* and Caindu for small change as well as on the value of the salt [at the saltworks], it is only Ramusio's version of the mid-sixteenth century that provides the following additional information:

> [Text MP C]
> [They have salt which they boil and set in a mould] flat below and round above, as big as a twopenny loaf, [...] on the money so made the Prince's mark is printed; and no one is allowed to make it except the royal officers. [...] And merchants take this currency and go to those tribes that dwell among the mountains of those parts in the wildest and most unfrequented quarters; and there they get a *saggio* of gold for 60, or 50, or 40 pieces of this salt money, in proportion as the natives are more barbarous and more remote from towns and civilized folk. For in such positions they cannot dispose at pleasure of their gold and other things, such as musk and the like, for want of purchasers; and so they give them cheap. [...] And the merchants travel also about the mountains and districts of Tebet, disposing of this salt money in like manner to their own great gain. For those people, besides buying necessaries from the merchants, want this salt to use in their food; whilst in the towns only broken fragments are used in food, the whole cakes being kept to use as money.[46]

Before we enter into an analysis of the contents of these texts as a whole, the question of the trustworthiness of the Ramusio passage has to receive a certain amount of discussion. Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485–1557) was the author of an important collection of travel writings called *Delle navigationi e viaggi* (1550–1559) which included his version of Marco Polo's journey. In about 1520, at the suggestion of the humanist Girolamo Fracastero (1478–1553), he began his long search for geographic narratives and documents, with the help of Fracastero, Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), and the cartographer Giacomo Gastaldi (1500–1566).

The authenticity of the Ramusio version has been often questioned. Frances Wood writes that a significant point of early, i.e. pre-sixteenth century, versions of *Descriptions of the World* is their brevity. For her, "the early texts certainly cut Marco Polo down to size and, without much of the elaborate description and re-telling of tales that was added later," especially by the mid-fifteenth-century Z manuscript of Toledo[47] and by

[46] Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 57.

[47] Moule and Pelliot, *Marco Polo: The Description of the World*, vol. 1, p. 47, claimed that Sir Percival David rediscovered the Toledo manuscript in 1932. In his review of Moule and

Ramusio one century later.[48] In another article, she criticizes the tendency of many scholars to produce "composite" versions of Marco Polo's work, incorporating passages, phrases and words from a variety of different sources. She argues that most of the readers had only short printed texts of Polo's "marvels" at their disposal, unencumbered by the 200 "new passages" of the Toledo manuscript and Ramusio's expanded and annotated rendering. In her view the manuscripts of the Polo text "grew" throughout the centuries, as copyists came across new material on China which they added freely so that what appears in fifteenth-century manuscripts may well be of the fourteenth or fifteenth century in origin and may have nothing to do with Marco Polo of the thirteenth century.[49]

Other researchers are, however, much less sceptical about the value of the Ramusio version. In the introduction to the modern edition of the early French manuscript B1, published in 2004, Philippe Ménard states that Ramusio's text no doubt preserved additional annotations added by Marco Polo to his report during the course of his life.[50] According to Ramusio's own account, he made use for his own compilation not only of the original Zelada Codex (Z manuscript of Toledo), but also of a Latin text similar to the Z manuscript, which he, in his own words, had obtained from the Ghisi family.[51] As James Homer Herriott wrote in 1937, many of the puzzling passages in Ramusio can also be found in an eighteenth-century Latin copy of the Toledo manuscript. This copy was made in 1795 by order of Giuseppe Toaldo (1719–1798), a Paduan astronomer, geographer and collector of Polian manuscripts, and is now stored in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan. The Toledo manuscript was lent to Toaldo by the Spanish Cardinal Francisco Xavier de Zelada (1717–1801) who had papal legates bring it to Italy. Luigi Foscolo Benedetto (1886–1966), who carefully analyzed Ramusio's editing methods is convinced that the Toaldo copy is a descendent of the manuscript 'da marauigliosa antichità' belonging to the Ghisi family, as he found in the new manuscript not only the

---

Pelliot's work, however, James Homer Herriott, a North-American Hispanist, made clear that he was the first to have found this manuscript again. See his "The Zelada Manuscript of Marco Polo," *The Geographical Review*, 29.1 (1939): 172. Cf. also Reichert (1992), p. 155.

48 Wood (1996), pp. 302–303.

49 Wood (2000), pp. 68, 71, 72, 73n11.

50 Jean-Claude Faucon, Danielle Quéruel, and Monique Santucci, *L'empereur Khoubilai Khan*, in Philippe Ménard (ed.), *Marco Polo: Le devisement du monde*, Genève: Librairie Droz S. A., 2004, vol. 3, p. 14.

51 Reichert (1992), p. 156.

counterpart for almost all of Ramusio's perplexing passages, but also many additional pieces not found elsewhere.[52]

While it cannot be denied that *Le devisament dou monde* had been subjected to substantial processes of editing by copyists and publishers, who did not show any philological respect or awareness with regard to the text in front of them, this literary reworking not only comprised the addition of more material to individual manuscript versions (as is claimed by Frances Wood), but certainly also included the deletion of a substantial amount of material which was not deemed interesting or meaningful in the eyes of latter-day editors. As to the texts on salt monies, salt production and salt revenue discussed here,[53] with the exception of Text MP C contained only in the Ramusio version, all the other passages (Texts MP A, B, D, E, and F) can not only be found in the early Franco-Italian, French, and Latin versions, but also in the Venetian and Tuscan renderings. There is, however, no doubt that a number of manuscripts exist with a clear tendency to drop the passages dealing with salt. This concerns especially some Venetian manuscripts as well as Spanish ones, but, for instance, not the printed version of Santaella of 1503, which was based on Pipino's text. It is hard to figure out what could have been the additional sources of information if these were not passages having their origin in Marco Polo himself. Not only do I not know of any other Western, Persian or Arabic author who reported on Chinese salt production in such detail—and, especially, on salt money before the sixteenth century or even later—but it is also difficult to imagine how such specific and detailed information could have been transmitted within the environment of the rather closed-up China of the early "Han-nationalistic" Ming period (1368–1644), compared with the more cosmopolitan situation during the Mongol empire. Hence I cannot see any reason why the more detailed Text MP C of the Ramusio version should have its origin in an author other than Marco Polo himself, especially because it harmonizes perfectly with the conditions described in Texts MP A and B.

Frances Wood's view on the Polo manuscript transmission has its predecessors. Already in 1947 Léon Dieu discarded Benedetto's assumption of a growing impoverishment of the original text and argued that it is exactly to the contrary—namely, that the short version is the original one,

---

[52] James Homer Herriott, "The 'Lost' Toledo Manuscript of Marco Polo," *Speculum*, 12.4 (1937): 459–460.

[53] See Appendix 7.

to which later editors added extraneous material. In other words, for him the Franco-Italian version (V 1) represents most of the original thought of Marco Polo, while Ramusio's edition and the Z manuscript have to be considered additions introduced by later editors, based on new reports, especially of missionary origin.[54] But of which missionary origin, one should ask, given the fact that with the fall of the Mongol empire, foreign Christian presence in China almost disappeared completely and was not re-established before the late sixteenth century, i.e. a long time after Ramusio's version had been published?[55]

Dieu's opinion that the Franco-Italian version is the most authentic one is a view that would certainly also be shared by Philippe Ménard, an expert in French mediaeval literature and editor-in-chief of the early French Marco Polo manuscript B1. For him, the Franco-Italian text and the Z manuscript represent the most complete versions of Marco Polo's account, the former being nearest to the Venetian traveller's original, but now lost, text. He, however, also stresses time and again that in spite of the about two-hundred passages found only in the Z manuscript (and in Ramusio), the Z text is already a considerably shortened version in comparison with the Franco-Italian rendering. The French manuscript family constitutes for him one of the early phases of the reception of the famous account of Marco Polo. In contrast to this, Pipino's manuscript is a new reflection of the text strongly influenced by an ecclesiastical milieu, but still carried out very early, i.e. before 1317. Contrary to his German colleague Barbara Wehr, Ménard does not consider the Venetian Marco Polo version as the authentic one, nor does it form for him the basis of the Pipino rendering. He is of the opinion that especially the Venetian, but also the Tuscian version are abbreviations of the Franco-Italian and French manuscripts. It is for him impossible to believe that they constituted

---

[54] Cf. Henze (2000), vol. 4, p. 170, referring to Léon Dieu, "Marco Polo: Quel est le text authentique de sa relation?" *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 42 (1947): 112ff.

[55] See Van Mechelen, "Yuan," and Claudia von Collani, "Missionaries," in Nicolas Standaert (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One: 635–1800*, Brill: Leiden (*Handbook of Oriental Studies*, Section Four, China; 15/1), 2001, pp. 96–97 and 295, 309, respectively; Richard C. Foltz, *Religions of the Silk Road: Overland Trade and Cultural Exchange from Antiquity to the Fifteenth Century*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999, p. 133.

See also Jandesek (1992), pp. 127–141, 343–348, who states that after the fall of the Yuan dynasty the relatively regular flow of information from China came to an end, the only exception being the report of Nicolò de Conti and the hearsay of a foreigner from the Far East which were collected in Poggio Bracciolini's (1380–1459) *Historia de varietate fortunae* of ca. 1450. Both accounts deal, however, only very marginally with China and do not provide new information. Nicolò de Conti had probably never been in China.

authentic redactions, earlier than those of the more rich Franco-Italian and French texts.[56] Ménard's conclusions basically agree with the findings of other philologists, such as Alvaro Barbieri, who speaks of general progressing reduction and impoverishment of the original account in the course of time.[57] The investigation undertaken in this book on Chinese monies, salt and revenue as mentioned by Marco Polo basically confirms Ménard's and Barbieri's characterization and evaluation of the various manuscripts of Polo's account. In the case of salt, not only are the Venetian and Tuscan manuscripts very much abbreviated and deficient, but this applies even more clearly and unmistakably to the Sessa version printed in 1496.[58]

After this short excursion into the complexities of the manuscript transmissions of Marco Polo's account, let me now first mention the characteristics pertaining to the salt monies current in *Tebet* and the Caindu region as they have been presented in the three passages above. This will then serve as a basis from which to discuss these characteristics in the following chapters in comparison mostly with Chinese source material: Text MP A makes clear that, *first*, no paper money as it was legal tender in other parts of China was used in *Tebet*, but salt money instead. Text MP B shows us that, *second*, salt money was used for small exchange in the Caindu region and that, *third*, it stood in an exchange relation with gold, the latter certainly a means of payment for large transactions. The *fourth* type of information refers to the weight of the salt loaves as they were used in Caindu. The passage mentions "half a pound."[59] If we assume that "pound" referred to a Venetian *libbra grossa* of 477.49 g,[60] then "half a pound" would amount to about 239 g or, in terms of average *liang* weights (38 g) of the Yuan period,[61] to about 6.3 *liang*. Ramusio's version, i.e. Text MP C, shows us a number of additional interesting details of the Caindu salt money. It makes clear, *fifth*, that some sort of governmental control must have existed which at least guaranteed a certain standard of the salt

[56] Ménard (2003), pp. 7–19.

[57] See Barbieri, "Quale 'Milione'? . . .," in his *Dal viaggo al libro: Studi sul* Milione, p. 61.

[58] As was already mentioned in chapter I.3 Frances Wood thinks highly of the Sessa rendering which she describes as being unencumbered by the 200 "new" passages of the Z manuscript, thus giving rise to the definitely wrong impression of a high degree of authenticity of this printed edition.

[59] The Franco-Italian text (V 1), e.g., has "dimi livre," the French early versions (V 2, V 3) have "demie livre," and the Tuscan manuscript version *Milione* (V 8) writes "mezza libbra." The Venetian manuscript version (VA3) *Milione* of Padova (V 7), however, speaks of "tornexelo pizolo." See Appendix 7.

[60] See Appendix 4.

[61] See Appendix 6.

loaves by stamping them with the Prince's mark. *Sixth*, while the value of the salt cakes was such that one could receive 80 moulds of them for 1 *saggio* of gold [at the saltworks], merchants could make large profits in distant, mountainous regions were salt was rare and highly appreciated, so that people there gave 1 *saggio* of gold for 60, 50 or 40 pieces only or exchanged it for other goods of high value, especially musk. A *seventh* and final point to be mentioned is the ambiguous nature of salt, i.e. its use as money when still consisting of whole cakes and its consumption as condiment when broken.

The salt loaves used in the region of Caindu, as mentioned by Marco Polo, were probably made in a place that is now located in southernmost Sichuan, in the saltworks of Yanyuan 鹽源 (lit. "Salt Source"; see Map 8) which was first mentioned for the Western Han period (206 BC–24 AD), but possibly was already in operation much earlier. During the Western Han Period and the Shu Kingdom (221–263), Dingzuo 定莋 is mentioned as a place producing salt or possessing a salt marsh. During the Tang period (618–907) the location was called Kunming 昆明 (not to be confused with Kunming in Yunnan Province) and was reported to have a salt well.[62] It became the cause of fierce battles between the Tibetans, the Nanzhao Kingdom and the Tang empire, all of them aspiring to have control over this important salt production site. The Tibetans took over Kunming and the "City of Salt" (Yancheng 鹽城) in the latter part of the seventh century, but the territory was subsequently conquered by the Tang in 729, only to be lost again to the Tibetans later. In 794 this saltworks came temporarily under the control of the Nanzhao kingdom. As Charles Backus writes, in his authorative history of the Nanzhao Kingdom, salt was the most essential resource that the Tibetans hoped to acquire. Therefore, they fought mightily to maintain control of it, even after losing domination over this region.[63] This accords well with the Ramusio passage stating that during Marco Polo's time the Tibetans were willing to exchange precious goods in order to obtain this indispensable mineral.

In the late nineteenth century Alexander Hosie (1853–1925) saw the Yanyuan saltworks and described the place in the following words:

---

[62] Hans Ulrich Vogel, *Untersuchungen über die Salzgeschichte von Sichuan (3111 v.Chr.-1911): Strukturen des Monopols und der Produktion*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag (Münchener Ostasiatische Studien; 51), 1990, pp. 68, 71, 74.

[63] Backus (1981), pp. 30, 40, 99.

> The brine wells from which the salt is derived lie at Pai yen ching [Baiyanjing 白鹽井], fourteen miles to the south-west of the city [of Yanyuan] [...] [they] are only two in number, and comparatively shallow, being only fifty feet in depth. Bamboo tubes, ropes and buffaloes are here dispensed with, and small wooden tubs, with bamboos fixed to their sides as handles for raising, are considered sufficient. At one of the wells a staging was erected half way down, and from it the tubs of brine were passed up to the workmen above.[64]

During the days of Marco Polo the Yuanyuan saltworks may not have looked much different. It was one of the quite primitive saltworks, as was typical for Yunnan Province, including the southern part of today's Sichuan Province.

3. Chinese Sources on Salt Currencies (Late Eighth to Mid-Twentieth Centuries)

> 麗水城有羅苴井，長傍諸山皆有鹽井，當地諸蠻自食，無榷稅。蠻法煮鹽，咸有法令。顆鹽每顆約一兩二兩，有交易即以顆計之。[65]

In this chapter I will present ample evidence that salt was used as currency in Yunnan and adjacent regions from at least the late eighth up to the mid-twentieth centuries. All this shows that Marco Polo's account is in perfect accordance with the particularities of the monetary history in Southwest China. Moreover, it has to be stressed that, with the exception of the earliest Chinese report written by Fan Chuo in the mid-ninth century, we owe Marco Polo the second earliest account of salt money in absolute terms and that Yuan sources themselves are almost silent on the use of salt as a medium of exchange. Given the long history of the use of salt currency in Southwest China it appears strange that the absolute number of Chinese records is relatively small. This is, however, less surprising when taking into account that salt currency was the product of particular regional demand and supply conditions and of specific ethnic

---

[64] Alexander Hosie, *Three Years in Western China: A Narrative of Three Journeys in Ssŭch'uan, Kuei-chow, and Yün-nan*, first ed. London and Liverpool: Philip, 1890; second ed. 1897, p. 121.

[65] *Yunnan zhi jiaoshi* 雲南志校釋 (A Record of Yunnan, Collated and Annotated), written by Fan Chuo 樊綽, ca. mid-ninth century; collated and annotated by Zhao Lüfu 趙吕甫, Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1985, chap. 7. For a translation, see below.

circumstances. In other words, it was not a creation of governmental actors nor did it catch high-pitched monetary or fiscal attention of rulers or high-level administrators in comparison to other currencies. Thus, it is not surprising that it found relatively rare mention in the basically elite and state-oriented sources of the Chinese imperial period.

3.1. *Nanzhao Kingdom (Late Eighth Century)*

In the early seventh century salt (*yan* 鹽), together with rice and cloth, was often used as medium of exchange in Lingnan 嶺南 (Guangdong and Guangxi) instead of cash coins,[66] but it was particularly in Yunnan where salt played a permanent role in the monetary system. Fan Chuo's 樊綽 *Yunnan zhi* 雲南志 (Records of Yunnan), a work of the mid-ninth century, mentions the use of salt lumps in business transactions in westernmost Yunnan in a passage describing conditions at the very end of the eighth century. So far, this is the first record which we have on the use of salt currency in this province:

> [Text C 1]
> Lishui City 麗水城[67] has the Luoju Well 羅苴井. The various mountains of Changbang 長傍諸山[68] have salt wells. The various Man 蠻 [Southern Barbarians] of this locality eat it free, without toll or duty. The Man method is to boil the salt; and there is the [governmental] decree (*faling* 法令) that they must make it into lumps (*ke* 顆), each lump of salt [to weigh] about 1 or 2 *liang*. Whenever business is transacted, they reckon by the lump [of salt].[69]

This passage demonstrates that a specific decree existed, issued probably by the Nanzhao government, which seems not only to have defined the shape of the salt lumps, but also their weight. Apparently two denominations of salt money circulated, namely lumps of 1 or 2 *liang*.[70] Fan Chuo also tells us that these salt lumps were used in business transactions and that they thus functioned as a medium of exchange and a measure of value.

---

[66] *Suishu* 隋書 ([History] Records of the Sui [Dynasty]), by Wei Zheng 魏徵 et al., 636–656, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973, vol. 3, chap. 24, p. 690.

[67] Probably present-day Lijiang 麗江 or Lanping 蘭平, or a place near these two locations.

[68] There was a Changbang City, which was located west of the Salwen River, in present-day Burma. See Tan Qixiang (chief ed.) (1982), vol. 5, 80–81, 4/3. Cf. also *Yunnan zhi jiaoshi*, p. 265n8.

[69] *Yunnan zhi jiaoshi*, chap. 7, p. 263; Luce (transl.) and Oey (ed.) (1961), p. 69. Fang Guoyu (1981), p. 41, says that this passage refers to the year 794.

[70] An alternative reading may be: "from about 1 to 2 *liang*."

3.2. *Yuan Period (Early Fourteenth Century)*

So far, the only evidence, albeit rather faint, alluding to the use of salt as currency in Yunnan that we have from Chinese sources of the Mongol period (1260–1368) comes from the Yuan comprehensive geographical account of 1303 and from the "Draft Account of Yunnan" (*Yunnan zhilüe* 雲南志略) of 1303 or 1304. The comprehensive geographical account says that in the Jianchang Route 建昌路,[71] i.e. Marco Polo's Caindu, buffaloes, sheep, salt, horses, felt and cloth were traded for profit (*niu yang yan ma zhan bu, tongshang huozhi* 牛羊鹽馬氈布, 通商貨殖).[72] Of very similar phrasing is the "Draft Account of Yunnan" by Li Jing who states the following for the region around Yongchang 永昌—that is, present-day Baoshan 保山 or Marco Polo's Zardandan:

> The Hundred Barbarians of Jinchi 金齒 hold market every five days. In the morning the women are meeting on the market, at noon the men. They mutually trade with felt, cloth, salt and tea (*yi zhan bu yan cha huxiang maoyi* 以毡布鹽茶互相貿易).[73]

Evidence provided by these two passages is faint insofar as they do not make clear whether salt was simply a strategic good in barter trade or whether it really served as currency in the sense of a medium of exchange. It is probably the first interpretation which is more appropriate for them. At any rate, however, both texts show that salt was one of the key commodities in these regions.

3.3. *Ming Period (Mid-Fifteenth Century)*

For the Ming period (1368–1644), especially the *Yunnan tujing zhishu* 雲南圖經志書 (Records of Yunnan [Province] with Maps [and Illustrations]) of 1455 offers information on the use of salt lumps as currency in the departments of Yaozhou and Lanzhou and the prefectures of Wuding, Zhenyuan and Chuxiong—that is, for the most part in central and

---

[71] Tan Qixiang (chief ed.) (1982), vol. 7, 25–26, 2/7.

[72] Cf. *Yuan yitong zhi* 元一統志 (Comprehensive Account of Administrative Geography of the Yuan), by Beilan 孛蘭, printed in the Dade reign-period (1297–1307); collated and compiled by Zhao Wanli 赵万里, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1966, vol. 1, chap. 7 (Jianchanglu 建昌路), p. 565; Dong Xianqing (1991), p. 542. See also *Da Qing yitong zhi* 大清一統志 (Comprehensive Account of Administrative Geography of the Great Qing), preface 1842, ed. electronic *Siku quanshu* of the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin), chap. 305, which instead of *huo zhi* 貨殖 has *zhi huo* 殖貨, with no dramatic change in meaning, however.

[73] *Yunnan zhilüe*, "Zhuyi fengsu" 諸夷風俗, in Fang Guoyu (chief ed.), *Yunnan shiliao congkan*, vol. 3, p. 129.

western Yunnan, but also including the prefecture of Zhenyuan in southern Yunnan (Map 8). The entries read as follows:

> [Text C 2]
> Wuding Prefecture 武定府
> Salt is used for trade (*jiaoyi yong yan* 交易用鹽). In exchanging things which they have for those which they don't have, the indigenous people (*turen* 土人) use only salt lumps (*yankuai* 鹽塊), but no cowry (*haiba* 海貝).[74]

> [Text C 3]
> Zhenyuan Prefecture 鎮沅府
> [...] the colour of the salt [produced by leaching ashes] is mixed of black and white and its taste is very bitter. It popularly is called "chicken-droppings salt" (*jifenyan* 鷄糞鹽). It is also used for exchange.[75]

> [Text C 4]
> Chuxiong Prefecture 楚雄府
> Black salt (*heiyan* 黑鹽): The brine spring of the Hei[jing] 黑 and Lang[jing saltworks] 琅 is boiled down for making it. Each lump (*kuai* 塊) weighs 2 *liang*. Soldiers and commoners use it in all trade (*jun min jiaoyi jie yong zhi* 軍民交易皆用之).[76]

> [Text C 5]
> Yaozhou Department 姚州 [of the Tribal Office of Yao'an 姚安軍民府]
> White salt (*baiyan* 白鹽): It is made at the Baiyanjing [saltworks] 白鹽井. Soldiers and commoners use it in all trade (*jun min jiaoyi jie yong zhi*). [...][77]

---

[74] See *Jingtai Yunnan tujing zhishu jiaozhu* 景泰雲南圖經志書校注 (Records of Yunnan [Province] with Maps [and Illustrations] from the Jingtai Reign-period [1450–1456], Collated and Annotated), comp. by Chen Wen 陳文, 1455; collated and annotated by Li Chunlong 李春龙 and Liu Jingmao 刘景毛, ed. Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 2002, chap. 2, Section "Customs" (Fengsu 風俗), p. 144. Cf. also Chai Jiguang (1991), p. 151.

[75] *Jingtai Yunnan tujing zhishu jiaozhu*, chap. 3, Section "Wells and Springs" (Jingquan 井泉), p. 200; Chai Jiguang (1991), p. 151. This passage can also be found in the *Du shi fangyu jiyao* 讀史方輿紀要 (Essentials of Geography while Reading Historical Works), by Gu Zuyu 顧祖禹, 1667, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005, vol. 10, chap. 116, p. 5150, and in *Da Qing yitong zhi*, chap. 386. The *Du shi fangyu jiyao* calls this salt, however, "white chicken-droppings salt" (*bai jifenyan* 白鷄糞鹽).

[76] *Jingtai Yunnan tujing zhishu jiaozhu*, chap. 4, Section "Local Product" (Tuchan 土產), p. 206; Chai Jiguang (1991), p. 151.

[77] *Jingtai Yunnan tujing zhishu jiaozhu*, chap. 4, Section "Local Product" (Tuchan), p. 229; Chai Jiguang (1991), p. 151.

There is a similar passage in the *Yunnan tongzhi* 雲南通志 (Gazetteer of Yunnan Province), comp. by Zhou Jifeng 周季鳳, 1510 ed. (repr. 1553): "For trade they use salt and rice [...] often they exchange salt and rice for other products, thus taking [for this purpose] what they produce." See Dong Xianqing (1991), p. 542. Moreover, the *Dianlüe* says that the Luoluo 羅羅 of Sanmodu or Ximodu 散摩都 are ferocious and like to fight. For exchange they use salt and rice (*jiaoyi yong yan mi* 交易用鹽米). See *Dianlüe* 滇略 (A Brief Account

> [Text C 6]
> Lanzhou Department 蘭州
> Salt lumps (*yankuai*): The indigenous people (*turen* 土人) boil down brine for making it. The large ones have a weight of 1 *jin* 10 *liang*, the small ones of 1 *jin*. They are used in all trade (*jiaoyi jie yong zhi*). [...][78]

During the Ming period, a certain regional concentration can be observed in the use of salt money in Yunnan, as it was particularly in central and northwestern Yunnan where it was current. The exception was Zhenyuan in southern Yunnan, where salt was not produced on the basis of spring brine, but by leaching ashes of firewood. One pre-condition for the adoption of salt currency was the existence of saltworks, which were able to produce salt in sufficient quantities and up to a standard form and quality. The second pre-condition was that these regions were in the neighbourhood of areas with a scarcity of salt, so that salt was in high demand there and was thus exchanged for local products. No doubt, trade between Yunnan's more central regions and the periphery was thus stimulated, and merchants travelled forth and back to import salt and export local products.

3.4. *Qing Period (Eighteenth to Nineteenth Centuries)*

Further records of the use of salt lumps as money are known from the Qing period (1644–1911) (Map 8). The 1712 edition of the gazetteer of Yuanjiang Prefecture 元江府 tells us that:

> [Text C 7]
> [...] in former times cowries were often used in trade, but nowadays exchange is carried out with indigenous salt (*tuyan* 土鹽), which is considered convenient by the Yi 彝 people.[79]

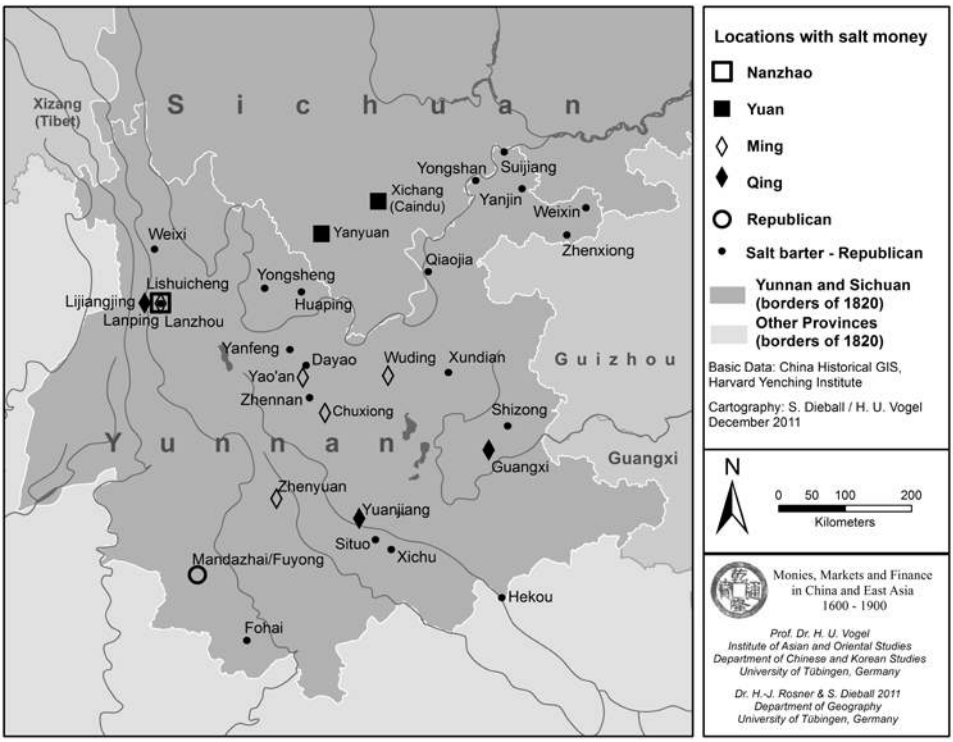
Use of salt as a medium of exchange and a means of payment is also reported from the two prefectures of Guangxi 廣西 and Lin'an 臨安. The 1731 edition of Lin'an Prefecture informs us that in Xichu 溪處 and Situo 思陀 (near present-day Honghe District 紅河縣) salt is used as money in

---

of Dian [Yunnan]), by Xie Zhaozhe 謝肇淛, ca. 1600, ed. electronic version of *Siku quanshu* of the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library, chap. 9.

[78] *Jingtai Yunnan tujing zhishu jiaozhu*, chap. 4, Section "Local Product" (Tuchan), p. 319; Chai Jiguang (1991), p. 151.

[79] *Yuanjiangfu zhi* 元江府志 (Gazetteer of Yuanjiang Prefecture), comp. by Zhang Lücheng 章履成, 1712 ed., chap. 1, "Fengsu" 風俗, quoted by Chai Jiguang (1991), p. 151.



Sources: See text.

Legend:

Chuxiong 楚雄
Dayao 大姚
Fohai 佛海 (Menghai 勐海)
Guangxi 廣西
Hekou 河口
Huaping 華坪
Lanping 蘭坪
Lanzhou 蘭州
Lijiangjing 麗江井
Lishuicheng 麗水城
Mandazhai 蠻大寨 (Fuyong 富永)
Qiaojia 巧家
Situo 思陀
Suijiang 綏江
Weixi 維西
Weixin 威信
Wuding 武定
Xichang 西昌
Xichu 溪處
Xundian 尋甸
Yanfeng 鹽豐
Yanjin 鹽津
Yanyuan 鹽源
Yao'an 姚安
Yongshan 永善
Yongsheng 永勝
Yuanjiang 元江
Zhennan 鎮南
Zhenxiong 鎮雄
Zhenyuan 鎮沅

Map 8. Locations with mentioning of salt money or salt barter in Southwest China, late eighth to mid-twentieth centuries.

transactions (*jiaoyi yong yan wei huo* 交易用鹽為貨).[80] And in the 1714 edition of the gazetteer of Guangxi prefecture we can read that:

> [Text C 8]
> [...] today generally silver and cash are used, but small transactions are reckoned in salt (*xiao jiaoyi yong yan suan* 小交易用鹽算).[81]

A particular feature of conditions in Guangxi Prefecture was that not only did three currencies circulate, but that Guangxi Prefecture was a place with no saltworks in the neighbourhood. This shows that proximity to a saltworks was not the only criterion for the adoption of salt currency. Local scarcity of other forms of small currency like cash coins may have been a reason. As a matter of fact, the increased output of cash in Yunnan did not start before the mid-1730s,[82] but even before that period the exchange rate between cash and silver in Yunnan was high, varying from 1,500 to 1,100 cash coins per 1 *liang* silver.[83] Thus, compared with other regions in China, Yunnan showed an oversupply in cash coins which made cash vis-à-vis silver cheaper there than elsewhere in the empire. While nonetheless a specific local scarcity of cash cannot be excluded, probably the high appreciation of salt in western Yunnan—and, as we will see below, also in Guizhou—may have been an important reason why salt was evaluated so highly and was thus adopted as currency, besides silver and cash coins.

A discussion about the opening of copper mining in Guizhou Province held in the beginning of the Yongzheng reign-period (1723–1735) reveals that in this province east to Yunnan salt also circulated as money:

> [Text C 9]
> In the first year of the Yongzheng reign-period [1723] copper mining was stopped in Guizhou Province: Jin Shiyang 金世揚, Governor of Guizhou, reported in a palace memorial that the terrain in Guizhou Province is barren and precipitous and that there are no places with a concentrated output of

---

[80] *Lin'anfu zhi* 臨安府志 (Gazetteer of Lin'an Prefecture), 1731 ed., chap. 7, "Fengsu" 風俗, quoted by Fang Guoyu (1981), p. 41.

[81] *Guangxifu zhi* 廣西府志 (Gazetteer of Guangxi Prefecture), comp. by Zhao Hongren 趙弘任, 1714 ed., chap. 3, "Shisi" 市肆, quoted by Chai Jiguang (1991), pp. 151–152. Zhao Xiaoping (2007), p. 17, has Guangnan Prefecture, instead of Guangxi Prefecture, which appears to be wrong, however.

[82] See Hans Ulrich Vogel, "Chinese Central Monetary Policy and the Yunnan Copper Mining Industry in the Early Qing (1644–1800)," PhD diss., University of Zürich, 1983, rev. version of 1989, chap. I.5.b and I.5.d; see also Vogel, "Chinese Central Monetary Policy, 1644–1800," *Late Imperial China*, 8.2 (1987): 48.

[83] Vogel (1983), chap. I.2 (Yunnan); Vogel (1987): 48.

> copper. Only one or two copper mines exist which had been closed down for many years. If they were opened now and minting started, then it would be difficult to obtain a good result within a short period, not to speak of the huge labor input and expenses involved. Moreover, Guizhou is a place where Han [Chinese] and Miao 苗 people dwell together. Whenever a market is held, then salt is used in exchange for small transactions, and silver is sold in large transactions. If cash coins were used, this would not be something, which both Han and Miao merchants would really like. And if cash were admixed to soldiers' pay, not only would receiving and transporting [cash] be difficult, but it would also not circulate for very long. Because Guizhou Province is accustomed to the use of silver since long time, it is requested to stop the opening [of mines] in accordance with the old precedents.
> Let this be handed down and known to the Board.[84]

It may also be noted that already Xu Xiake 徐霞客 (1586–1641) had mentioned the use of salt as a medium of exchange in certain regions of Guizhou. During his travels in this province with its chronic shortage of salt this famous traveller had sometimes exchanged salt for rice and flour.[85] Thus, in a similar way to Guangxi Prefecture of Yunnan Province, salt was used for small transactions and silver served as a means of payment in large payments. The difference in Guangxi Prefecture was, however, that cash coins also circulated. The governor of Guizhou argued that the use of silver and salt currency was a long-standing practice and he brought home to the central government the argument that it would have been very difficult to replace salt by cash coins as merchants, commoners and soldiers would not have accepted it.

The approval of Jin Shiyang's proposal to stop mining and refrain from minting did hold for only a very short while and thus proved to have been only a preliminary victory for the adversaries of mining. It is obvious that Jin Shiyang wanted to avoid troubles that were usually feared to be connected with mining activities, such as uncontrollable migrations of miners and unrest in case of the exhaustion of mineral deposits, but in the end the urge for producing more cash in that period of high demand for small currency became overwhelming. From the 1720s onwards Guizhou became an important mining region. While copper was produced there mainly for its own provincial minting activities and only reached a climax of about

---

[84] *Qingchao wenxian tongkao* 清朝文獻通考 (General Investigation of [Important Historical] Records of the Qing Dynasty), comp. by Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉, Ji Huang 嵇璜, Liu Yong 劉墉 and Ji Yun 紀昀, compilation ordered in 1767, completed in 1787, ed. *Shitong* 十通, Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2000, chap. 30, p. 5130a.

[85] See Ding Wenjiang 丁文江 (ed.), *Xu Xiake you ji* 徐霞客游紀 (The Travel Notes of Xu Xiake), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1928, chap. 8, pp. 2, 7.

1 million *jin* per annum in the 1740s, Guizhou became the dominant supplier of zinc and partly also for lead especially for the huge metropolitan mints in Beijing, but also for many provincial mints. Zinc output reached an amazing level of about 14 million *jin* in 1749, while annual lead production may have fluctuated between 500,000 to 700,000 jin in the early 1740s.[86] A mint was opened in Bijie 畢節, in Guizhou, in 1736 which cast annually roughly 428,400 strings of cash coins. The increase of the cash output was doubled in 1739 to 856,800 strings and in 1744 increased to 1,094,800 strings. The intention of the increase of 1744 was to have cash circulated in the regions inhabited by the Miao and Luoluo.[87] A consequence of this may well have been that cash gradually replaced salt currencies in many regions and many transaction types.

While the role of salt as currency was generally declining in Yunnan during the Qing period and was replaced in this respect by monetary silver and copper cash, a few regions still continued to use salt as money. Notably these were regions in southern and southeastern Yunnan which had no, or only a few, salt wells and where salt was therefore more highly appreciated than in other places. These were probably rather secluded areas with fewer commercial activities than in other, more central parts of Yunnan. Such conditions also prevailed in other peripheral areas of Yunnan, where the indigenous population continued to use salt as medium of exchange and a means of payment, in some places well into the twentieth century. This is how the gazetteer of Lijiang Prefecture 麗江府 of 1743 describes the particular situation in the areas near the [Lijiang] salt wells where salt played an important role in securing the supply of food and fuel of the salt producers:

> [Text C 10]
> The Lisu 傈僳, Baju 巴苴 [Pumi people 普米族], Qiuren 求人 [Dulong people 獨龍族], and the Nuren 怒人 in the neighbourhood of the Lijiang [brine] wells have no shopping streets and markets nearby. For selling and purchasing they are not used to taking cash. Grains and fuel can be exchanged for salt only. This is the reason that until now [the salt producers] have not received fuel funds (*xinben* 薪本) [from the government] for salt boiling, but that [instead of this] one half of the salt output is given to the salt hearths [i.e. the salt producers] for the procurement of fuel. The salt producers give this salt to the barbarians (*yiren* 夷人) in exchange for

[86] Vogel (1983), chap. IV.1 and IV.2.b.
[87] Vogel (1983), Appendix D, Guizhou, Bijie mint.

> firewood and grain which serve the supply of boiling operations and for covering [living] expenses respectively.[88]

Instead of the salt producers having to deliver all the salt to the government and receiving from it money and so-called "fuel funds" in exchange, the officials only collected one half of the salt output, leaving the other half to the salt producers who used it for obtaining firewood and grain from the indigenous population in the neighbourhood. Thus, in contrast to other Yunnan salt production places, no special funds for supporting fuel procurement were advanced to the Lijiang salt producers, probably because officials considered granting them independent marketing of one half of the salt output an adequate and comparable favour.

In the late nineteenth century, a number of Western explorers reported the continued existence of salt money. In the 1870s Ferdinand von Richthofen (1833–1905) wrote that salt was an object much sought after by the wild Lolos (Luoluo), and that to steal it was a chief target of their constant raids on Chinese villages.[89] And M. Francis Garnier (1839–1873), in the 1860s, gave an account of the use of salt currency amount the Shan people. He said that salt currency had a very wide diffusion from Muang Yong, in the Burman-Shan country, to Sheu-pin (in Yunnan, about lat. 23 deg. 43'). In the Shan markets, especially within the limits named, all purchases were made with salt. At Simao 思茅 and Pu'er 普洱, however, silver, weighed and cut in small pieces was used as currency, tending to drive out a custom, which in Garnier's view must have been universal in these regions in former days.[90] In the late nineteenth or early twentieth century the Swedish explorer Sven Hedin (1865–1952) noticed in the village Pasa-guk, near the Tschaktak-tsangpo, a *serai* with a large stock of salt bags. A market was held there from time to time whereby salt served as small money.[91]

---

[88] *Lijiangfu zhilüe* 麗江府志略 (Abridged Gazetteer of Lijiang Prefecture), comp. by Guan Xuexuan 管學宣 and Wan Xianyan 萬咸燕, 1743 ed., ed. *Zhongguo Xi'nan wenxian congshu, diyi ji* 中國西南文獻叢書,第一輯 (Collection of Documents of Southwest China, First Series); *Xi'nan xijian fangzhi wenxian* 西南希見方志文獻 (Rare Documents and Local Gazetteers from the Southwest), Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 2003, vol. 25, chap. *shang*, p. 159. See also the quotation in Dong Xianqing (1991), p. 553. Chai Jiguang (1991), p. 152, erroneously attributes this passage to the 1731 ed. of the *Lin'an fuzhi*. The Lijiang salt wells were located near the southern border of Lijiang Prefecture.

[89] Ferdinand von Richthofen, "Das Land und die Stadt Caindu von Marco Polo," *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1 (1874): 36, quoted in Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 57.

[90] See the quote in Yule (1903), vol. 2, pp. 57–58.

[91] See Henze (2000), vol. 4, p. 240, referring to *Transh*. 8th ed. II. 1923, p. 49.

3.5. *Republican Period (Mid-1930s)*

Salt was used as currency in southernmost Yunnan as late as the mid-twentieth century. We owe a travel report to the famous Yunnan historian Fang Guoyu (1904–1984) who visited the region of the Lahu people 拉祜族 in the Luohei Mountains 裸黑山 in 1936:

> [Text C 11]
> On April 11, coming from Fuyong 富永 I arrived in Mandazhai 蠻大寨 where it happened to be market day. For all trade activities, salt pieces (*yankuai* 鹽塊) were first bought, which were then used to bargain over the price and buy small items. Each lump measured 1.5 *cun* in width, was 4 *fen* thick, 30 pieces of them weighing 1 *jin*. 16 pieces exchanged for 1 *yuan* of silver specie (*xianyin* 現銀) (equivalent to 5 *jiao* of Dayang 大洋 [coin]). I was told that this custom is current in all places of the Luohei Mountains. These salt pieces are ordered by merchants of Pu'er to be manufactured at the Mohei salt wells 磨黑鹽井 and are then transported here. These [merchants] move to, and assemble at, the places where a market is held and set up stalls along the road during the market days, like offices for the issue of currency. This type of money is a daily necessity. Those who obtain it, eat it up in the course of time. Therefore, although it is issued uninterruptedly, there is never monetary inflation.[92]

Fang Guoyu's report tells us that merchants cared for a ready supply of salt money in the various markets of the Luohei Mountains and that these standardized salt pieces of a weight of circa 0.5 *liang* each came from one specific saltworks in the vicinity. Moreover, an exchange rate vis-à-vis silver and silver coins is mentioned. Small items were purchased with this salt money. The salt pieces circulating in the Luohei Mountains, however, could also serve for seasoning and thus revealed their ambiguous nature as both money and a condiment.

3.6. *People's Republic of China (1950s)*

That salt money survived cowry currency in Yunnan for quite a few centuries, though it perhaps had never been as widely used in many regions as cowries, is suggested by an investigation carried out in the 1950s. This investigation showed that in the districts of Zhenxiong 鎮雄, Weixin 威信, Suijiang 綏江, Yongshan 永善, Yanjin 鹽津 and Qiaojia 巧家 of the Zhaotong 昭通 region and in the districts of Yongsheng 永勝, Huaping 華坪, Weixi 維西 and Lanping 蘭坪 of the Lijiang 麗江 region the use

[92] Fang Guoyu (1981), p. 41.

of barter trade was a common phenomenon. For the Zhaotong area salt and grain were the main medium of exchange, followed by cloth, sugar, tung-oil, pottery woks (*shaguo* 砂鍋) and cattle, while for Lijiang these were grains and salt, followed by tea, copper, native cloth and articles of everyday use. Similar conditions existed in the districts of Daoyao 大姚, Yanfeng 鹽豐 and Zhennan 鎮南 of the Chuxiong 楚雄 region, in the district of Hekou 河口 in the Mengzi 蒙自 area, in Xundian 尋甸 District in the Qujing 曲靖 region, Fohai 佛海 (Menghai 勐海) District in the Ning'er 寧洱 region, and Shizong 師宗 District in the Yiliang 宜良 area, where rice, salt and gauze (*shabu* 紗布) served as medium of exchange, followed by cotton, hemp cloth, wool, and tobacco leaves. In some places this type of transaction constituted over 90 percent of all trade activities, in others over 10 percent, with an average of 40 to 50 percent (Map 8).[93]

It is not clear from the report whether salt really fulfilled monetary functions in this trade—for instance as a medium of exchange or measure of value—or whether it simply constituted one of the important items exchanged in barter trade. Moreover, we do not know whether the use of salt as money or as barter good was a consequence of the Chinese hyperinflation of the year 1949. As Peter Bernholz underlines, monetary substitution and barter trade are common phenomena during periods of hyperinflation, just as in the case of Austria in 1921/1922 where in the whole country a grotesque exchange started by people from the cities carrying to the peasants whatever they could spare, such as Chinese vases and carpets, sabres and shotguns, photographic equipment, books, lamps and decorations.[94] Also, in the Chinese case, legal notes were rejected and silver dollars and other currencies began to appear alongside the Gold Yuan.[95] What the Chinese investigation shows is that, especially in periods of political, economic, and social crisis, salt was again appreciated as

---

[93] Zhongguo renmin yinhang Yunnan shengfenhang jinrong yanjiusuo 中国人民银行云南省分行金融研究所 (Research Institute for Finance of the Yunnan Branch of the Chinese People's Bank) (ed.), *Yunnan jindai huobi shiliao huibian* 云南近代货币史料汇编 (Collection of Historical Materials on Currency in Yunnan of the Modern Period), n.p., printed by Zhongguo renmin yinhang Yunnan shengfenhang jinrong yanjiusuo, n.d., pp. 387–389. I would like to thank Chen Hailian, Tübingen, for having provided me with a copy of this interesting collection of material on Yunnan modern monetary history.

[94] See Bernholz (2003), pp. 76, 110. Because of currency substitutions (Thier's Law), increased velocity of money and some return to barter, the real stock of the inflating money diminishes very strongly, and the bad, inflating money can even be fully driven out of circulation. The Austrian example is taken from Stefan Zweig, *Die Welt von Gestern*, Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer, 1944, p. 333.

[95] See Chang Kia-ngau, *The Inflationary Spiral: The Experience in China, 1939–50*, New York and London: MIT Press, John Wiley & Sons, and Chapman & Hall, 1958, p. 274.

a product of high value in the afore-mentioned areas of Southwest China, especially perhaps in secluded and economically and commercially underdeveloped regions. Thus, it is conceivable that salt money survived well into the twentieth century. This concerned not only places near saltworks in northwestern and southern Yunnan, but also areas in the northeastern and eastern parts of the province which were far away from salt wells.

4. Salt Forms Produced by Yunnan Saltworks (Early Eighteenth Century)

> 煎熬一晝夜而成鹽沙，捏為個其形如鐘，重二兩，色似灰。[96]

Salt lumps of various sizes and shapes were manufactured in Yunnan until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Though these salt forms were not reportedly used as money during that period, an investigation of the different shapes manufactured by the various saltworks gives us nonetheless some insight into the reasons why salt of a uniform appearance and a defined weight could function as standardized money circulating within a certain region.

In 1707, Li Bi 李苾, Assistant Superintendent of the Transport and Salt Control Circuit (*yichuan yanfa dao fushi* 驛傳鹽法道副使),[97] had a scroll made which describes and depicts in considerable detail brine hoisting and brine transport, salt boiling operations as well as the processing of salt in the saltworks of Heijing, Baijing, Langjing, Yunlongjing, Anningjing, Aloujing, Houjing, Dongjing, Mishajing, Zhijiujing and Caoxijing, that is, all the important Yunnan saltworks during those days (Table 14 and Fig. 26). The scroll not only confirms Marco Polo insofar that in Yunnan wells were the most important means for the supply of brine ("Il on puis sumaistres de quoy il font sel [...]),[98] but also that it was by boiling that salt was made ("Il prennent le sel et le font cuire [...]").[99] Li Bi's scroll of

---

[96] Production of salt forms at the Mishajing 彌沙井 salt spring in Jianchuan Department 劍川州, Lijiang Prefecture 麗江府, as described in the *Diannan yanfa tu*, ill. 8; Zhu Xia (2004): 145–146. For a translation of the passage see below.

[97] Li Bi came from Daxing 大興 in Shuntian Prefecture 順天府 and was a Student by Inheritance (*yinsheng* 廕生). He served as Assistant Superintendent from 1704 onwards. See *Yunnan tongzhi* 雲南通志 (Provincial Gazetteer of Yunnan Province), comp. by Ortai 鄂爾泰 and Jing Daomou 靖道謨, 1736 ed., ed. electronic version of *Siku quanshu* of the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library, chap. 18A.

[98] Blanchard and Quereuil (2005), p. 77.

[99] Blanchard and Quereuil (2005), p. 74.

Source: Li Bi 李芯, *Diannan yanfa tu* 滇南鹽法圖 (Illustrations of the Salt [Production] Methods of Yunnan), 1707, ill. 6; Zhu Xia (2004). Courtesy of the National Museum of China, Beijing.

Figure 26. The Alou-Houjing 阿陋猴井 saltworks in Yunnan, early eighteenth century.

1707, the *Diannan yanfa tu* 滇南鹽法圖 or "Illustrations of Salt [Production] Methods of Yunnan," shows a great variety of salt boiling hearths in different saltworks. They all use firewood and all the pans shown in the illustrations are round. They differ only in size and in their function as either pre-warming pans or crystallisation pans. Li Bi also makes clear that the boiling period depended on the salinity of the brine. The stronger the brine, the shorter the boiling process. While, for instance, in the case of the Heijing saltworks with its rather strong brine the boiling process was finished within half a day or so, it took three days at the Langjing saltworks in the same prefecture of Chuxiong, because the brine was weak there. This doubled the costs for firewood and brought harm to the salt producers.[100]

Moreover, Li Bi's scroll is also unique insofar as it informs rather systematically on the specific shapes, weights, tastes and colours of salt forms as they were produced by the individual saltworks. Generally, we can differentiate between salt forms made by dry-boiling and those made by hand or with the help of moulds, as is made clear by the following categorisation.

---

[100] *Diannan yanfa tu*, ill. 3; Zhu Xia (2004), p. 144.

4.1. *Dry-boiled Salt Forms*

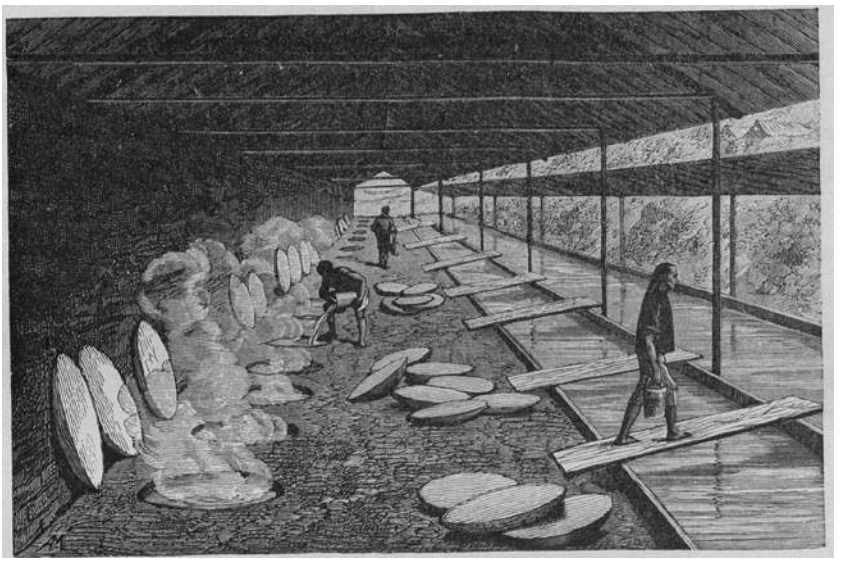
– The slightly black salt in the form of a pan in the Heijing 黑井 saltworks of Chuxiong Prefecture 楚雄府 was sawn into four pieces.[101]
– This was done in the same way in the nearby Langjing 琅井 saltworks (see Figure 27) where the salt blocks were somewhat black on one side, and white on the other.[102]
– The salt of the Anningjing 安寧井 saltworks of Anning Department 安寧州 was blue-greenish white, somewhat bitter and had the shape of a *fu* 釜 pan. The salt block was, however, not sawn into pieces.[103] We may assume that either the *fu* pans were smaller than the *guo* 鍋 pans

Source: See *Diannan yanfa tu*, ill. 3; Lü Changsheng 吕長生, "Qingdai Yunnan jingyan shengchan de lishi huajuan: 'Diannan yanfa tu'" 清代雲南井鹽生産的歷史畫卷—《滇南鹽法圖》 (A Historical Scroll on the Production of Well Salt in Yunnan during the Qing Period: The "Illustrations on the Salt [Production] Methods of Yunnan"), *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan guankan* 中國歷史博物館館刊 (China Historical Museum Periodical), 5 (1983): 112.

Note: This illustration shows a T-shaped hearth with a number of round pans of different sizes used for pre-warming and crystallisation. Firewood served as fuel. Besides the hearth a round brine container can be seen, as well as a number of pans presently not in use in the background.

Figure 27. A salt boiling house (*zaofang* 灶房) at the Langjing 琅井 saltworks in Chuxiong Prefecture 楚雄府, Yunnan, about 1707.

101 *Diannan yanfa tu*, ill. 1; Zhu Xia (2004), p. 144.
102 *Diannan yanfa tu*, ill. 3; Zhu Xia (2004), p. 144.
103 *Diannan yanfa tu*, ill. 5; Zhu Xia (2004), p. 145.



Source: Garnier (1873), vol. 1, p. 432. Courtesy of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg.

Note: The reservoirs on the right served the decantation and natural evaporation of the brine before it was boiled. The brine is transported in buckets to the hearths and poured into pans with a diameter of one metre or less. The brine in this saltworks was probably not very strong, since boiling took two days. The salt discs were described as white, hard and quite heavy, each weighing about 60 kilograms. The salt blocks that had been lifted from the pan were dried in the boiling house. Cf. Garnier (1873), vol. 1, p. 432, vol. 2, pp. 157–158.

Figure 28. Inside of a boiling house in the saltworks of Ho-boung Village, near Pu'er 普洱, Yunnan Province, late 1860s.

of the Heijing saltworks, or that the Anningjing producers and consumers preferred salt in larger blocks than those of Heijing and Langjing.

– A dry-boiled white salt with blue-greenish tinge and weak salty taste was also produced at the wells of the Alou-Houjing 阿陋猴井 saltworks in Chuxiong Prefecture.[104]

4.2. *Salt Forms Made by Hand or Moulds*

– In the Baijing 白井 saltworks in Chuxiong Prefecture only women's hands were held capable of forming the "salt sand" (*yansha* 鹽沙) into balls of the size of kick balls (*cuju* 蹴踘), varying in weight from

[104] *Diannan yanfa tu*, ill. 6; Zhu Xia (2004), p. 145.

2 to 6 *jin*.[105] The white salt in the form of balls of the Baijing saltworks was also called "man's head salt" (*rentouyan* 人頭鹽) or "lump salt" (*tuanyan* 團鹽).[106] The 1907 edition of the Baiyanjing gazetteer mentions that the lumps were placed on ashes spread on the floor, thus making use of the property of ashes to absorb moisture and thus facilitating the drying of the balls.[107]

– In the Yunlongjing 雲龍井 saltworks, Yunlong Department 雲龍州 of Dali Prefecture 大理府, the salt of whitish colour was formed to an elongated pointed tablet in the form of *gui* 圭 jade (Figures 23 and 29) which was popularly called "lampstand salt" (*dengtaiyan* 燈台鹽).[108]
– The "salt sand" (*yansha* 鹽沙) of the Mishajing 彌沙井 salt spring in Jianchuan Department 劍川州, Lijiang Prefecture 麗江府, was given the shape of a bell (*zhong* 鐘), with a weight of 2 *liang*. The colour resembled that of ashes.[109] May it be remarked here also, that the saltworks of Yanyuan 鹽源 in Ningyuan Prefecture 寧遠府 of southernmost Sichuan, i.e. the Caindu of Marco Polo (Text MP B, Text MP C), produced a bell-shaped salt, but which was brought into this form by the shape of the crystallisation pans.[110]
– The salt of the Jingdongjing 景東井 saltworks in Jingdong Prefecture 景東府 was called "square salt" (*yebayan* 葉巴鹽).[111] Because this salt had the form of oblong blocks, it is somewhat strange that it was given this name. The *Diannan yanfa tu* says that it was moulded in oblong boxes made of woven bamboo stripes, one lump weighing from 2 to 5 *liang*. It also states that because it became mixed with ashes during the boiling, one side of the salt was white, the other black and that hence it was also called "black salt" (*heiyan* 黑鹽).[112] This is a misleading explanation of the different colour faces, because this effect was caused by spreading ashes in the moulds, before the salt was filled in, and not by

---

[105] *Diannan yanfa tu*, ill. 2; Zhu Xia (2004), p. 144.

[106] *Dian Hai yuheng zhi* 滇海虞衡志 (A Guide to the Region of the Dianchi and Erhai Lakes), by Tan Cui 檀萃, 18th/19th century, ed. *Congshu jicheng chubian*, chap. 2, p. 20; Zhu Xia (2004), p. 142.

[107] *Xuxiu Baiyanjing zhi* 續修白鹽井志 (Gazetteer of Baiyanjing [in Yunnan], Continued and Revised), comp. by Li Xunhong 李訓鋐, revised in 1901, printed in 1907, chap. 3, p. 25a.

[108] *Diannan yanfa tu*, ill. 4; Zhu Xia (2004), p. 144.

[109] *Diannan yanfa tu*, ill. 8; Zhu Xia (2004), pp. 145–146.

[110] *Sichuan yanfang zhi*, chap. 3, p. 44b.

[111] *Yeba* is probably a word of the Yi 彝 language and means "square." See the remarks of the translators in Zhu Xia/Cao Jin et al. (2011), p. 59n57.

[112] *Diannan yanfa tu*, ill. 7; Zhu Xia (2004), p. 145.

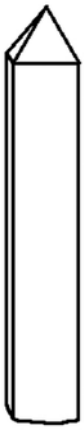


Figure 29. Shape of a *gui* jade and thus the form of salt produced at the Yunlongjing saltworks, Yunlong Department of Dali Prefecture.

> the admixture of ashes during the boiling process. Moreover, the historian He Zhenru provides the additional information that the forming of the salt took place in an oblong kind of pan that was subdivided into oblong fields. After the salt had been filled in, the pan was placed over the fire for drying the salt blocks.[113]

The various forms of salt indicated by Li Bi give us a vivid impression of the variety of products that were offered by the Yunnan saltworks at the beginning of the eighteenth century. There can hardly be any doubt that each saltworks made its own peculiar salt with its own weight, shape, colour and taste, all of which served as a distinguishing brand of its unique produce. We can also note that in some cases a specific salt form of one and the same saltworks was offered in different weights, as in the case of the "square salt" of the Jingdongjing saltworks or the balls of the Baijing saltworks. Perhaps these represented various sale units tailored to the special demands of various customer groups. The different production patterns of the relatively primitive Yunnan saltworks at the beginning of the eighteenth century, all of which had their own limited local and regional zones of distribution, may give us an idea of the variety of forms as they

---

[113] He Zhenru 何珍如, "Kangxi shiqi de Yunnan yanzheng" 康熙時期的雲南鹽政 (The Salt Administration in Yunnan during the Kangxi Reign-period [1662-1722]), *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan guankan* 中國歷史博物館館刊 (Chinese History Museum Journal), 3 (1983): 72.

must have existed also in much earlier periods and how these solid forms not only facilitated their transport, but also rendered possible their transformation into standardized forms of money.

5. Salt Currencies: Comparing Marco Polo's Perceptions and Chinese Sources

> 交易用鹽，土人貿遷有無，惟以鹽塊行使，不用海貝。[114]

In this chapter a number of comparisons will be carried out between the information as it is provided in the account of Marco Polo and the reports we have from Chinese sources. I will deal with data on the weight of salt currencies, the value of salt currencies, salt prices in Yunnan and other provinces, and the circulation and monetary functions of salt currencies. When dealing with the last-mentioned topic I will also highlight the fact that salt money was widespread mainly among the indigenous populations of Yunnan Province. Finally, there will be also a discussion of the role of governments and markets in the manufacture and control of salt monies. By these case studies covering different periods in the history of Yunnan Province (mostly the period from the late eighth to the mid-twentieth centuries) I will show that Marco Polo's references to salt currencies fits perfectly the picture that shines through from Chinese sources. Although the information obtained from all the sources at our disposal is scattered and crops up only in a random way over long periods of time and large spaces, it nonetheless covers important aspects of the monetary characteristics of salt monies, such as their production, physical appearance and weight, their value as well as their functions in exchange and payment. We have, however, no information on whether salt monies were used for paying taxes or levies and whether this commodity money was counterfeited or not.

5.1. *Weight of Salt Currencies*

When comparing Marco Polo and the Chinese texts at our disposal, it can be immediately observed that the standards of weight, quality, and

[114] See *Jingtai Yunnan tujing zhishu jiaozhu*, chap. 2, Section "Customs" (Fengsu), p. 144, describing monetary practices in Wuding Prefecture 武定府 during the mid-fifteenth century. For a translation see above.

probably also of shape, differed from one region to the next. While around the mid-fifteenth century a monetary salt lump in Chuxiong had a weight of 2 *liang* (Text C 4), it was 1 *jin* (= 16 *liang*) or 1 *jin* 10 *liang* (= 26 *liang*) in Lijiang (Text C 6). Of totally different standard in quality, shape and weight must have been the "chicken-drops" of Zhenyuan (Text C 3) during the same period. They were perhaps as small as the salt money pieces recorded by Fang Guoyu in southernmost Yunnan in 1936, which weighed no more than 0.5 *liang* (Text C 11). Remember that Fan Chuo had mentioned salt lumps of 1 or 2 *liang* for Lishui City 麗水城, probably the later Lijiangjing (麗江井) saltworks, for the end of the eighth century (Text C 1) and that Marco Polo speaks of pieces of half a pound, i.e. roughly 6.3 *liang*, for the region north of Yunnan in the 1270s or 1280s (Text MP B).

What we can say thus so far is that salt money pieces in Yunnan varied in weight, being as light as 0.5 *liang* and as heavy as 1 *jin* 10 *liang* (= 26 *liang*). Non-monetary salt forms known from the early eighteenth century also often conformed to this range, such as the bell-shaped salt of the Mishajing saltworks in Jianchuan Department of Lijiang Prefecture which had a weight of 2 *liang*,[115] or the box-shaped salt of the Jingdongjing saltworks in Jingdong Prefecture which weighed from 2 to 5 *liang*.[116] In the non-monetary sector there were, however, certainly also salt lumps of much heavier weight, such as those in the shape of kick balls of the Baijing saltworks in Chuxiong Prefecture which could reach a weight of up to 6 *jin* (= 96 *liang*).[117]

All this means that even within one region (Lishui City, Lijiang Prefecture) standards changed over time and that many distinct spheres of circulation existed for the individual salt denominations. Normally, salt currency pieces of a specific weight and shape would probably not cross the border of their sphere of circulation. When they did so nonetheless, we may assume that this happened rather in the form of a produce than

---

[115] *Diannan yanfa tu*, ill. 8; Zhu Xia (2004), pp. 145–146.

[116] *Diannan yanfa tu*, ill. 7; Zhu Xia (2004), p. 145.

[117] *Diannan yanfa tu*, ill. 2; Zhu Xia (2004), p. 144. For comparative reasons it may be mentioned here that prehistoric salt forms, as they were produced at French briquetage sites along the coast of the Channel and the Atlantic, varied from 0.5 or roughly 1 *jin* (Ilur sud in Morbihan) to 3.6 or roughly 7 *jin* (Hirel in Ille-et-Vilaine). See Marie-Yvane Daire (2003), *Le Sel des Gaulois*, Paris: Editions Errance (Collection des Hesperides), 2003, pp. 126–127. The salt money of the Baruya in New Guinea weighed in the average 1.8 kg. Three different kinds of bars existed, however, namely, large, medium and small ones. See Godelier (1969), p. 11.

in their role as money. The ambiguous nature of salt currency made this transformation easy, because a piece of salt currency could be consumed as condiment when it ceased functioning as money.

Another important conclusion obtained from this comparison of weights of salt currencies and salt lumps of different ages is that the weight indicated by Marco Polo is well inside the range of data provided by Chinese historical sources. While the salt currency pieces described by Marco Polo were definitively heavier than the units of 1 or 2 *liang* reported by Fan Chuo towards the end of the eighth century, other saltworks in later periods produced monetary pieces up to more than four times heavier than those mentioned in *Le devisament dou monde*. This shows not only that Marco Polo's information is reliable, but also that it is highly probable that it was based on his own observation.

5.2. *Value of Salt Currencies*

In the Ramusio version of Marco Polo some unique information is given on the value of salt currency vis-à-vis that of gold. While the price for which the merchants purchased the salt at the production place amounted to 1 *saggio* of gold for 80 salt pieces or 1 g of gold for 4.447 kg of salt pieces),[118] the exchange value depended on the remoteness of the region and thus varied from 40 to 60 pieces of salt for 1 *saggio* of gold, or, in other words, 1 g of gold exchanged for 2.223 to 3.335 kg of salt pieces. Salt was in especially high demand in *Tebet*, where the lumps served as currency and were exchanged for goods of high value, such as gold and musk, while as a condiment for food only the small salt pieces were used (Text MP C). It would be interesting to know what was the relationship between the intrinsic value of salt currency and its nominal monetary value—whether it was the same or whether, as is more probable, different. There are, however, no data available with which to answer this question.

The correlation between the growing distance of the place of consumption from the saltworks and the rising value of the salt currency was observed even more conspicuously in Ethiopia. Henry Yule has a note describing this correlation in the following way:

---

[118] I assume that "half a pound" mentioned by Marco Polo (Text MP B) referred to half a Venetian *libbra grossa* (Appendix 4). On the basis of the average relationship between *saggi* and *liang* for silver and gold (about 9.0791 *saggi* = 39.04 g = 1 *liang*; 1 *saggio* = about 4.3 g; see Appendix 6). Hence, 239 g × 80 = 19,120 g; 19,120 g / 4.3 g = 4,447 g.

> Ritter also calls attention to an analogous account in Alvarez's description of Ethiopia. "The salt," Alvarez says, "is current as money, not only in the kingdom of Prester John, but also in those of the Moors and the pagans, and the people here say that it passes right on to Manicongo upon the Western Sea. This salt is dug from the mountain, it is said, in squared blocks. [...] At the place where they are dug, 100 or 120 such pieces pass for a drachm of gold [...] equal to 3/4 of a ducat of gold. When they arrive at a certain fair [...] one day from the salt mine, these go 5 or 6 pieces fewer to the drachm. And so, from fair to fair, fewer and fewer, so that when they arrive at the capital there will be only 6 or 7 pieces to the drachm."[119]

With the exception of the information provided by Fang Guoyu from a much later period (Text C 11) we do not have any further report from Chinese sources about the value relationship between salt currency on the one hand and gold or silver on the other. Yet reports from other parts of the world describe similar conditions, as in the Ramusio version of Marco Polo. After all, however, the remarkable fact has to be underlined that the Venetian traveller, at least in Ramusio's version, is the only author both in West and East informing us on the value relation between salt as a small money and gold as a big currency during such an early period.

5.3. *Salt Prices in Caindu and Other Regions of China*

In this sub-chapter I will use the data provided by Marco Polo and by Chinese sources to carry out an investigation of the prices of salt at saltworks in Caindu and in other regions of China. In other words, it will be analysed how much salt was received for 1 g gold at the saltworks in *Tebet* and probably also Yunnan and whether this price differed from the price in other salt production areas in China. With regard to salt prices in Caindu, I will rely on the indications made by Marco Polo (see Text MP B and C), while data on salt prices at other Chinese saltworks are available in Chinese sources (see Table 15). With regard to the latter, these appear to have been general price indications, i.e. not referring to specific salt production zones. At the same time it is, however, clear that they were not related to Caindu, because the economic chapters of the *Yuanshi* and other official sources do not deal with the salt production in southwestern China, such as Caindu or Yunnan,[120] as that region was apparently only very loosely subjected to the central government's salt monopoly system.

---

[119] Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 57.
[120] Cf. Schurmann (1956), pp. 166–192.

Hence it is basically possible to compare Marco Polo's Yunnan data with the figures in the Chinese sources.

In doing so, several *caveats* have to be taken into account: First, the data of Table 15 refer to conditions in the central parts of the empire and to the maritime saltworks, which were the empire's main suppliers of salt. On the one hand, production costs at the maritime saltworks were almost certainly lower than those in Southwest China. On the other hand, state control and monopolization of the Caindu and Yunnan saltworks appear to have been weak, though in the course of time some unknown degree of supervision and control appears to have been exerted.[121] But even if salt taxation was lower in Caindu and Yunnan than in other parts of China, Caindu salt was probably still comparatively expensive. Merchants there received relatively small amounts of salt, namely 4.447 kg, for the value of 1 g gold,[122] while until at least the early 1280s merchants in other parts of the empire received between 6.2 and 10.3 kg of salt for the value of 1 g of gold (Table 15). With the growing depreciation of paper currency, these amounts fell then, however, to 4.6 to 3.0 kg, to rise again to 12.5 to 9.6 kg after the adjustment of the official exchange rate between paper money and precious metals from 1287 onwards. Although these calculations and conversions may be somewhat speculative, as based on some assumptions related to weights and values, they nonetheless show that the results obtained from indications made by Marco Polo and those based on figures in Chinese sources are not a long way away from each other. They make good sense, if we take monetary conditions and developments, i.e. especially the depreciation of the Yuan paper currency vis-à-vis precious metals, into account and if we assume, as it seems to be reasonable to me, that well salt was more expensive in the mountainous and land-locked Caindu and Yunnan than in other parts of China where relatively cheap sea salt or lake salt was supplying most of the regions.

Second, as an additional exercise in computation and comparison, it is worthwhile taking a look at prices expressed in silver for salt received at the saltworks of Caindu and those in other regions of the empire. We know that in the Yuan empire the official exchange rate between gold and silver was 1 : 7.5 in the period from 1260 to 1286 and 1 : 10 from 1287 onwards. For certain parts of Yunnan, however, Marco Polo reported different exchange

[121] For a few references to Yunnan salt production and administration during the Yuan period see Huang Peilin and Zhong Changyong (1997), pp. 2, 28, 65.

[122] For the calculation of this price see footnote 117 above.

Table 15. Liangzhe 兩浙 annual salt production quotas, general official price per *yin* of salt, and Liangzhe total salt revenue as well as amount of salt received per 1 g of gold at government saltworks, 1261–1343

Year	Production quota of Liangzhe (in *yin*)	Official price per *yin* (in *liang* or *guan* of Zhongtong paper money)[a] at government saltworks[b]	Total revenue (in *liang* or *guan* of Zhongtong paper money)	Total revenue (in *ding* of Zhongtong paper money)	Total revenue (in *liang* of gold)	Kg of salt received at government saltworks for 1 g gold[b]	Kg of salt received at government saltworks for 1 g silver[b]
1261		14[c]				6.635 kg	0.885 kg
1273		9					
1275		9					
1276	44,000	9				10.321 kg	1.376 kg
1277	92,148						
1278	159,000						
1281	218,562	9					
1282		9					
1283		14					
1284		15 {80}[d] {120}[d]				6.193 kg	0.825 kg
1285	[350,000][e]	20	[*7,000,000*][e]	[140,000]	469,799	4.645 kg	0.619 kg
		[30][e]	[*10,500,000*][e]	[210,000]	704,698	3.097 kg	0.412 kg
1286	450,000	[30][e]	[*13,500,000*][e]	[270,000]	906,040	3.097 kg	0.412 kg
1288		30					
		50					
1289	350,000	50	[17,500,000][e]	[350,000]	172,840	12.625 kg	1.263 kg
1290		50					
1292		50					
1295		50					
1296	[450,000][e]	65 {100}[f]	[29,250,000][e]	[585,000]	288,888	9.712 kg	0.971 kg
1297		65					
1301	400,000	65	[26,000,000][e]	[520,000]	256,790		
1308	520,000[g]						
1309		100					
1310		100					
1311		100					
1314		150					
1315		150					
1316		150					
1317		150					
1319	500,000						
1325		125					
1329	[500,000][h]	150					
1330	480,000	150					

Table 15 (*cont.*)

Year	Production quota of Liangzhe (in *yin*)	Official price per *yin* (in *liang* or *guan* of Zhongtong paper money)[a] at government saltworks[b]	Total revenue (in *liang* or *guan* of Zhongtong paper money)	Total revenue (in *ding* of Zhongtong paper money)	Total revenue (in *liang* of gold)	Kg of salt received at government saltworks for 1 g gold[b]	Kg of salt received at government saltworks for 1 g silver[b]
1333		150					
1334		150 {400}[i]					
1337		150					
1339		150					
1342		150					
1343	350,000	{400}[i]					

Sources: For the official paper money prices of 1 *yin* of salt see Qiantian Zhidian [Maeda Naonori] (1993), p. 582, which contains the most complete collection of data.
For the unofficial prices see Franke (1949), p. 149.
For the Liangzhe salt production figures see Yoshida/Vogel (1993), p. 258, with the exception of the figures for 1308 and 1329, which are taken from Schurmann (1956), p. 190.

Notes:
[a] These indications are based on the following conventions:
1 *yin* salt = 400 *jin* salt
1 *jin* = 608,5 g (see Appendix 6, average weights of weight measures of the Yuan period)
50 *guan* or *liang* = 1 *ding*
1 *liang* gold or silver = 39.04 g (see Appendix 6, average weight of inscribed silver ingots of the Yuan period)
Official exchange rates between paper money, gold and silver, 1260–1286:
14.9 *liang* Zhongtong paper money = about 1 *liang* gold = about 7.5 *liang* silver
Official exchange rates between paper money, gold and silver, from 1287 onwards:
101.25 *liang* Zhongtong money = about 1 *liang* gold = about 10 *liang* silver
[b] These appear to be general price indications, i.e. not referring to specific salt production zones. See Schurmann (1956), pp. 172, 175, 191. The economic chapters of the *Yuanshi*, however, do not deal with the salt production in Yunnan.
[c] Or: 7 *liang* silver.
[d] These were unofficial prices which were considered exorbitant. The figure of 120 *guan* refers to Taidu.
[e] Estimate or calculation by Vogel.
[f] Perhaps an unofficial or market price. For 1 *liang* Zhongtong money about 4 *jin* of salt could be bought.
[g] Lin Shujian has only 450,000 *yin*. See Lin Shujian 林树建, "Yuandai de Zheyan" 元代的浙盐 (Zhe[jiang] Salt during the Yuan Period), *Zhejiang xuekan* 浙江学刊 (Zhejiang Academic Periodical), 3 (1991): 36.
[h] Estimate by Schurmann.
[i] Exorbitant unofficial prices.

rates. For Carajan he mentioned exchange rates from 1 : 8[123] to 1 : 6; in the latter case due to the abundance of gold found there.[124] In the case of Zardandan the exchange rate was even 1 : 5 because, as was argued by the Venetian traveller, of the rarity of silver production in that region.[125] Thus, expressed in silver, merchants would have obtained between 0.89 and 0.56 kg of salt for 1 g of silver at the Caindu or Yunnan saltworks, depending on the different exchange rates. In other parts of China, this would have been between 0.83 and 1.38 kg until the early 1280s and between 0.61 and 0.41 kg until 1286, i.e. in the period of the growing depreciation of the paper currency. From 1287 onwards, i.e. after the adjustment of the official exchange rates between paper money, gold and silver, merchants in other regions of China would have received from 1.26 to 0.97 kg of salt for 1 g of silver at the salt production places. Although exchange rates between gold and silver departed from the official exchange rate stipulated for other parts of the empire, the silver prices for Caindu/Yunnan salt and other parts of the empire show more or less the same tendency as those for gold in the sense that, with the exception of the period of a marked depreciation of the paper currency starting in the mid-1280s at the latest, salt was more expensive in Caindu and Yunnan than probably most of the other Chinese regions.

Third, the data given in Table 15 on the amounts of salt received per 1 g of gold and 1 g of silver refer to the conditions as they were officially valid at government saltworks. In order to obtain an impression of how much the consumers had to pay for their salt, transportation costs and various legal and illegal transaction fees as well as differences between official and unofficial monetary exchange rates have to be taken into account. Available data show that there was a huge difference between the official prices at the saltworks and the unofficial prices at which salt was sold to the consumers. For instance, while in 1284 a merchant would have had to pay 15 *liang* [or *guan* of paper currency] for 1 *yin* of salt (or would have received roughly 6.19 kg of salt for the value of 1 g of gold), the unofficial price [for which salt was sold] amounted to 80 *guan* [of paper currency] or even 120 *guan* [of paper currency] in Taidu [Beijing].[126] In other words,

[123] Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 66.

[124] Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 76.

[125] Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 85: "[…] Their money is gold, and for small change they use pig-shells. And I can tell you they give one weight of gold for only five of silver; for there is no silver-mine within five months' journey."

[126] See Franke (1949), p. 149, referring to *Yuanshi*, vol. 6, chap. 205, p. 4565.

per 1 g of gold the consumer would have received only 1.46 kg or 0.77 kg of salt respectively. Marco Polo's data seem to suggest that the gap between the purchase prices at the saltworks and the prices for which salt was sold to the consumers was not so wide in the case of Caindu, as the merchants received for 1 g of gold 4.447 kg of salt pieces, of which they had to sell then between 2.223 to 3.335 kg for obtaining 1 g of gold and thus to make up their purchase price. Marco Polo's Caindu case is, however, not completely comparable with the situation described in the Chinese sources. While Marco Polo's description was simple and based on gold as a monetary standard, the purchase and selling prices given in Chinese sources reflect the great disparity between the monetary exchange rates as they were purportedy common in official transactions on the one hand and the market exchange rates reflecting the depreciation of the paper currency on the other. We have to take into consideration that over the decades both official and market prices expressed in paper currency for grain and salt rose considerably. From 1261 to 1343 market prices for salt rose by fifty-five to sixty times; official salt prices by twenty-five times. One of the steepest increases took place in the decades after 1276.[127] Hence the salt selling prices expressed in paper money outside of Caindu, *Tebet* or Yunnan are a reflection of the strained monetary conditions in the paper currency sector. No doubt, this gap between official and market exchange rates was somewhat narrowed, though by no means closed, with the adjustment of the official exchange rate in 1287.

However preliminary and speculative the above computations and assumptions may be, due as they are to the many unknown variables, we nonetheless can say with certainty that the prices for Caindu salt given in gold by Marco Polo fit reasonably well with the results of calculations based on indications of salt prices given by Chinese sources from elsewhere in the Mongol empire, and this all the more so if data about salt production, monetary conditions and price developments are taken into account. In no way are Marco Polo's Caindu salt prices outside of the range of what we know from Chinese sources and are thus not inexplicable, irrational or absurd.

[127] Franke (1949), p. 149.

5.4. *Circulation and Monetary Functions of Salt Currencies*

According to Marco Polo's report, salt was not only an important commodity produced in Yunnan, but also served there as a medium of exchange and measure of value. His passages seem to suggest that while in *Tebet* salt money played the role of a main currency, similar to the almost exclusive use of paper notes in the Yuan empire (Text MP A), it fulfilled the role of small currency in the Caindu region were it functioned as small currency (Text MP B and Text MP C) in retail transactions. As we know both from Marco Polo's text and from Chinese sources, other types of currencies existed in Yunnan during the Yuan period—namely gold and silver for large transactions and cowries for small, but, as it seems, also for larger payments. As I have mentioned above in my discussion of cowry money, paper notes were also used to a certain extent in the course of time.

Although it is clear from records before and after Marco Polo that conditions and regions of circulation of salt money changed in secular and spatial terms, the continued use of salt as money over such long periods no doubt was a particular feature of the history of money and salt production in Yunnan, Guizhou and southern Sichuan. Some of the records, like that of Marco Polo for *Tebet* (Text MP A), seem to suggest that it was exclusively salt money that was used for monetary transactions. These records include Fan Chuo's account from Lishui City referring to conditions towards the end of the eighth century (Text C 1) or the reports on Wuding (Text C 2) and Chuxiong (Text C 4) Prefectures, Lanzhou Department (Text C 6) as well as the Tribal Office of Yao'an (Text C 5) from the mid-fifteenth century. That is certainly possible as, around the mid-twentieth century, the Baruya in New Guinea were still using three different sizes of salt bars produced by them as currency for all that they needed from the surrounding tribes, whether this be means of production, weapons, luxury goods, commodities for consumption, or services.[128]

Other records that have survived, however, make clear that salt money was very often used as small currency, similar to cowries and copper cash.[129] Obviously, some sort of competition existed between salt currency and other forms of monies, especially cowries. This is made explicit

---

[128] See Godelier (1969), pp. 18–19, 24–26. Since the 1960s, however, metallic money has been more and more needed by the Baruya for buying modern goods.

[129] Hence, to be considered money, it is not necessary that salt money or other forms of currency fulfil all monetary functions, nor that they are used as a general equivalent in all, i.e. large and small, transactions.

in the report on Wuding Prefecture that stresses that in the mid-fifteenth century no cowry was used, but salt lumps instead (Text C 2); or in the short entry on Yuanjiang Prefecture from the beginning of the eighteenth century which states that "indigenous salt" (*tuyan* 土鹽) has replaced cowry in trade (Text C 7). But such mutual exclusion may perhaps have been limited to certain areas within a prefecture or region, and certainly will also have changed over time. Thus, it cannot be ruled out that cowries and salt currency, as means of payment for small transactions, co-existed in one and the same place.[130]

Perhaps less competition existed between salt money on the one hand and silver and gold on the other, because the latter served principally for transactions larger than those for which salt money was adopted. Some confirmation for this assumption comes from a report of the early eighteenth century on Guangxi Prefecture in the eastern part of Yunnan, where silver and cash were generally used, but small transactions reckoned in salt (Text C 8), or from information about monetary conditions in Guizhou Province in the early eighteenth century for which the use of silver in large transactions and of salt in small payments is mentioned (Text C 9). This type of co-existence between silver and salt is confirmed by Fang Guoyu for southernmost Yunnan in 1936 (Text C 11). And even in the 1950s, as has been mentioned before (IV.3.5), salt appears to have been used as some kind of currency besides rice and other goods in many regions of northwestern, southern, northeastern and eastern parts of Yunnan.

It is in the sense outlined above that salt money played an important role for the local markets where it served as an important medium of exchange and means of payment. In addition, it must have spurred regional trade to a certain extent, as merchants had to procure a sufficient amount of salt pieces at the saltworks and transport them to the places where they were in demand. These salt pieces were exchanged there for first-rate goods, fuel or grain taken along during the merchants' return

[130] See Map 4 on p. 254 indicating places where use of cowries was reported. Dong Xianqing (1991), p. 555, thinks that use of cowries and that of salt money was mutually exclusive and that thus one type of money drove out the other type or *vice versa*. This is, however, far from certain, as competing circuits of currencies may have existed. Competition not only existed between large and small currencies, but also between different large and between different small currencies. On monetary circuits and their relation to multi-layered markets with different degrees of liquidity, see especially Kuroda Akinobu (2002), "Concurrent Currencies in History: Comparison of Traditional Monetary Systems between China and India," *Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Economic History Congress, Session 15, Global Monies and Price Histories, 16th–18th Centuries, Buenos Aires 22–26 July, 2002*.

trips. Chen Ran even goes so far as to assume that salt currency was an important pre-condition for the development of trade and the monetarization of the places along the Southwest Silk Road.[131]

Salt money, no doubt, served as a medium of exchange, means of payment and measure of value in Yunnan and in some of its adjoining regions, but we do not know whether it also served as a store of value. Due to the perishable nature of salt and its role as a condiment, it is not very probable that it was also important as a store of value.[132] Bloch mentions that in Limmu, in Africa, the king had stored salt pieces, which he received as tribute. Travellers who had received salt pieces from the king and wanted to sell them noticed that 100 pieces of them were only worth 40 new pieces on the market.[133] Thus, a loss in value could be observed in the course of time. Fang Guoyu reported that the salt pieces circulating in the Luohei Mountains could also serve for cooking purposes and thus revealed their ambiguous nature as both money and a condiment (Text C 11). Moreover, the perishable nature of salt when attacked by water or humidity made it a less than ideal store of value. That it was a form of money that was constantly produced, consumed, made anew etc. was a phenomenon that had already been observed by Marco Polo who, at least according to Ramusio's version, mentioned that in the towns people used the whole salt cakes as money while the broken fragments served them as condiment (Text MP C).

Although the texts informing us on the history of salt currency in Southwest China are quite limited in number and length, they nonetheless make clear that the use of salt money was especially widespread in secluded and economically and commercially underdeveloped regions and in areas with salt scarcity.[134] Very often these were places, which were inhabited by people not considered to belong to the "Chinese" or Han population.[135]

---

[131] Chen Ran (1997), p. 65, referring to an article written by Tomioka Gihachi 富冈仪八, "Jindai Zhongguo sichou zhi lu diqu yan de shengchan yu liutong xingtai" 近代中国丝绸之路地区盐的生产与流通形态 (The Patterns of Salt Production and Circulation in the Regions along the Chinese Silk Road in the Modern Period), *Ōsaka shōgyō daigaku ronshū* 大阪商业大学论集 (Collected Articles of the Osaka University of Commerce), 1988, no. 82 and 83.

[132] See Chen Ran (1997), p. 64.

[133] Bloch (1975/1976), p. 252.

[134] This is time and again stressed by Zhao Xiaoping (2007).

[135] This was especially pointed out by Prof. Ho Hon-wai 何漢威, Academia Sinica, Institute of History and Philology, Taipei, during his comments on my paper presented to the Workshop "Visit Monetary History of a Quarter of Human Beings and Revisit what Monies Actually Are," Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, University of Tokyo, Sanjo Hall, May 21–22, 2007.

Thus Marco Polo speaks of the "rascals" of *Tebet* (Text MP A) and of "tribes" that dwell in the wildest and most unfrequented mountains (Text MP C). Fan Chuo's account referring to the end of the eighth century reports of the various Man of Lishui City and the mountains of Changbang (Text C 1). In the mid-fifteenth-century texts the "indigenous people" (*turen*) of Wuding Prefecture (Text C 2) and Lanzhou Department (Text C 6) are mentioned, besides the use of salt money in Yaozhou Department of the Tribal Office of Yao'an (Text C 5). The early eighteenth-century reference to Yuanjiang Prefecture relates to the Yi people (Text C 7), the 1723 text on Guizhou especially mentions the Miao (Text C 9), while the 1743 account of the Lijiang salt wells in the prefecture of the same name enumerates the Lisu, Baju, Qiuren and Nuren barbarians (*yiren*) who are particularly eager to obtain salt in exchange for fuel and grain (Text C 10). And also Fang Guoyu's report of 1936 on the Luohei Mountains in southernmost Yunnan relates the use of salt money to the indigenous population called Lahu people (Text C 11). This relationship between salt money and ethnic affiliation does not exclude, however, that "Chinese" also made recourse to this means of payment and measure of value—first of all due to their trading with the indigenous population, but perhaps also in periods of political, economic, and social crisis.

René Sédillot in his book about shells, coins and paper money does not think highly of salt currency which he counts among the natural forms of money and to the monetary systems in Africa, thus mainly to such people, who were not in the possession of more precious goods and who did not carry out trade with economically more developed nations. He also states that salt was rarely used as currency and "only" served as subsidiary currency for metallic money. Due to its perishable nature only very large, even huge, salt blocks had a certain value and could thus function as money.[136]

No doubt, due to its ambiguous nature as a condiment and a medium of exchange and because salt blocks and pieces were of a more fragile nature than metallic coins, salt currency could not compete in the long run with metallic money, especially if the latter was available in sufficiently large quantities. Nonetheless, the history of money in Yunnan shows that salt currency existed there for centuries and played an important role especially in local and regional trade. In the sense of the concept of complementary currency circuits salt functioned as an important

[136] Sédillot (1992), p. 39.

means of payment and medium of exchange especially in the domains of smaller transactions. In its function as a small currency, however, it stood in competition with other forms of small currency, especially cowries and cash coins. Under premodern conditions, shifting patterns of demand and supply of individual small currencies resulted in spatial and temporal fluctuations in the degree of adoption of these small currencies.

The elucidation of the history of salt currency in southwestern China not only promotes our understanding of the functioning of small currencies on a more general and global level, but also complements our knowledge of a hitherto direly underestimated and neglected type of currency. It is precisely in this respect that we owe a great deal of invaluable information to Marco Polo's references to salt monies, as will also become evident in the next section.

5.5. *Salt Monies, Governments and Markets*

In Marco Polo's chapter on Caindu, as it is transmitted in Ramusio's version, it is mentioned that the regional power holders exerted some sort of control on the manufacture, issue or standardisation of the salt cakes. On the salt pieces so made the "Prince" had his mark printed, and no one was allowed to make it except the royal officers (Text MP C): "[...] e sopra queste tal monete si pone la bolla del signore. Né le monete di questa sorte si possono far per altri che per quelli del signore, [...]."[137] This is similar to the statement in Fan Chuo's *Yunnan zhi* (Records of Yunnan) referring to another region, i.e. Lishui City and the mountains of Changbang, at the end of the eighth century (Text C 1), that "there is the [governmental] decree (*faling* 法令) that they must make it into lumps (*ke* 顆), each lump of salt [to weigh] about 1 or 2 *liang*." In the nineteenth century Lieutenant Bower, in his account of Major Sladen's mission, reported on a government salt monopoly at Momein (Tengyue 騰越) where the salt was "made up in rolls of one and two *viss*" (a Rangoon *viss* is 3 lbs. 5 oz. 5–1/2 drs.) "and stamped."[138]

In the introduction to the chapter dealing with Caindu Marco Polo says that Caindu is a province lying towards the west and "there is only one king in it." The people are said to be idolaters and subject to the Great Khan.[139] From a note of Ramusio we can learn that after the Mongols

[137] Ramusio (1980), vol. 3, p. 205.
[138] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 57.
[139] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 53.

had conquered this province, officials were dispatched to administer it.[140] In their analysis of the Ramusio passages and information available in Chinese sources Fang Guoyu and Lin Chaomin came to the conclusion that although the Mongols set up a pacification commission (*xuanweisi* 宣慰司) and dispatched officials after the pacification of Caindu by the Great Khan's armies in 1272, it appears that the indigenous regional ruler was still in his place when Marco Polo visited the region in 1287.[141] This would suggest that the "Prince" (*signore*) mentioned in connection with the marks stamped on the salt pieces was still the indigenous regional ruler installed and tolerated by the Mongols rather than a Mongol prince and that this local power holder continued to exert control over the salt currency. As is well known, the Yuan administrative hierarchy in Yunnan showed a tripod pattern, with the first leg representing the imperial household by Prince Yunnan stationed in Dali and Prince Liang residing in Kunming, the second leg of the provincial administration as it had been set up by the famous governor Saiyid Ajall Shams al-Din 'Umar [al-Bukhari], and the third leg of the existence of native chieftains.[142]

This is also the place to mention a conspicuous difference in the function of the two important small currencies, i.e. cowries and salt, in Yunnan Province during the Yuan period. Besides the monetary functions of medium of exchange, measure of value and store of value, Richard von Glahn has pointed out that in monetary history in general and in Chinese monetary history in particular the fourth function of money as a means of state payments has to be taken into account in order to come to a fuller understanding of the different characteristics of various currencies.[143] While in most other regions of China only Yuan paper money was allowed to be used in private transactions and tax payments, Yunnan was permitted to continue to use cowries besides paper money. An official backup of cowry currency no doubt was the fact that it was accepted in some tax payments.[144] So far, we have no indication that salt money was used as a means of paying taxes or levies.

---

[140] Fang Guoyu and Lin Chaomin (1994), p. 19.

[141] Fang Guoyu and Lin Chaomin (1994), p. 20.

[142] For more details on the Yuan conquest and administration of Yunnan see Yang Bin (2009), pp. 93–94, 111–116, 121–122, and especially the dissertation thesis of Armijo-Hussein (1996).

[143] Von Glahn (1996), p. 18.

[144] See chapter III.2.5. Cf. also, e.g., Chen Xizhong 陈喜忠, *Zhongguo Yuandai jingjishi* 中国元代经济史 (An Economic History of China during the Yuan Period), vol. 62 of Shi Zhongwen 史仲文 and Hu Xiaolin 胡晓林 (chief eds.), *Baijuanben Zhongguo quanshi*

A distinct contrast between the salt monies of the Nanzhao Kingdom and the Yuan dynasty on the one hand and the situation during the Ming and later is that in the former period the issue of salt money was subjected to some sort of government control or monopoly. As is made clear by the texts of Fan Chuo and Marco Polo to which I referred above, the state controlled the production of the salt money pieces or at least regulated their size and shape—perhaps also their quality—certifying all this with its stamp. This had become totally different in the Ming period where market forces triumphed and conditioned the circulation of salt money. No governmental regulations were mentioned anymore for the Ming and thereafter.[145] Although this is no definite proof of the non-existence of any governmental control after the Yuan period, at least the observation of Fang Guoyu of the conditions in southernmost Yunnan in 1936 provides us with an example of how salt currency was conditioned completely by market forces. Fang Guoyu described how salt money was ordered by merchants at the saltworks, manufactured by the saltworks, transported by the merchants to the various markets, and sold by them there by setting up stalls for the exchange against silver (Text C 11), and all this, as it seems, without any governmental intervention whatsoever.

百卷本中國全史 (A Comprehensive History of China in One Hundred Volumes), Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1994, vol. 62, p. 132.

[145] See also Dong Xianqing (1991), p. 546.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRODUCTION, REVENUE AND TRADE OF SALT IN CHANGLU AND LIANGHUAI

> For boiling salt in Huai 淮 and Zhe 浙, ashes (*hui* 灰) are spread on the ground. Seawater is conducted for irrigating the ashes. When the southeast wind is blowing, the salt rises and concentrates in the ashes within one night. After being dried by the sun, [a basin] is dug into the ground and the ashes are leached (*linhui* 淋灰) with [sea]water [to dissolve the salt]. This is called salt brine (*yanlu* 鹽滷). Dried lotus fruits (*ganlianshi* 乾蓮實) are thrown into it to test it. If after having been thrown [into the brine] they immediately float, then the brine has strength and the salt will be excellent. If it rains much, then the brine is thin and cannot be used. [After testing] the brine is taken and put into the pan (*pen* 盆) where it is boiled to salt.[1]

Marco Polo not only reported on the production of well salt and the use of salt currency in *Tebet* and Yunnan Province, but also provided detailed evidence about the production technique of salt in the well-known Changlu 長蘆 salt production region in modern Hebei Province as well as some general information on the production, taxation and shipping of salt in China's most important salt production and distribution region, called Lianghuai 兩淮. As we will see later, this will be supplemented by Marco Polo's famous report about the salt revenue of Hangzhou or, in salt administrative terms, the Liangzhe 兩浙 salt zone. Lianghuai (about 33.7 percent), Liangzhe (17.8 percent) and Hejian 河間 (14.2 percent), the latter including Changlu,[2] were not only the most productive sea salt (*haiyan* 海鹽) production regions in China during the Mongol period, but also the most flourishing salt zones in absolute terms. As is made clear by Table 16, the other sea salt production regions included Shandong (11.0 percent), Fujian (4.6 percent), Guangdong (1.9 percent) and Guanghai 廣海 (1.8 percent).

---

[1] See Zhao Yanwei 趙彥衛, *Yunlu manchao* 雲麓漫抄 (Copied at Random at the Cloudy Foot of the Mountain), 1206 (referring to events from about 1170 onwards), ed. *She wen zi jiu* 涉聞梓舊 in *Congshu jicheng*, chap. 2, p. 52.

[2] Cf. Schurmann (1956), p. 177.

Table 16. Annual salt production quotas (in *yin*) especially of Lianghuai 兩淮 and Liangzhe 兩浙, 1277–1330

	1277–79	1281	1286	1289	1294	1301	1308	1329	1329
Hejian								400,000	14.2%
Shandong								310,000	11.0%
Hedong								395,395	14.0%
Sichuan								28,910	1.0%
Lianghuai	587,623[a]	800,000		650,000	658,200			950,075	33.7%
Liangzhe	92,184[b]	218,562	450,000	350,000		400,000	520,000	(500,000)	17.8%
Fujian								(130,000)	4.6%
Guangdong								(51,000)	1.9%
Guanghai								(50,000)	1.8%

Source: Schurmann (1956), p. 190.

Notes:
[a] Refers to the year 1279.
[b] Refers to the year 1277.

A different kind of salt—namely lake salt (*chiyan* 池鹽)—was produced at the famous salt lake of Hedong 河東, which had a share of about 14.0 percent in the empire-wide output.[3] Of almost negligible dimension was the production of well salt (*jingyan* 井鹽) in Sichuan (1.0 percent) and Yunnan (? percent). Giving the prominence of sea salt in general and the sea salt production regions of Lianghuai, Zhejiang and Hejian in particular, it comes as no surprise that Marco Polo dedicated special mention to them. His concentration on these regions is in perfect agreement with their overall importance for the Yuan empire's salt production and salt revenue.

1. Marco Polo on Salt Production Techniques in Changlu

> *Das çidades de Cacanfu Cyanglu e Cyangli. Capitulo.l.*
> [...] Desta çidade [Cacanfu] contra ho meo dia hyndo per tres dias he achada a çidade muy grande de Cyanglu que he tambem na prouincia de Cathay. onde fazem sal em muy grande auondança. porque hy ha huũa terra muy salguada de que fazem montes pequenos. sobre os quaes lançam agua que escorre do sopee do

[3] It is sometimes assumed, for instance by Haw (2006), p. 96, that Marco Polo described or visited Xiezhou 解州, the famous city near the salt lake. It is, however, not confirmed whether Marco Polo's "castle of Caycay" really denoted this place. See Blanchard and Quereuil (2005), p. 110.

> monte. e fazem feruer aquella agua per grande espaaço em huũ grande calderom. e despois congelase. e assy se faz em sal meudo e branco. [...][4]

As we will see below, the details that Marco Polo reported about the peculiar process of salt production in the famous Changlu salt region in the southeast of modern Hebei Province perfectly concur with what we know from Chinese sources. Moreover, I would also like to highlight here the fact that no other Western, Arabic or Persian author is known to provide us with such precise information about the salt production technique as has Marco Polo. And this is what the Venetian traveller has to say about the Chinese leaching and brine production process:

> [Text MP D]
> Leaving Cacianfu [Cacanfu; Hejianlu 河間路 in Hebei],[5] we travel southwards for three days and reach another city called Cianglu [Changlu; Changluzhen 長蘆鎮 or Cangzhou 滄州 in Hebei].[6] This is a very large city of Cathay, subject to the Great Khan and using paper money. The inhabitants are idolaters and burn the bodies of the dead. You must know that a great quantity of salt is produced here by the following process. Men take a sort of earth, which is very saline, and of this they make great mounds. Over these they pour a lot of water so that it trickles down through it and becomes briny owing to the property of the earth. Then they collect this water by means of pipes and put it in big vats and big iron cauldrons not more than four fingers deep and boil it thoroughly. The salt thus produced is very pure and white and fine-grained. And I assure you that it is exported into many countries round about and is a great source of wealth to the inhabitants and of revenue to the Great Khan.[7]

---

[4] Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, *Marco Paulo o livro de Marco Paulo—o livro de Nicolao Veneto—carta de Jerónimo de Santo Estevam, conforme a impressão de Valentim Fernandes, feita em Lisboa em 1502; com tres fac-similes, introdução e índices*, Lisboa: Oficinas Gráficas da Biblioteca Nacional (Publicações da Biblioteca Nacional, Reimpressões II), 1922, Ho Livro Segundo, p. 50r.

[5] Hejianlu, the present-day Hejian, is located about 200 km south of Peking. See Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, pp. 115–116; Tan Qixiang (chief ed.) (1982), vol. 7, 9–10, 7/2.

[6] Changluzhen or Cangzhou, present-day Cangzhou city, is located about 75 km southeast of Hejian. Cf. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, pp. 259–261; Tan Qixiang (1982), vol. 7, 9–10, 7/2. The salterns of Cangzhou, together with those of Binzhou 濱州 (see below in the text), are mentioned for Hebei donglu 河北東路 in the salt monopoly treatise of the *Songshi* or "History of the Song." See Cecilia Lee-fang Chien (2004), pp. 148, 150, and map 7, p. xxvi.

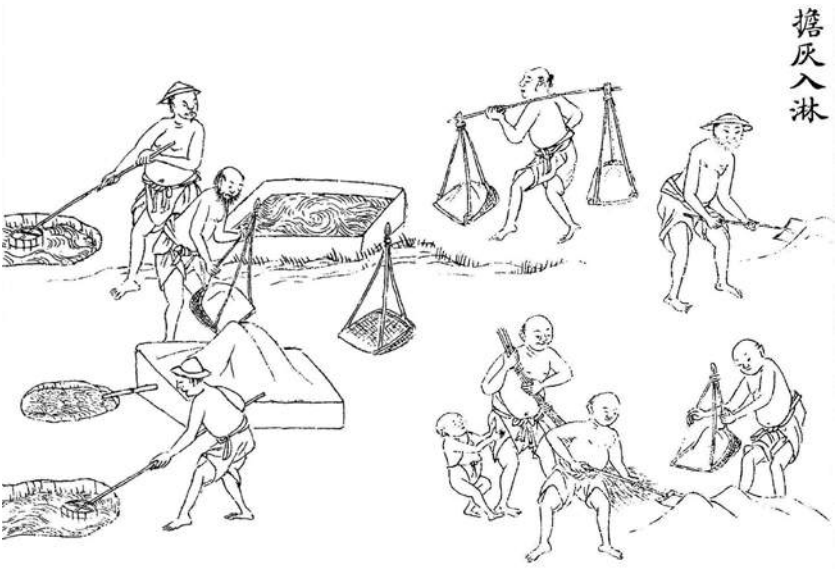
[7] See Ronald Latham, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, New York: Abaris Books, 1982, p. 167. We have slightly changed this quotation by providing the place names spelt in a way that is nearer to the account of Marco Polo and by placing the Pinyin spelling and Chinese characters into brackets.

As Changlu was a famous sea salt production region, it appears that what Marco Polo described here was the production of sea salt (*haiyan* 海鹽), though it may also be a report on the process of making so-called earth-salt (*tuyan* 土鹽, *jianyan* 鹼鹽, etc.).[8] No matter to what exactly it referred, it is clear that Polo's observation on the production of salt in this region is correct. Assuming it was sea salt production that he has seen at some places near the sea, then his report corresponds to the method as it was used in most maritime salt gardens during the Song and Yuan periods. This method of sea salt production is presented in great detail in Chen Chun's 陳椿 famous *Aobo tu* 熬波圖 (Illustrated Boiling of Sea Water) of 1334, which I translated some years ago. The *Aobo tu* provides a comprehensive account of the Xiasha saltworks 下沙場 of Huating District 華亭縣 in Zhexi 浙西 in 47 illustrations, each accompanied by a text and a poem. Not only in the Xiasha saltworks, but also in almost all other sea salt production places in China along the coast, salt was not produced by solar evaporation in basins, but by boiling down brine whose salt content was increased by a special process. The basic procedure of sea salt production consisted, first, in the construction of flat, smooth fields along the coast, which were surrounded by channels. These channels were fed with seawater that was pumped up from the sea and was then used for being sprinkled on the fields. The upper surface of the fields consisted of layers of fine sand or, as in the case of the *Aobo tu*, of ashes. By continuously sprinkling seawater on the fields and through the action of sun and wind, the water evaporated and the salty particles crystallized in the surface layers. After some time the layers of sand or ashes enriched in salt were collected and heaped up in a hollow, with a filter device at the bottom (Fig. 30). Sea water was poured over the heap, thus leaching the ashes or sands and producing a strong brine which flowed down into a hollow and from there into a special brine collector. The brine was then transported to the saltworks and boiled to salt in an iron pan (Fig. 31). While in the *Aobo tu* the layer serving as a medium for the accumulation of salty particles consisted of ashes stemming from the boiling process, it is clear that in some saltworks fine sand was used as concentration and leaching medium and thus served the same purpose.[9]

---

[8] For a categorisation of the major kinds of salt in Chinese history, see Hans Ulrich Vogel, "Common Salts (Basically Sodium Chloride) in Traditional Chinese Pharmaceutics, Pharmacology, and Medicine," in Antonio Malpica Cuello and José Antonio Gonzáles Alcantud (eds.), *La sal: Del gusto alimentario al arrendamiento de salinas; Congreso Internacional de la CIHS, Granada, 7–11 septiembre, 1995*, Granada: La Gráfica, [1997], pp. 377–396.

[9] See Yoshida Tora (author); Hans Ulrich Vogel (transl.), *Salt Production Techniques in Ancient China: The Aobo tu*, Leiden: Brill (Sinica Leidensia; 27), 1993, e.g., pp. 17–23.



Source: Yoshida/Vogel (1993), pp. 132, 208.

Note: This illustration of a saltworks of Zhexi shows a similar leaching device to that described by Marco Polo for Changlu. One can clearly see the leaching basin in which ashes are accumulated. On this leaching heap the salters pour sea water in order to dissolve the salty particles contained in the ashes. The strong brine thus produced will collect at the bottom of the leaching basin and will be drained off by a pipe, as described by the Venetian traveller, into a brine reservoir at the side of the leaching heap.

Figure 30. Carrying the ashes and pouring them into the leaching basin, Xiasha saltworks 下沙場 of Huating District 華亭縣 in Zhexi 浙西, about 1334.

However, it may rather be that what was observed by Marco Polo was not the production of sea salt, but of so-called "earth salt" (*luxian* 鹵鹹, *jianyan* 鹼鹽, or *luyan* 鹵鹽). "Earth salt" was made in a similar way to sea salt—namely by the collection of salty earth (*xian* 鹹) which, however, was already present in nature and had not to be produced artificially, as in the case of sea salt production described above. Identical to sea salt production was the manufacture of a strong brine by leaching the earth and boiling down the resulting brine to salt. As is made clear by the Zhenghe pharmacopoeia, this sort of "earth salt" was produced, not only in Shanxi Province, but also at some places along the coast. By referring to an entry already contained in the *Bencao tujing* 本草圖經 (Materia Medica with Illustrations) of Su Song 蘇頌 et al. from the mid-eleventh century, the Zhenghe pharmacopoeia says the following:

> [...] Moreover, in the prefectures of Tong 通, Tai 泰, and Hai 海 there are saltworks households (*tinghu* 停戶) which scrape the salty [earth] (*xian* 鹹)

Source: Yoshida/Vogel (1993), pp. 146, 246

Note: The large, flat iron pan shown in this illustration of the Xiasha saltworks in Huating District of Zhexi is reminiscent of Marco Polo's description of the salt boiling pans of the Changlu region.

Figure 31. Straining and removing salt from the large iron pan, Xiasha saltworks of Huating District in Zhexi, about 1334.

> and boil it to salt which is then handed over to the officials. It is similar in category to the powder salt (*moyan* 末鹽) of Bingzhou 并州 [near Taiyuan in Shanxi] and serves to supply the regions of Jiang 江 and Hu 湖. It is very abundant and superior in taste to the powder salt of Bingzhou. In Binzhou 濱州 Prefecture there are people also boiling "herbs and earth salt" (*cao-tuyan* 草土鹽).[10] It is [however] very coarse and of a black colour and cannot be admixed to medicinal drugs, but can only be fed to horses.[11]

[10] See *Bencao gangmu*, chap. 11, p. 685a, where Su Song is quoted as saying that in "Binzhou earth salt (*tuyan* 土鹽) is produced by boiling and refining herbs and earth." Perhaps a mixture consisting of plant ashes and salt-enriched earth was used for leaching.

[11] *Chongxiu Zhenghe jingshi zhenglei beiyong bencao* 重修政和經史證類備用本草 (Newly Revised Materia Medica of the Zhenghe Reign-Period [1111–1118], Annotated, Arranged by Types, Organized for Practical Use, and Based upon the Classics and Historical Works), by Tang Shenwei 唐愼微 et al., 1249 (reprinted many times afterwards); ed. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1957), chap. 4, p. 106.

Tongzhou, Taizhou, and Haizhou were three prefectures stretching from north of the estuary of the Yangzi River all along the coast of Jiangsu, while Binzhou was a coastal prefecture in southeastern Hebei.[12] As we will see in the next chapter, Marco Polo will especially mention the salt production in Tongzhou and Taizhou, belonging to the Lianghui salt zone. The salt of Binzhou or other near-by places was probably also in the mind of Song Yingxing 宋應星 (1587–1666) when, in his famous *Tiangong kaiwu* 天工開物 (Heaven, Work and the Inception of Things) of 1637, he talked about the earth salt of the Salt Distribution Branch Commission of

Source: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 5219 (C3), fol. 101; Philippe Ménard, *Marco Polo: Die Geschichte einer legendären Reise*, transl. from the French by Birgit Lamerz-Beckschäfer, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009, pp. 140–141. Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

Note: This is how the mediaeval illustrator visualized Marco Polo's description of the salt production method in Changlu. The illustration shows a kind of huge leaching heap on which two workers pour water from two tubs. The woman on the left appears to bring water filled into jars. The man on the right side is perhaps also a water carrier or, alternatively a salt transporter. The brine which collects at the bottom of the leaching heap is fiercely boiled in three large cauldrons by using wooden logs as fuel.

Figure 32. The salt production process in Changlu, French illustration of the early sixteenth century.

[12] Tan Qixiang (chief ed.) (1982), vol. 6, 16–17, 3/9; vol. 6, 22–23.

Source: Chongxiu Zhenghe jingshi zhenglei beiyong bencao 重修政和經史證類備用本草 (Newly Revised Materia Medica of the Zhenghe Reign-Period [1111–1118], Annotated, Arranged by Types, Organized for Practical Use, and Based upon the Classics and Historical Works), by Tang Shenwei 唐愼微 et al., 1249 (reprinted many times afterwards), ed. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1957), chap. 4, p. 105.

Note: This illustration shows the production of salt in solar evaporation basins as it was adopted at the famous salt lake of Xiezhou in Shanxi Province.

Figure 33. Production of salt by basin solar evaporation at the Salt Lake of Xiezhou 解州, Shanxi, twelfth to thirteenth centuries.

Changlu 長蘆, an unpalatable salt of a mixed dark colour.[13] As in the case of other types of salt, "earth salt" could also vary considerably in quality. Thus it is not inconceivable that what Marco Polo observed was the production of earth salt, though of good quality, in saltworks near to the sea coast.

Regardless of whether it was sea salt or earth salt production that was described by Marco Polo, both these salts were mainly produced by leaching a salty medium of sand, earth or ashes and by boiling down the resulting brine mostly in iron pans. The mediaeval illustrator of an early French manuscript (C3) was quite successful in his visual representation of the salt production method of Changlu (Fig. 32). The picture (Fig. 33) presented by Haw in his otherwise convincing account of Polo's experiences in China, however, is erroneous in double respect: First, this illustration

[13] See the edition of Pan Jixing, *"Tiangong kaiwu" jiaozhu ji yanjiu* 《天工開物》校注及研究 (An Investigation of the *Tiangong kaiwu*, with a Collated and Annotated Edition [of the *Tiangong kaiwu*]), Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1989, p. 275, and the translation of Sun E-Tu Zen and Sun Shiou-Chuan (1966), p. 122.

taken from the Zhenghe pharmacopoeia does not show salt production at the sea coast, but at the salt lake in Xiezhou 解州 in Shanxi Province. Second, during the time of Marco Polo sea salt was not yet produced by successive-basin solar evaporation on a wide scale, but mostly by the leaching and boiling process.

Finally, from the point of view of a Venetian, the production technique as it was adopted in Changlu was unusual, because such saltworks did not exist in the Mediterranean region. Two types of maritime saltworks existed there—namely, first of all the man-made salt gardens or *marais-salants* in which salt was produced by solar evaporation in a series of reservoir, concentration and cristallisation basins, and, of much lesser importance, the *sebkhas*, which were more or less natural saltworks, i.e. flat bays, in which salt water evaporated and formed a crust of salt at the surface.[14]

2. Marco Polo on the Salt Production and Distribution Zone of Lianghuai

> *De civitate Çançay, ubi sunt hospitia deputata ad faciendum covivia. CAP. XXV.*
> [...] Unde dominus istius civitatis [Jamçai] solum de sale bene habet de reditu L tuman balissi. Balissus autem valet unum florenum cum dimidio, et ita bene unum tuman constituit XV millia florenorum. Verumtamen unam gratiam huic populo fecit iste dominus, nam sibi dimittebat CC tuman ut caritudinem non haberent. [...][15]

Apart from Yunnan, Changlu, and, as we will see below, Hangzhou, Marco Polo also reported on salt production and taxation of other well-known salt production regions in traditional China. The localities which he mentioned as salt production areas were Huai'an 淮安, Taizhou 泰州 and Tongzhou 通州, while Zhenzhou 真州 caught his attention as a place from where large quantities of salt were shipped to other places. What at first sight appears to be a quite accidental listing of places and regions with salt making, revenue and trade reveals itself as an exact description of the

[14] See Jean-Claude Hocquet, *Le sel et la fortune de Venise*, vol. 1, *Production et monopole*, Villeneuve d'Ascq: Publications de l'Université de Lille, 1979, pp. 113ff.

[15] See Gilbert Strasmann, *Konrad Steckels deutsche Übertragung der Reise nach China des Odorico de Pordenone*, Giessen: Erich Schmidt Verlag (Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit; 20), 1968, p. 94. The Latin text included by Strasman is based on the critical edition of Anastasius van den Wyngaert in his *Sinica Franciscana*.

important Huai salt production region, reflecting precisely the subdivision of the salt administration during the Southern Song (1127–1279) and Yuan (1271–1368) periods. No other Western, Arabic or Persian author ever provided a similarly detailed account than Marco Polo in this respect.

In the following paragraphs I will introduce the relevant passages in Marco Polo's work, accompanied by the remarks already made by Henry Yule in his edition of Marco Polo's travel report. Thereafter I will highlight the importance of the mentioning of these passages in the light of what we know about the salt history of the Southern Song and Yuan dynasties. Yule's English rendering of the first of the relevant entries in the *Le devisament dou monde* runs as follows:

> CHAPTER LXVI.
> CONCERNING THE CITY OF COIGANJU.
> Coiganju is, as I have told you already, a very large city standing at the entrance to Manzi. The people are Idolaters and burn their dead, and are subject to the Great Kaan. They have a vast amount of shipping, as I mentioned before in speaking of the River Caramoran [i.e. the Yellow River]. And an immense quantity of merchandise comes hither, for the city is the seat of government for this part of the country. Owing to its being on the river, many cities send their produce thither to be again thence distributed in every direction. *A great amount of salt also is made here, furnishing some forty other cities with that article, and bringing in a large revenue to the Great Kaan* [emphasis added].[16]

Yule remarks that Coiganju is Huai'anzhou, on the Grand Canal, some miles south of the Yellow River.[17] In Guillaume Pauthier's view, the headquarters of the salt manufacture of Huai'an is a place called Yanjing or "Salt Town," some distance to the south of Huai'an.[18] Huai'an was one of

---

[16] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, pp. 151–152. In the Franco-Italian version and thus the probably most "original" manuscript this passage reads as follows:

> CXLI.—CI DEVISE DE LA CITÉ DE COIGANGIU.
> Coigangiu est une mult grant cité e noble et riche, que est a l'entree de la provence dou Mangi, et est ver yseloc. || Les jens sun ydules et funt ardoir lor cors mors. Il sunt au grant kan. Il hi a grandismes quantités de naives: car vos savés, si com je vos ai dit, qu'ele est sus le grant flum que est apellés Caramoran. Et si vos di que en ceste cité vient en grandisme abondance de mercandies, por ce qu'ele est les chief dou reigne de cel part. Car maintes cités hi font aporter lor mercandies, por ce que les respandent por cel flum a maintes autres cités. *Et encore vos di que en ceste cité se fait le sal et en done bien a XL cités: dont le grant kaan en a de ceste cité grandisime rende, entre dou sal et dou droit de la gran mercandies que hi se font* [emphasis added].

See Benedetto, *Marco Polo, Il Milione*, p. 136.

[17] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 152n1. On the identification of this and the following place names see also Haw (2006), pp. 114–117, as well as our Table 7.

[18] See Pauthier, as quoted in Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 152n1.

the centres of the production of Huai salt, that is the "Eastern Circuit of Huainan" or "Eastern Route of Huainan" (Huainan donglu 淮南東路),[19] as it was called under the Song (960–1279) and Yuan. During the Ming (1368–1644) and early Qing (1644–1911) dynasty, Huai'an was the headquarters of the "Northern Huai" salt zone (Huaibei 淮北), but later, in the mid-eighteenth century, was incorporated partly into the "Southern Huai" (Huainan 淮南) salt zone.[20]

In another chapter Marco Polo describes the cities of Tiju, Tinju and Yanju, all of them likewise situated in the Huai salt production region. Tiju is identified with Taizhou 泰州, a town lying some 25 miles at least to the eastward of the Grand Canal, but apparently connected with it by a navigable channel.[21] Tinju is very probably Tongzhou 通州, near the northern shore of the estuary of the Yangzijiang. Yanju no doubt is Yangzhou 揚州, one of the oldest and most famous great cities of China and the headquarter of the Huai salt production region. In the Song and Yuan periods, Taizhou, Tongzhou and Yangzhou belonged to Huainan donglu, like Huai'an mentioned above. This is what Marco Polo tells us about these places:

> CHAPTER LXVIII.
> OF THE CITIES OF TIJU, TINJU, AND YANJU.
> When you leave Cayu, you ride another day to the south-east through a constant succession of villages and fields and fine farms until you come to TIJU, which is a city of no great size but abounding in everything. The people are Idolaters (and so forth). There is a great amount of trade, and they have many vessels. And you must know that on your left hand, that is

[19] Though *lu* was used for the designation of administrative units both during the Song and Yuan periods, the spatial extension of the units designated so differed substantially under these two dynasties. In the former, *lu* or circuit, as it was translated by Hucker, designated an area of provincial dimension, under the later a *lu* or route was clearly a subdivision within an area of provincial dimensions. See Hucker (1985), pp. 45–46, 55, 64–65, 322.

[20] On the history of the Lianghuai salt region during the Qing period see Thomas A. Metzger, "The Organizational Capabilities of the Ch'ing State in the Field of Commerce: The Liang-huai Salt Monopoly, 1740–1840," in William E. Willmott (ed.), *Economic Organization in Chinese Society*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1972, pp. 9–45; Xu Hong 徐泓, *Qingdai Lianghuai yanchang de yanjiu* 清代兩淮鹽場的研究 (An Investigation of the Salt Works of Lianghuai during the Qing Period), Taibei: Jiaxin shuini wenhua jijinhui, 1972. Xu Hong, on p. 10, has a table which makes clear that in the mid-eighteenth century four of the then seven saltworks of Huai'an were shifted to Huainan, while the remaining three saltworks formed the new Huaibei area under the administration of Haizhou 海州. In other words, by then Huai'an had lost its status as centre of the salt administration zone of Huaibei.

[21] On Tiju, Tigiu, Cinguy, Tigin, Tigui etc, cf. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, p. 852.

towards the east, and three days' journey distant, is the Ocean Sea. *At every place between the sea and the city salt is made in great quantities*. And there is a rich and noble city called TINJU, *at which there is produced salt enough to supply the whole province, and I can tell you it brings the Great Kaan an incredible revenue*. The people are Idolaters and subject to the Kaan. Let us quit this, however, and go back to Tiju. Again, leaving Tiju, you ride another day towards the south-east, and at the end of your journey you arrive at the very great and noble city of YANJU, which has seven-and-twenty other wealthy cities under its administration; so that this Yanju is, you see, a city of great importance. It is the seat of one of the Great Kaan's Twelve Barons, for it has been chosen to be one of the Twelve Sings.[22] The people are Idolaters and use paper-money, and are subject to the Great Kaan. *And Messer Marco Polo himself, of whom this book speaks, did govern this city for three full years, by the order of the Great Kaan*. The people live by trade and manufactures, for a great amount of harness for knights and men-at-arms is made there. And in this city and its neighbourhood a large number of troops are stationed by the Kaan's orders. There is no more to say about it [...] [emphasis added].[23]

---

[22] In all probability a *xingsheng* 行省 or Branch Secretariat or what later, under the Ming dynasty, became a province (*sheng* 省) is meant. See Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 432n1.

[23] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 153. In the Franco-Italian manuscript this is stated in the following way:

CXLIV.—CI DEVISE DE LA CITÉ DE TI[N]GIU.

Or sachiés que quant l'en se part de la cité de Cayu, il ala une jornee trovant toutes foies casaus asez et chans et gaaigneries; et adonc treuve une cité que est apelés Ti[n]giu que ne est mie trop grant, mes planteuse est assé de tous bien tereine. Les jens sunt ydres et ont monoie de carte et sunt au grant can. Il vivent de mercandies et d'ars; car il se fait grant profit et grant gaagne de plosors mercandies. Et est ver || yseloc. Il ont naives asez et venesionz de bestes et d'osiaus asez.

Et encore sachiés que a le senestre partie ver levant, loigne de ci trois jornee, est la mer osiane. *Et dou mer ociane jusque ci, en tous les leus, se fait les sal grandismes quantités.* Et hi a une cité que est apellés Cingiu, *que mout est grant et riche et noble; et a cest cité se fait tant de sal que toute la provence en [a] asez. Et si vos di tout voiremant que le grant kaan en a grant rente et si merveliose, que a poine [l'en] le porroit croire se ne le veist*. Il sunt ydres et ont monoie de carte et sunt au grant kan.

Et adonc nos partiron de ci et retorneron a Ti[n]giu; et encore nos partiron de Ti[n]giu, que bien nos en avon contés, et conteron d'une autre cité que est appellés Yangiu.

CXLV.—CI DEVISE DE LA CITÉ DE YANGIU.

Quant l'en se parte de Tingiu il ala por yseloc une jornee por mout belle contree, la ou il a chastiaus et casaus asez. Et adonc treuve une noble cité et grant que est apellés Yangiu. Et sachiés qu'ele est si grant et si poisant que bien a sout sa seignorie XXVII cités grant et boines et de grant mercandies. En ceste cité siet un de des XII baronz dou grant kaan; car elle est esleue por un des XII sajes. Il sunt ydres. Lor monoie ont de carte et sunt au grant can. *Et meser Marc Pol meisme, celui de cui trate ceste livre, seigneurie ceste cité por trois anz*. Il vivent de mercandies et d'ars; car il i se font arnois || de chevaliers et d'omes d'armes en grandisime quantité. Car je vos di tout voirmant que en ceste cité, et environ por sa pertinence, demorent maintes homes d'armes.

Let us here also introduce what Marco Polo said about the shipping business and salt taxation in Sinju and on the "great river Kian," i.e. the Yangzijiang:

> CHAPTER LXXI.
> CONCERNING THE CITY OF SINJU AND THE GREAT RIVER KIAN.
> You must know that when you leave the city of Yanju, after going 15 miles south-east, you come to a city called SINJU, of no great size, but possessing a very great amount of shipping and trade. The people are Idolaters and subject to the Great Kaan, and use paper-money. And you must know that this city stands on the greatest river in the world, the name of which is KIAN. It is in some places ten miles wide, in others eight, in others six, and it is more than 100 days' journey in length from one end to the other. This it is that brings so much trade to the city we are speaking of; for on the waters of that river merchandise is perpetually coming and going, from and to the various parts of the world, enriching the city, and bringing a great revenue to the Great Kaan. [...] Messer Marco Polo aforesaid tells us that he heard from the officer employed to collect the Great Kaan's duties on this river that there passed up-stream 200,000 vessels in the year, without counting those that passed down! (...*And the article in largest quantity of all is salt, which is carried by this river and its branches to all the cities on their banks, and thence to the other cities in the interior.*) [...] [emphasis added].[24]

Yule identified Sinju with the city which was then called Zhenzhou 真州, but today Yizheng 儀征, standing on the Yangzijiang, about 15 miles from Yangzhou. Among other things, Yizheng was a great port for the export of Huainan salt by the Yangzijiang and its branches to the interior

---

Il ne a autre couse que a mentovoir face. [...] [emphasis added].
See Benedetto, *Marco Polo, Il Milione*, p. 137.

[24] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 170. The Franco-Italian version has the following text:
CXLVIII.—CI DEVISE DE LA CITÉ DE SINGIU.
Or sachiés que quant l'en se part de la cité de [Y]angiu et il ala por yseloc XV milles, adonc treuve une cité que est apelés Singiu, [que] ne est mie trop grant, mes ele est de grant naives e de grant mercandies. Il sunt ydres et sunt au grant kaan. Lor monoie est de carte. Et scachiés que elle est sus le greignor flum que soit au monde, que est apellés Quian. Il est large en tel leu hi a X milles et en tel VIII et en tel VII et long est plus de C jornee. Et por achaison de cest flum cest cité a mout grandisme quantités de naves qui portent por ceste flun maintes couses et maintes mercandies; e por ce est ville de coi le grant can en a grant rende et grant treu. [...]
The following passage is to be found in the early French versions of group A: "Et raconte le dit Messire Marc Pol qu'il oy dire a cellui qui pour le grant kaan gardoit la droiture sur ce flun que il passoit bien amont le fleuve chascun an CC^{M} nefs, sans celles qui retournent qui ni comptoient point." Cf. Delclos and Roussel (2006), p. 198.
Yule's sentence in parentheses is based on the Z manuscript of Toledo: "[...] Et omnia predicta navigia mercimonia ad civitatem istam Sinzu ducunt et referunt. Et maius mercimonium quod per flumen istud feratur est sal. [...]"
See Benedetto, *Marco Polo, Il Milione*, pp. 139–140.

provinces of central China during the Qing period. Moreover, it communicates with the Grand Canal by two branch canals. Admiral Collinson, in 1842, remarked the great numbers of vessels lying in the creek off Yizheng and commented on the salt-junks there as "very remarkable, being built nearly in the form of a crescent, the stern rising in some of them nearly 30 feet and the prow 20, whilst the mast is 90 feet high."[25] Another description of the salt junks of Yizheng we owe to John F. Davies who had seen the place in the late 1830s:

> We anchored at a place near the town of Y-ching-hien, distinguished by a pagoda. The most remarkable objects that struck us here were some enormously large salt-junks of a very singular shape, approaching to a crescent, with sterns at least thirty feet above the water, and bows that were two-thirds of that height. They had "bright sides," that is, were varnished over the natural wood without painting, a very common style in China.[26]

All the places mentioned by Marco Polo belonged to the famous Huai salt production region in today's Jiangsu Province. If we follow the indication made in Table 16 (p. 332), we can easily see that this was the most important sea salt production region during the Yuan period and, as is well known, also from the Ming (1368–1644) to the Qing dynasties (1644–1911). During the Yuan period, Huainan donglu, as this salt production region was called then, produced more than 30 percent of all the legally registered salt in Mongol China. This also means that Marco Polo's remarks about the "large" and "incredible revenue" produced by the Huai saltworks were by no means exaggerated. Neither is his statement about the large quantities of salt that were carried on ships from Zhenzhou to the many salt consumption places of Huai salt especially along the Yangzi (and also the Huai river) and from there inland to many places in central China. All this is in perfect accordance with what we are familiar with regarding the importance of the Huai sea salt production and distribution region in Chinese history.

However, what is even more amazing than this agreement in general terms about the importance of Huai salt in Chinese late imperial history is the almost perfect conformity between the details on salt administration, taxation and distribution provided by Chinese sources and those obtained from Marco Polo's own report. Table 17 lists the salt production quotas

---

[25] Cf. Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 173n4.

[26] John F. Davis, *Sketches of China, partly during an Inland Journey of Four Months, between Peking, Nanking, and Canton; with Notices and Observations Relative to the Present War*, London: Charles Knight, 1841, vol. 2, p. 13, quoted by Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 173n1.

of Huaidonglu's administrative units and saltworks based on information gathered from the *Zhongxing huiyao* 中興會要 (State Regulations of the First Two [Southern Song] Reign-periods)—that is in the period from 1127 to 1162. Data transmitted by the *Qiandao huiyao* 乾道會要 (State Regulations of the Qiandao Period) make, moreover, clear that these production quotas in Huainan donglu did not change in the period from 1165 to 1173.[27] Table 17 shows beyond doubt that Tongzhou, Taizhou and Chuzhou 楚州 were the three important administrative centres of the salt production region of Huainan donglu. As Song Chuzhou is nothing else than Marco Polo's Coiganju or Huai'anzhou, we find here a perfect agreement between what is stated in Chinese sources and what is said by the Venetian traveller. According to Table 17, Tongzhou's quota amounted to 789,137 *shi* 石 of salt, Taizhou's to 1,616,880 *shi*, and Chuzhou's or Huai'an's to 277,700 *shi*. The only slight inconsistency in Marco Polo's text is that by claiming for Tongzhou an incredible revenue from salt produced there to such a degree as to be enough to supply the whole province he appears to give this place greater prominence than that of Taizhou, for which he "only" mentions the making of salt in great quantities. At least according to Song figures, Taizhou was, however, more important than Tongzhou.

Table 17. The salt production quotas of Huaidong Route 淮東路 based on the *Zhongxing huiyao* 中興會要 (State Regulations of the First Two [Southern Song] Reign-periods), about 1127–1162

Route	Prefecture	Purchase and Collection Place (*mainachang* 買納場)	"Urging-for-Boiling Place" (*cuijianchang* 催煎場)	Salt production quota in *shi* (1 *shi* 石 = 50 *jin* 斤)		
Huaidonglu						2,683,711
	Tongzhou				789,137	
		in the city[a]			729,000	
			Xiting 西亭 and Fengli 豐利	196,000		
			Shigang 石港, Xingli 興利 and Yongxing 永興	190,000		
			Jinsha 金沙	180,020		
			Yuqing 餘慶	161,000		
		Haimen 海門				
			Lüsigang 呂四港	60,130		

[27] See Yoshida/Vogel (1993), p. 265.

Table 17 (*cont.*)

Route	Prefecture	Purchase and Collection Place (*mainachang* 買納場)	"Urging-for-Boiling Place" (*cuijianchang* 催煎場)		Salt production quota in *shi* (1 *shi* 石 = 50 *jin* 斤)	
	Taizhou					1,616,880
		Haian 海安			639,634	
			Jiaoxie 角斜[b]	281,600		
			Pinsang 拼桑	222,071		
			Hudun 虎墩 and Guyao 古窯	135,963		
		Rugao 如皐			349,119	
			Juegang 掘港	180,000		
			Fengli 豐利	107,000		
			Matang 馬塘	62,119		
		Xixi 西溪			628,126	
			Dingxi 丁溪 and Liuzhang 劉莊	326,346		
			Duohejia 垛何家 and Duoxiaotao 垛小淘[c]	301,780		
	Chuzhou					(277,700)[d]
		Yancheng 鹽城			277,700	
			Wuyou 五祐	175,000		
			Xinxing 新興	102,700		

Sources: Song huiyao jigao 宋會要輯稿 (Draft of State Regulations of the Song), ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957, *shihuo* 23:13–17 (VI, 5181–5183); see also Edmund E. Worthy, "Regional Control in the Southern Sung Salt Administration," in John Winthrop Haeger (ed.), *Crisis and Prosperity in Sung China*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975, p. 116.

Notes:
[a] Probaby Tongzhou is meant here.
[b] In the original source, this place is wrongly termed Jiaozhen 角針 *cuijianchang*.
[c] Situated in Liangjia District 梁家縣.
[d] This is the figure of Yancheng *mainachang*.

The importance of Tongzhou, Taizhou and Huai'an is also evident from Table 18 showing the administrative organisation of the Lianghuai Salt Distribution Commission (*yanyunsi* 鹽運司) during the early Yuan period up to 1294. Based on the account given by Zhang Guowang in his recent book on Yuan salt history, a Salt Distribution Commission of Jianghuai and Other Routes (*Jianghuai denglu duzhuan yunyanshisi* 江淮等路都轉鹽運使司) was set up in Jiangdu District 江都縣, i.e. Yangzhou, in the beginning of 1277, which appears to have been responsible for salt administration both in the Huai and Zhe regions.[28] This governmental agency

[28] See Zhang Guowang 张国旺, *Yuandai queyan yu shehui* 元代榷盐与社会 (Salt Monopoly and Society during the Yuan Period), Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2009,

was established more or less immediately after the Mongol conquest of Southern China, but we do not know how long it was in operation. Besides this supervisory institution, there existed also the [Lianghuai] Salt Distribution Commission (*[Lianghuai] yanyunsi* 兩淮鹽運使司),[29] but when exactly it was set up in Yangzhou is not clear. It seems that it is first mentioned in the beginning of 1285.[30] Table 18 also mentions Yangzhou, but only the "eastern gate of Yangzhou" as one of two salt control and weighing stations. While Marco Polo provided an account of Yangzhou—though without reference to salt—the second salt control and weighing station of Lianghuai was located nowhere else than in the "New town" (Xincheng 新城) of Marco Polo's Zhenzhou. Moreover, in Table 18 we come also across Tongzhou, Taizhou and, this time, Huai'anlu 淮安路, as the places of the three salt storehouses (*yancang* 鹽倉). Hence, with the exception of Yangzhou, the seat first of the Salt Distribution Commission of Jianghuai and Other Routes and then of the [Lianghuai] Salt Distribution Commission, Marco Polo mentions all the important salt production, taxation and distribution centres of Huaidonglu, namely Tongzhou, Taizhou, Huai'an and Zhenzhou, to a degree of completeness and precision nowhere available in the reports of travellers and reporters before, during and—for a long time—after Marco Polo. That the Venetian did not mention the importance of salt for Yangzhou may have had to do with the fact that it was not before the beginning of the Yuan rule in Southern China that salt administration offices were set up in this famous city.[31] Therefore, it may well have been that the importance of these new administrative agencies was not yet thus evident in the first years of their establishment or that these institutions were too new to have caught the attention of the Venetian. To sum up, in spite of some minor inconsistency and omission Marco Polo's report offers otherwise strong evidence that the Venetian was well acquainted with important parts of the salt production, taxation and distribution conditions in Yuan China and that this was something which in all probability was based on his own first-hand observation.

---

p. 18. This is, no doubt, the *duzhuan yunshisi* 都轉運使司 mentioned in the "History of the Yuan." Cf. Schurmann (1956), pp. 170, 183.

[29] Cf. *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 91, p. 2312; Guo Zhengzhong (chief ed.) (1997), p. 443.

[30] Zhang Guowang (2009), p. 18.

[31] For the history of Yangzhou in the late imperial period see Antonia Finnane, *Speaking of Yangzhou: A Chinese City, 1550–1850*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press (Harvard East Asian Monographs; 236), 2004; id., "Yangzhou: A Central Place in the Qing Empire," in Linda Cooke Johnson (ed.), *Cities of Jiangnan in Late Imperial China*, Albany: State University of New York Press (SUNY Series in Chinese Local Studies), 1993, pp. 117–149.

Table 18. The administrative organisation of the Salt Distribution Commission (*yanyunsi* 鹽運司) of Lianghuai 兩淮 in the early Yuan period up to 1294

31 Salt Commissions (*yansi* 鹽司):				
Matang 馬塘	Juegang 掘港	Xiting 西亭	Yudong 余東	Yuzhong 余中
Yuxi 余西	Jinsha 金沙	Shigang 石港	Jiangkouxi 江口西	Fengli 豐利
Baiju 白駒	Dongtai 東臺	Liangduo 梁垛	Xiaohai 小海	Caoyan 草堰
Liuzhuang 劉莊	Xiaotao 小陶	Jiaoxie 角斜	Fuan 富安	Heduo 河垛
Pincha 拼茶	Dingxi 丁溪	Banpu 板浦	Tianci 天賜	Linhong 臨洪
Wuyou 五祐	Xinxing 新興	Guandu 莞瀆	Xudupu 徐瀆浦	Baiyan 白研
Miaowan 廟灣				
3 salt storehouses (*yancang* 鹽倉):				
Tongzhou 通州		Taizhou 泰州		Huai'anlu 淮安路
2 salt control and weighing stations:				
eastern gate of Yangzhou 揚州		"New Town" (Xincheng 新城) of Zhenzhou 真州		
"Large-and-abundant" Storehouse (*guangyingku* 廣盈庫)				
Patrolling Salt Controller of the Rivers and the Sea (*jianghai xunyanguan* 江海巡鹽官)				

Sources: Shenke Yuan dianzhang jiaobu 沈刻元典章校補 (Revised and Supplemented State Codex of the Yuan), repr. Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1967, chap. 9, pp. 52b–5b (pp. 536–538); Yoshida/Vogel (1993), p. 30.

3. Did Marco Polo Hold an Office in Yangzhou?

> *148. Ci dit le .VIIXX. et .VIII. chapitre de la cité de* [*Cynghyanfu*].
> [...] Il fu voirs que il avint, a la dite Incarnation, que le Seigneur y envoia un baron qui avoit non Marsaquis, et estoit crestiens nestorins, qu'il deust gouverner ceste dite cité, et il le fist ainsi. Et, en ce qu'il demoura la pour le Seigneur .III. ans, si fist faire ces .II. eglises des crestiens que je vous ay dit, et depuis on ça ont esté; car avant n'en y avoit nulle. [...][32]

The passage on Yangzhou (see p. 342 above) is of importance for Marco Polo research insofar as there exists a long-lasting debate as to whether the Venetian was an official or even salt official in Yangzhou. My answer to this question will be, as I will show below, that by no means can it be excluded that he held some form of office in Yangzhou. It is, however,

[32] See the early French Marco Polo version B1 in Delclos and Roussel (2006), pp. 110–111.

quite improbable that he was a salt official in this place. But before I give my arguments for this conclusion, let me briefly reiterate the state of the field regarding the problem of Marco Polo's "governorship" of Yangzhou.

As with many other historians, Frances Wood dedicates some space to the question whether Marco Polo had been Governor of Yangzhou, or perhaps an official in the salt administration,[33] partly because of the fact that there are so many references to salt production and taxation in the *Le devisament dou monde*: Despite the frequent references to salt, which would have been of interest to any travelling merchant or student of administration, it is difficult to find corroboration in Chinese sources of any connection between the salt administration and Marco Polo. Speculations about Marco Polo's involvement in the Chinese salt administration, Frances Wood continues, have their origin in the discovery of Guillaume Pauthier in 1865 of a Boluo or Poluo in the *Yuanshi*, the official history of the Yuan dynasty. This Boluo/Poluo was said to have served as Vice-president of the Secret Council, Governor of Yunnan Province and, in 1284, as superintendent of the salt administration centred in Yangzhou. However, as could already be shown by Paul Pelliot, this Boluo referred to a Mongol named Poulad in Persian by Rashid al-Din and Bolad Akha in Mongol, and not to Marco Polo.[34]

Already Yule in his important edition of 1903 of the travels of Marco Polo dealt extensively with the debatable issue of Marco Polo's governorship in Yangzhou. He did not think that at any time Marco Polo had held the important post of a Governor-general of the Jiangzhe region. He argued that from 1277 Yangzhou was the capital of a Route (*lu* 路), and also of a Branch Secretariat (*xingsheng* 行省), but the latter only for the first years after the conquest. It is unreasonable to assume, Yule continued, that Kublai Khan would have placed Marco Polo in charge either of one of the most important posts of the regional government or a major administrative office below the provincial level, because Marco Polo could not have been more than twenty-three years of age and had been but two years in Cathay.

---

[33] It is often said that Paul Pelliot suggested that Marco Polo could have been an official in the salt administration. De Rachewiltz (1997), pp. 78n136, 85, claims that Pelliot never identified the Venetian with any official post related to the salt monopoly. One has to admit, however, that at least he suggested it to have been very likely. Cf. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, pp. 834 and 876.

[34] See Wood (1995), pp. 124–125, 135, and the biographical account of Bolad Akha in Allsen (2001), pp. 59–80.

Yule then proceeded to dwell on the expressions used in different early manuscript versions of Marco Polo's account. As we have shown in the transcription of the Franco-Italian version above,[35] this manuscript seems indeed to imply that Marco Polo had been appointed to some governmental post in this city: "[…] Et meser Marc Pol meisme, celui de cui trate ceste livre, seigneurie ceste cité por trois anz. […]" And also the early French manuscript B1 implies some official appointment by the Great Khan: "[…] Et si vous di que le dit messire Marc Pol, celui meismes de qui nostre livre parle, sejourna en ceste cité de Ianguy .III. ans acomplis par le commandement du Grant Kaan. […]"[36] Yule, however, is of the opinion that other early manuscripts do not speak of a "governorship" of Yangzhou, but only of a stay in that city:

> It is remarkable that in Pauthier's MS. C., which often contains readings of peculiar value, the passage runs (and also in the Bern MS.): "*Et si vous dy que ledit Messire Marc Pol, cellui meisme de qui nostre livre parle*, sejourna*, en ceste cité de Janguy*. iii. *ans accompliz, par le commandement du Grant Kaan*," in which the nature of his employment is not indicated at all (though *séjourna* may be an error for *seigneura*).[37] The impression of his having been Governor-General is mainly due to the Ramusian version, which says distinctly indeed that "*M. Marco Polo di commissione del Gran Can n' ebbe il governo tre anni continui* in luogo di un dei detti Baroni," but it is very probable that this is a gloss of the translator.[38]

That we have to do it with the error of a copyist of the Marco Polo text, who had mixed up "seigneura" with "séjourna" is also the opinion of Hans-Wilm Schütte. In his recent publication he identifies Ramusio as the source of this confusion. In early manuscripts, Schütte argues, the statements that Yangzhou "[…] is the seat of one of the Great Kaan's Twelve Barons, for it has been chosen to be one of the Twelve Sings" and "[…] And Messer Marco Polo himself, of whom this book speaks, did govern this city for three full years, by the order of the Great Kaan" are separated from each other by another passage. It was only Ramusio, in his attempt to reconstruct the original version of the text, who attempted to bring them together by turning them around and stating that "[…] M. Marco Polo di commissione del Gran Can n' ebbe il governo

---

[35] See footnote 23 above.

[36] See the early French Marco Polo version (B1) in Delclos and Roussel (2006), p. 102.

[37] That *sejourna* is probably a misreading of *seignoria* or *seignora* is the opinion of Delclos and Roussel (2006), pp. 141–142.

[38] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 157n3.

tre anni continui in luogo di un dei detti Baroni." To this can be added, so Schütte, that three others of the earliest manuscripts, among them the Z version of Toledo, do not contain any mention of a three-year administratorship in Yangzhou.[39]

Somewhat different is the argumentation of Igor de Rachewiltz, one of the most eminent reasearchers on Yuan China. He assumes that Marco Polo had indeed asserted to have governed Yangzhou. To de Rachewiltz, Marco's claim that he held the governorship of Yangzhou for three years is an exaggeration to say the least. There is, however, no reason to disbelieve his statement that he resided in that city for a lengthy period, also because Yangzhou was a thriving commercial centre and wealthy Italian merchants (the Yilioni family from Genoa) were established there in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. Although Marco Polo was certainly never governor of that city, he may have held a temporary position of authority there as inspector or court appointed commissioner, a position that he, or Rustichello, later magnified.[40]

A further, not improbable hypothesis has been offered by Stephen G. Haw in his recent book. He assumes that if Marco Polo really spent two to three years in Yangzhou, then this might have been connected with the administration of its armament industry which is explicitly mentioned by the Venetian. This would explain why his name cannot be found in the list of civil officials of this city. It is evident from his book, says Haw, that he took a great interest in military things and that his primary activities in the Yuan empire are connected with them.[41]

Here is the appropriate place to mention that indeed a thriving Italian community, probably involved in silk trade, existed in the city of Yangzhou. The Yilioni family from Genoa mentioned by de Rachewiltz became known through Katarina Vilioni's famous tombstone discovered among the ramparts of Yangzhou in 1951 by the People's Liberation Army. Katarina was a member of the Vilioni trader family in Yangzhou during the fourteenth century. The tombstone is inscribed in the Gothic script, and explains that she was the daughter of Domenico Vilioni and died in

[39] See Schütte (2008), pp. 48–50; see also Jonathan D. Spence, *The Chan's Great Continent: China in Western Minds*, New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998, p. 14.

[40] De Rachewiltz, "Wood's Did Marco Polo Go To China? A Critical Appraisal," http://rspas.anu.edu.au/eah/Marcopolo.html.

[41] Haw (2006), p. 165.

Source: Elena di Majo and Matteo Lafranconi, *Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna: Le collezioni, II, XIX secolo*, Milano: Mondadori Electa, 2009, p. 83. The illustration was provided by Photoservice Electa/anelli by courtesy of Ministro per i Beni e le Attività Culturali and Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome.

Note: Tranquillo Cremona was the initatior of the *Scapigliatura* movement in painting. Presented in Brera in Milano in 1863 this picture was one of the first works by which Cremona became known to a larger public. It was painted as a "sweet illusion of a promenade in Persia"—that is an intended mission to the Persian court in which Cremona intended to take part but which did not eventuate. The reaction of the critics to this picture was negative. Only Giuseppe Rovani (1812–1874)—writer, publicist and a friend of the painter—lauded the spontaneous and truthful composition, the local colour, and the exactness of the costumes: "la tavolozza è sicura fino all'audacia ed all'azzardo [...] ma il pennello nell'ostentare abilità, vi fa anche mostra di uno sprezzo che eccede ogni misura," i.e. the palette is firm up to audacity and hazard [...] but the brush in its ostentatiousness displays there also a contempt which exceeds any measure. In 1883 Ugo Fleres (1858–1939)—poet, journalist and literary critic—called Cremona a painter "abhorent of any tradition" and the "great bohemian of Italian painting."

Figure 34. Tranquillo Cremona's (1837–1878) *Marco Polo davanti al Gran Khan dei Tartari*, 1863.

1342. It also shows illustrations of the matyrdom of Saint Catherine, the patron saint of the girl.[42]

The mediaevalist scholar Robert Sabatino Lopez (1910–1986) has corrected the reading of the family name to "Ilioni," tracing it to a certain "Dominico Ilioni," who was listed in a legal record of 1348 of the city of Genoa as having been the executor at some unspecified time to Jacopo de Oliverio. This Jacopo was a merchant who had lived "in partibus Catagii" (in the realm of China), where he had multiplied his capital fivefold. Another smaller tablet was discovered in Yangzhou somewhat later, together with a Christian sculpture and a short inscription mentioning the death of the son of the same Dominico, named Antonio, in November 1344. That this Italian community would have been backed by some form of religious structure is revealed by the report of the Franciscan Odorico da Pordenone (1286–1331) who visited Yangzhou in 1322. Odorico wrote that he resided among Franciscans there, and that there were also three Nestorian churches in the city.[43]

As with most of their Western colleagues, Chinese specialist in Marco Polo research agree that if Marco Polo held a post in Yangzhou at all, it could have been only a post on a sub-provincial level. Following Zhu Jiang and, especially, Peng Hai, let us first discuss whether Marco Polo could have held an administrative post on the following four levels:

1. Was Marco Polo a "governor" of the Branch Secretariat (*xing zhongshu sheng* 行中書省 or, short, *xingsheng* 行省) of Jianghuai.
2. Did the Venetian hold an office as Pacification Commissioner (*xuanweishi* 宣慰使) on the level of a circuit (dao 道), i.e. of the Pacification Commission of Huaidong Circuit 淮東道宣慰司?

---

[42] Original inscription:
In nomine Dñi amen hic jacet
Katerina filia q<u>ondam Domini
Dñici de Vilionis que obiit in
anno Domini mileximo[2] CCC
XXXX II de mense Junii
Translation: "In the name of the Lord, amen. Here lies Caterina, former daughter of signore Domenico de Vilioni, who died in A.D. 1342, in the month of June."
See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Katarina_Vilioni (accessed May 24, 2012).

[43] See Franke (1966), pp. 56–57; Richard C. Rudolph (1975), "A Second Fourteenth-Century Tombstone in Yangchou," *Journal of Oriental Studies*, 13.2 (1975): 133–136; Spence (1998), p. 10; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Katarina_Vilioni. On Italian merchants, especially from Genoa and Venice, in Yuan China and the rarity of the documentation of their activities see Luciano Petech, "Les marchands italiens dans l'empire Mongol," in his *Selected Papers on Asian History*, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Serie Orientale Roma; 60), 1988, pp. 161–186.

3. Was he a Route Commander (*zongguan* 總官), rank 3a or 3b, of the Yangzhou Route?
4. Did he serve as an Overseer (*daluhuachi* 達魯花赤; Mongol. *darughachi*) of the Yangzhou Route?
5. Did Marco Polo serve in another position as those mentioned above?

In a similar way to many other researchers, Zhu Jiang and Peng Hai rule out the first option: Marco Polo wrote that because Yangzhou had been chosen to be one of the Twelve Sings (i.e. *xingsheng*), it was the seat of one of the Great Kaan's Twelve Barons. As a matter of fact, Yangzhou became the capital of the Jianghuai Branch Secretariat as early as 1276, a position which it held until 1291, with the exception of the years 1278–1282 and 1284–1286, when the administrative seat of the Branch Secretariat was temporarily shifted to Hangzhou.[44] In the records dealing with the occupants of positions of the Branch Secretariat in Yangzhou, however, none of the officials serving as *chengxiang* 丞相 (Grand Councilor; rank 1a), *pingzhang zhengshi* 平章政事 (Chief Administrator; rank 1b), *youcheng* 右丞 (Aide to the Right; rank 2a), *zuocheng* 左丞 (Aide to the Left; rank 2a) or *canzhi zhengshi* 參知政事 (Assistant Administrator; rank 2b) bears any relation to Marco Polo.[45] It is clear that the Jianghuai Branch Secretariat was too large and strategically and economically too important a region to have had it governed by a man as young as Marco Polo was during that time. Historical records make clear that those that were appointed to this offices on the Jianghuai Branch Secretariat level were Mongol generals, former Song generals that had surrendered to the Mongols, or high officials of the central government.[46]

---

[44] See Zhu Jiang 朱江, "Cong 'Make Boluo youji' lianxiangdao de jidian" 从《马可· 波罗游记》联想到的几点 (Some Points Associated with *Marco Polo's Travels*), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), p. 53; Yu Shixiong 余世雄, "'Make Boluo youji' zhong jige zhongyao wenti shuping" 《马可· 波罗游记》中几个重要问题述评 (On Several Main Problems in Studying *Marco Polo's Travels*), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), p. 353; Peng Hai 彭海, "Guanyu Make Boluo zai Yangzhou de shijian" 关于马可波罗在扬州的时间 (The Period of Marco Polo's Stay in Yangzhou), in his *Make Boluo lai Hua shishi*, 2010, p. 294 (originally published in *Lishi yanjiu* 历史研究 (Historical Research), 2 (1980)). With regard to the temporary shift of the seat of the Branch Secretariat to Hangzhou Zhu Jiang mentions the year 1283, Yu Shixiong the years 1283–1284. The correct data are, however, the years 1284–1286. Cf. *Yuanshi*, vol. 5, chap. 59, p. 1414.

[45] See Zhu Jiang (1995), pp. 53–54, and now also Peng Hai (2010), pp. 260–264. The records to which Zhu Jiang refers is the *Yangzhou tujing* 揚州圖徑 (Illustrated Account of Yangzhou). Apart from the "History of the Yuan" (*Yuanshi*), Peng Hai also used information contained in tomb stele inscriptions and Li Xiusheng's 李修生 (ed.), *Quan Yuanwen* 全元文 (Complete Prose Literature of the Yuan), Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chuanbanshe, 1998ff.

[46] See Peng Hai (2010), pp. 261, 263–264.

Another important sub-provincial administrative jurisdiction—and this is option two—was the circuit (*dao* 道). When in 1278 the Jianghuai Branch Secretariat was shifted from Yangzhou to Hangzhou, the Pacification Commission of Huaidong Circuit 淮東道宣慰司 was set up in Yangzhou. The latter was abolished in 1282 to be re-established again in 1284, all this in connection with the transfer of the Jianghuai Branch Secretariat from Hangzhou to Yangzhou in 1282 and from Yangzhou back to Hangzhou in 1284. This process was repeated shortly thereafter, when in 1286 the Pacification Commission was closed anew, to be set up again some time thereafter.[47] None of the eight officials serving as Pacification Commissioners (*xuanweishi* 宣慰使; rank 2b) of Huaidong Circuit from 1276 to 1288 bear any resemblance to the Venetian, so that it is clear that the Venetian did not serve in this office.[48] Yet, it is a remarkable fact that the "History of the Yuan" lists twenty-seven cities under the administration of this Pacification Commission (see Table 19), a figure which is exactly in conformity with Marco Polo who states that Yangzhou "has seven-and-twenty other wealthy cities under its administration" ([...] *a sout sa seignorie XXVII cités grant et boines et de grant mercandies*)![49] Although Marco Polo certainly did not serve as Pacification Commission, this agreement between his own report and Yuan sources show that his record was highly precise in this instance.

Table 19. Administrative structure of the Pacification Commission of Huaidong Circuit 淮東道 in the 1280s and 1290s

No. of cities	Pacification Commission (*xuanweisi* 宣慰司)	Route (*lu* 路)	Prefecture (*fu* 府)	Department (*zhou* 州)	District (*xian* 縣)
0	Huaidongdao 淮東道	Yangzhou 揚州			Jiangdu 江都[a]
1					Taixing 泰興
2				Zhen 真	Yangzi 揚子[a]
3					Liuhe 六合
4				Chu 滁	Qingliu 清流
5					Laian 來安
6					Quanjiao 全椒
7				Tai 泰	Hailing 海陵[a]

[47] See *Yuanshi*, vol. 5, chap. 59, p. 1414; Peng Hai (2010), p. 294.
[48] Peng Hai (2010), pp. 264–265.
[49] See Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 502; Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 154; Yu Shixiong (1995), p. 353.

Table 19 (*cont.*)

No. of cities	Pacification Commission (*xuanweisi* 宣慰司)	Route (*lu* 路)	Prefecture (*fu* 府)	Department (*zhou* 州)	District (*xian* 縣)
8					Rugao 如皐
9				Tong 通	Jinghai 靜海[a]
10					Haimen 海門
11				Chongming 崇明	
12		Huai'an 淮安			Shanyang 山陽
13					Yancheng 鹽城
14					Taoyuan 桃園
15					Qinghe 清河
16				Haining 海寧	Qushan 朐山
17					Shuyang 沭陽
18					Ganyu 贛榆
19				Si 泗	Linhuai 臨淮
20					Hongxian 虹線
21					Wuhe 五河
22					Xuyi 盱眙
23					Tianchang 天長
24				Andong 安東	
25			Gaoyou 高郵		Gaoyou 高郵
26					Xinghua 興化
27					Baoying 寶應

Sources: Yuanshi, vol. 5, chap. 59, pp. 1413–1417; Tan Qixiang (chief ed.) (1982), vol. 7, 15–16.

Notes:
Chinese administrative "cities" were often the location of more than one yamen, each with its own territorial jurisdiction. For instance, Yangzhou was not only the seat of the Pacification Commission (*xuanweisi*) of Huaidonglu, but also the capital of the Yangzhou Route (*lu*) subordinated to the Pacification Commission. Moreover, it was the administrative seat of Jiangdu District.which was subordinated to the Yangzhou Route. Another office located in Yangzhou was, for instance, the Surveillance Commission (*suzheng lianfang si* 肅政廉訪司) of the Huaibei 淮北 and Huaidong Circuits. See *Yuanshi*, vol. 5, chap. 59, pp. 1413–1414. Hence, one line in this table means one physical administrative "city" with or without several yamen. Without Yangzhou as the capital, there are exactly 27 "cities."

For the Pacification Commission of Huaidong Circuit administrative changes are mentioned for the period from 1275 up to 1290 which allows us to date this organisational arrangement to the 1280s and 1290s.

[a] The *Yuanshi* explicitly mentions that this district was at the same place like its superior administrative unit (*yi guo* 倚郭). It is, however, obvious that the *Yuanshi* is not complete in this respect, because this label is only applied for the Yangzhou Route, but not for the Huai'an Route. The missing data in this respect can, however, be easily complemented by both a close reading of the relevant passages in the *Yuanshi* and a check in Tan Qixiang (chief ed.) (1982).

After having thus ruled out that Marco Polo was a high-level provincial official of a Branch Secretariat (similar to a grand coordinator, supreme commander, governor, or governor-general under the Ming and Qing dynasties respectively) or a Pacification Commissioner of a Circuit, some historians have assumed that he was put in charge of a sub-provincial office. Thus options three or four have to be discussed—namely, whether Maro Polo had served as a Route Commander (*zongguan* 總官; rank 3a or 3b) or Overseer (*daluhuachi* 達魯花赤; with varying ranks) in the Yangzhou Route or whether he had occupied any other post on that level there.

Peng Hai, in his systematic search for officials serving in Yangzhou in different levels of the government, did not find any indication that Marco Polo served as a Route Commander or an Overseer. Thus, although he remains sceptical, he does not totally rule out that the Venetian may have been sent on a mission as Overseer.[50] That foreigners were indeed serving as officials in the uppel level of a Route is confirmed by Marco Polo as well as Chinese sources. Moreover, it is an amazing fact that one of these foreign officials, namely Mar Sarghis or Ma Xuelijisi 馬薛里吉思, his official function in Zhenjiang Prefecture 鎮江府 as well as his effort in building Nestorian churches or monasteries are mentioned both in Marco Polo's account as well as in the local gazetteer of Zhenjiang. Both sources were written independently at different places: Marco Polo's book first in 1296 in Genoa, and the Zhenjiang gazetteer in the early 1330s. Neither of them could have copied this information from the other.

In the chapter on Zhenjiang Prefecture (Chinghianfu, Cinghianfu, Cynghyanfu, etc.) the Venetian traveller reports on the *two Nestorian churches* established there by Mar Sarghis (Marsarchis, Marsaquis). He tells us that Mar Sarghis was a Nestorian Christian, who had been dispatched by the Great Kaan *to be governor of this city for three years*.[51] As has been noted by Henry Yule, Mar Sarghis stands for Dominus Sergius, apparently a common name among Armenian and other Oriental Christians.[52]

The most complete record of the Nestorian (Yelikewen 也里可溫; *ärkä'ün*) community is preserved in the *Zhishun Zhenjiang zhi* 至順鎮江志 (Local Gazetteer of Zhenjiang from the Zhishun Reign-period) compiled

[50] Peng Hai (2010), pp. 265–266.

[51] Cf. Moule (1930), pp. 145ff.; Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 177. The Franco-Italian version puts it like this: "[…] <que> hi fu seignor por le grant kaan trois anz Marsarchis qui estoit cristienz nestorin." See Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 590. For the early French version, see the quotation in the beginning of this subchapter.

[52] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, pp. 177–178.

by Yu Xilu 余希魯 towards the end of the Zhishun reign-period (1330–1332). Based on indications made in this gazetteer, we know that in 1331 Zhenjiang Route counted 215 Nestorians, constituting about 8.8 percent of the foreign and some 0.033 percent of the total population.[53] In this gazetteer is also preserved a stele inscription of the Daxingguosi 大興國寺 temple in Zhenjiangfu in which Ma Xuelijisi 馬薛里吉思 is mentioned as the founder of that church in 1281. Xuelijisi is, moreover, mentioned as having been appointed both as an Overseer (*daluhuachi* 達魯花赤) and Assistant Overseer (*fu daluhuachi* 副達魯花赤) of the Zhenjiang Route in 1277, or early 1278, and a little later respectively.[54] Furthermore, under the date 1279 it said that Ma Xuelijisi built *two churches* or monasteries in the Jinshan 金山 region. One was called Yunshansi 雲山寺, the other Jumingshansi 聚明山寺.[55] The establishment of *two other churches* or monasteries in a place called Xijin gangdian 西津岡顛 is mentioned for the same year.[56] Altogether he had six churches built at Zhenjiang and in its immediate vicinity, and one at Hangzhou.[57] Xuelijisi was still active in 1295 when it was reported that he had refused to pay taxes on his land, since he had already spent that money on candles and incense burnt during the compulsory prayers in favour of the imperial family. Nonetheless, as was stressed by the emperor in his response, the law had to be enforced and he thus would have had to pay his taxes.[58]

Between 1278 and 1329 altogether six Nestorian men are recorded as having served as officials in Zhenjiang Route, and three additional ones in other places. Apart from Xuelijisi who served as Assistant Overseer, the gazetteer mentions Kuolijisi 闊里吉思 and Taipingjisi 太平吉思 who were both appointed Overseers of Zhenjiang Route.[59]

While we can exclude the proposition that Marco Polo held a province-level or circuit-level office, the records preserved in the Zhenjiang gazetteer make clear that foreigners, such as the Nestorian Mar Sarghis, were indeed put in charge as Overseers or Assistant Overseers in Route administrations. Although a regulation had already been issued in 1265 that

---

53 Van Mechelen (2001), pp. 67–68.

54 Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, p. 774.

55 See Zhu Jiang (1995), p. 62. By an imperial edict of May 31, 1311, these two monasteries were returned to the Prajñà Convent (Boruoyuan 般若院) in Dantu District 丹徒縣, because they had been built on land legally belonging to the Buddhists. See Van Mechelen (2001), p. 95.

56 Zhu Jiang (1995), p. 62.

57 Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, p. 775.

58 Van Mechelen (2001), pp. 67–68. For a translation of the inscription see Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, p. 775.

59 Moule (1930), p. 158; Van Mechelen (2001), p. 67; Zhu Jiang (1995), p. 57.

from then on, as an "eternal rule," Mongols should have been employed as Overseers (*daluhuachi*), Chinese as Route Commanders (*zongguan*) and Muslims as Vice Prefects (*tongzhi* 同知),[60] the Zhenjiang case reveals that also thereafter a lot of Chinese and members of other ethnic origin continued to serve as Overseers. As a matter of fact, because Mongolians with sufficient training and skills were in short supply for the post of local Overseers, a wide range of other nationalities—Muslims, Uighurs, Nestorian Christians, Chinese, Jurchens, Qipchaq, Qangli, Tanguts, and others—are attested by the sources to have been appointed to this office.[61] One Chinese authority in Marco Polo research, Yang Zhijiu, thinks that while there is no basis for assuming that Marco Polo served as a Route Commander (*zongguan*), it still could be that he, like Mar Sarghis, was an Overseer or Assistant Overseer.[62] Zhu Jiang, writing in 1995, goes even a step forward by stating that the very fact that Marco Polo mentioned Mar Sarghis as "governor" of Zhenjiang shows that Marco Polo himself was an Overseer during the same time because his own jurisdiction, Yangzhou Route, was just adjacent to Zhenjiang Route. Hence it is natural that both must have known each other.[63]

Let us now come to option five: whether the Venetian served in another office than all those mentioned above. First of all we have to consider here that during the Yuan period further administrative subdivisions existed below the Branch Secretariat (*xingsheng* 行省), circuit (*dao* 道) and Route (*lu* 路)—namely, prefectures (*fu* 府), departments (*zhou* 州) and districts (*xian* 縣). In the case of Yangzhou the district of Jiangdu 江都 has to be mentioned the yamen of which was located in Yangzhou city. In addition, while, for instance, a Route was staffed, on the upper level, with an Overseer (*daluhuachi*) and a Route Commander (*zongguan*), we find on the second level and third level a number of assisting officials and secretaries.[64] Granted that Marco Polo was appointed to one of these officies in Yangzhou, it would not be surprising to find no mention of him, given the fact that not many regional documents, such as the Zhenjiang gazetteer, survived from the Yuan period and that Chinese sources in general are more deficient in recording incumbents of lower administrative ranks than in the case of higher offices.

---

[60] See Yang Zhijiu (1999), p. 83, refering to *Yuanshi*, vol. 1, chap. 6, p. 106. See also Peng Hai (2010), p. 266.

[61] Endicott-West (1994), pp. 595–596.

[62] Yang Zhijiu (1999), p. 83.

[63] Zhu Jiang (1995), p. 62.

[64] Zhu Jiang (1995), p. 54; Hucker (1985), pp. 64–65.

Another theory has been put forth recently by Peng Hai who claims that there exists at least an indirect reference to Marco Polo's official activity in Yangzhou in the "History of the Yuan" (*Yuanshi*). The relevant entry reads as follows:

> On the day *jiazi* of the first month of the twenty-first year [of the Zhiyuan reign-period; February 2, 1284] the Accounting Officials (*lisuanguan* 理算官) of Yangzhou and Other Places were abolished and their duties were shifted to the Branch Secretariat [in Hangzhou].[65]

This record has probably to be seen in close connection with the abolishment of the capital of the Jianghuai Branch Secretariat at Yangzhou[66] and its shift to Hangzhou in March 17, 1284 (Zhiyuan 21/2/*wushen*).[67] A further consideration to be taken into account is that Accounting Officials, as can be seen from documentation in Yuan sources, are officials of the third rank.[68] Peng Hai lists several reasons why he thinks that this entry referred to Marco Polo or to Marco Polo and others. First, it fits well into his reconstruction of Marco Polo's official activities in China—namely, that from February/March 1275 (Zhiyuan 12/2) to 1278 he was sent to Ningxia 寧夏 and from 1278 to 1280 to Yunnan and Champa. He then stayed in Beijing from 1281 to 1282, and thereafter was appointed as an Accounting Official to Yangzhou from 1282 (between May and November) to February 1284 and to Hangzhou from February 1284 to 1285. In 1287 he participated in Khubilai Khan's campaign against Nayan, and between 1287 to 1290 he was sent on a commission to Southeast Asia and thus must have passed through Fujian from where he eventually also left the Yuan empire, via Quanzhou 泉州, in 1290/[1291].[69] Second, Marco Polo had an excellent

---

[65] See *Yuanshi*, vol. 2, chap. 13, p. 263. This may be related to another, former entry in the *Yuanshi*, under the date June 17, 1282 (Zhiyuan 19/5/*jisi*), where it is stated that Liu Xuan 劉宣, Vice Prefect 同知 of the Pacification Commission of the Zhexi Circuit (*Zhexidao xuanweisi* 浙西道宣慰司), and others have been sent to audit (*lisuan* 理算) the figures of income and expenditures of each Salt Distribution Commission (*yanyunsi* 鹽運司), the Supreme Supervisorate-in-chief for Revenues (*caifufu* 財賦府) and the Distribution Commissions for the Tea Farms (*chachang duzhuanyunsi* 茶場都轉運司). See *Yuanshi*, vol. 1, chap. 12, p. 243.

[66] The "Jianghui Branch Secretariat" (*Jianghuai xingsheng* 江淮行省) was also called the "Branch Secreteriat of Yangzhou and Other Places" (*Yangzhou dengchu xingsheng* 揚州等處行省). Hence, the "Accounting Officials of Yangzhou and Other Places" refer to the "Accounting Officials of the Jianghuai Branch Secretariat at Yangzhou." Cf. Peng Hai (2010), p. 269.

[67] See *Yuanshi*, vol. 2, chap. 13, p. 265.

[68] Peng Hai (2010), p. 272.

[69] Peng Hai (2010), pp. 132–133, 154, 252.

knowledge of the administrative structure of Yangzhou as he mentions 27 cities under its jurisdiction. As has already been pointed out above, this was the administrative structure of the Pacification Commission of Huaidong Circuit which, however, only existed in those times when Yangzhou was not the seat of the Jianghuai Branch Secretariat, that is, before 1282 and after March 1284. Third, after the Accounting Officials of "Yangzhou and Other Places" had been abolished, Marco Polo was sent as Accounting Official to Hangzhou, which is strongly suggested by the fact that he reported so precisely about the salt taxation of Hangzhou and its territory. Fourth, that Marco Polo could well have been an official of the third rank while being sent to Yangzhou in 1282 is made clear by his description of the route Pizhou 邳州—Sizhou 泗州[70]—Huai'an 淮安—Baoying 寶應—Gaoyou 高郵—Taizhou 泰州—Tongzhou 通州—Yangzhou 揚州—Zhenzhou 真州—Guazhou 瓜州 and the day's journeys it took from one place to the next. Clearly Marco Polo travelled along the official postal service route and he did so by horse. Because travel by horse, instead of by boat, along this route was a privilege granted by Khubilai Khan only to officials of the first to third rank, it can be deducted that the Venetian travelled as a high official—that is, as an Accounting Official of the third rank, and was equipped with a golden tablet of authority. Fifth, Marco Polo's mentioning of three years of office tenure is perfectly in agreement with Yuan administrative theory and practice. Sixth, Yangzhou was indeed not only a strategically important location with a large amount of troups stationed there, but was indeed also a centre for the manufacture of arms, as is related by Marco Polo. Seventh, and certainly the most speculative argument, is Peng Hai's assumption that Khubilai Khan wanted to avoid a conflict between Marco Polo on the one hand and Xiangwei 相威 on the other. Xiangwei was a descendent in the fourth generation of Chingghis Khan's famous and trusted general Mukhali (Muhuali 木華黎; 1170–1223). He was the elder brother of Saman 撒蠻, who in late 1274 or early 1275 had the courtier (*jinchen* 近臣) Boluo 孛羅 arrested because he did not observe the rule that men and women had to use different sides when walking within the palace. Although Saman died very shortly thereafter, this conflict between the Mukhali clan and Marco Polo lingered on. Because in 1283/1284 (late in the 20th year of the Zhiyuan reign-period) Xiangwei was degraded by Khubilai Khan and deputed as *zuocheng* 左丞 (Aide to the Left) of the Jianghuai Branch Secretariat, he wanted to avoid

[70] Peng Hai (2010), p. 250, identifies Cingiu (Siju) not with Suqian 宿遷, but Sizhou.

an new outbreak of conflict between the two parties, and this was the reason why he abolished the position of Accounting Officials and thus Marco Polo's office and had the Venetian sent to Hangzhou. Shortly thereafter, however, in March/April 1284 Xiangwei fell ill and died in Lizhou 蠡州 while being on the way to his office in Hangzhou, which by then had become the capital of the Jianghuai Branch Secretariat.[71]

Although Peng Hai's seventh argument is somewhat contradictory[72] and although it cannot be proven with absolute certainty that the entry in the "History of the Yuan" really referred to Marco Polo, both the fact that Mar Sarghis and other Nestorians had served as Overseers and Assistant Overseers in Zhenjiang and Peng Hai's observations about the postal service route travelled by the Polos give strong credibility to the statement in the Franco-Italian manuscript—namely, that Marco Polo had been given a high official post in that city. Although the phrase "[…] *seigneurie* cest cité pour trois ans"[73] may imply some exaggeration and even if Marco Polo eventually did not stay for three years in that post because of the transfer of the Jianghuai Branch Secretariat capital and thus, for instance, also of the Accounting Officials from Yangzhou to Hangzhou,[74] his expertise in fiscal matters, especially the salt tax revenue (as we will see below), is borne out time and again.

Moreover, if we follow closely the Franco-Italian manuscript, I really cannot see that *Le devisament dou monde* ever made a claim that Marco Polo served as one of the Twelve Barons. Marco Polo simply states that "[e]n ceste cite siet un des XII *baronz* dou grant kaan; car elle est esleue por un des XII *sajes*. Il sunt ydres; lor monoie ont de carte et sunt au grant can."[75] Only thereafter follows the sentence: "Et meser Marc Pol meisme, celui de cui trate ceste livre, *seigneurie* ceste cité por trois anz." Confer this now with the terminology which is used in the case of Mar Sarghis, Assistant Overseer and Overseer of Zhenjiang: "[…] hi fu *seignor* por le

---

[71] See Peng Hai (2010), pp. 154–159, 249–251, 253, 259.

[72] If Khubilai Khan really wanted to avoid a conflict between Xiangwei and Marco Polo, why did he then allow it that both of them became officials in Hangzhou, where their potential to come into contact with each other would have been as high as in Yangzhou. It seems to me that the abolishment of the Accounting Officials was a measure that rather was related to the shift of the Jianghuai Branch Secretariat capital from Yangzhou to Hangzhou than to the constellation assumed by Peng Hai.

[73] See Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 503. Here and below, I set some words in italic script for a better understanding of my argumentation.

[74] Cf. Peng Hai (2010), p. 154–155.

[75] Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 503.

grant kaan trois anz Marsarchis qui estoit cristienz nestorin."[76] In other words, Marco Polo makes a clear difference between the *baronz* who are responsible for a Branch Secretariat or *xing* 行 or *saje* on the one hand and officials who govern (*seigneurie*), or are governors (*seignor*) of, a city [and its territory] on the other. As *Le devisament dou monde* uses the same terminology in both the case of Marco Polo and that of Mar Sarghis, from this it follows that both had the same or a comparable rank, such as Assistant Overseer, Overseer or another high position of at least the third rank within a regional or local administration. As should now have become clear in this chapter, Yangzhou offered a number of high military and civil positions, because this city was the seat of several administrative units, from the Branch Secretariat at the top, down to the circuit, Route and district yamens, filled by a number of regular incumbents, but also supervised by commissioners sent from the central government.

Another important conclusion that follows from this is that Ramusio indeed was the creator of some confusion as he merged the two distinct statements about the Twelve Barons on the one hand and Marco Polo's administrative post in Yangzhou on the other, thus turning Marco Polo into one of the Twelve Barons. That the Z manuscript with its heavy religious underpinnings omitted the passage of Marco's governorship of Yangzhou, however, is not of decisive importance in my view, because this manuscript, while undoubtedly contributing unique information not contained in other early versions, is well-known for having left out many important passages as well—for instance, the whole chapter on paper money.

Regardless of the question of what precisely was the office held by the Venetian, who was then 28 years old, Chinese historians have produced convincing evidence showing that his stay in Yangzhou probably lasted from 1282 to 1284. Their evidence in the light of information given by the Venetian can be summarized as follows:

1. His mentioning of Yangzhou as the seat of one of the twelve Branch Secretariats and his reference to twenty-seven subordinated cities neatly point to the period from 1282 to 1284.
2. In 1282 it was proclaimed that every three years officials were to be scrutinized. This conforms to the three years of office mentioned in the case of Mar Sarghis as well as in the case of Marco Polo.

[76] Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 509.

3. The issue of Yuan paper money in the Jianghuai Branch Secretariat took place after June/July 1280 (Zhiyuan 20/6).
4. The shipment of grain from Guazhou 瓜州 to Dadu 大都 took place before the 1285 sea transports of tribute grain.[77]

Given the rather detailed and accurate account to be found in *Le devisament dou monde* about the salt production, taxation and distribution of the Huaidong salt production zone (as shown in chapter V.2 of this book), is it conceivable that Marco Polo served as a salt official in Yangzhou? In my view this is rather implausible because he then would certainly not have missed the opportunity to highlight the importance of Yangzhou as the seat of the Lianghuai Salt Distribution Commission established there already in 1277 or 1278. While with Tongzhou, Taizhou and Huai'an he mentioned all the important administrative centres of the Huaidong salt production region and whereas he also referred to Yizheng as the crucial distribution and transshipment centre of Huai salt, he of all things did not mention the supervisory agency in Yangzhou! This makes it very improbable that he held a post in the salt administration of that city. Yet given his detailed descriptions about the salt industry, salt revenue and salt administration in general, it is clear that he had some intimate knowledge of this important production sector—knowledge that he had probably gathered as an Assistant Overseer, Overseer, or Accounting Official. Given the detailed and specific nature of this information in comparison to all other known Western, Arabic and Persian authors, it appears very improbable to me that he obtained this data outside of China. The only other mediaeval author that talks about salt in China is Odorico da Pordenone in about 1330. In his chapter about Yangzhou (Iamzai) he mentions that the Mongol ruler obtains there, from salt alone, a revenue of five hundred tumans of *balis*.[78] This is information that comes from a later date and certainly is independent of Marco Polo, as the latter has no reference to salt in the case of Yangzhou. After all, it may also have been that Yangzhou's importance as a salt taxation and salt monopoly place became more prominent and distinct only after the Venetian's stay in this city, so that this did not catch his attention during his stay there from about 1282 to 1284.

---

[77] See Peng Hai (2010), and also Yang Zhijiu 杨志玖, "Bainian lai wo guo dui 'Make Boluo youji' de jieshao yu yanjiu (shang)" 百年来我国对《马可波罗游记》的介绍与研究 (上) (Introduction and Investigation of *Marco Polo's Travels* in Our Country in the Last Hundred Years (Part One)), *Tianjin shehui kexue* 天津社会科学 (Tianjin Social Sciences), 1 (1996): 79.

[78] See texts O 1 to O 6 in Appendix 2.

CHAPTER SIX

TAX REVENUE OF HANGZHOU AND ITS TERRITORY

> Of the revenue of Quinsai, to which Marco Polo devotes c[hapter]. 153, I have said nothing. It is a specialist's subject and, lacking the necessary technical skill, I can draw no clear conclusion from the mass of intricate and sometimes very vague information in the Chinese books (cf. Pauthier, Marco Polo, 510–518; Y[ule], II, 217–18).[1]

In this chapter I will discuss the figures on tax revenue given by Marco Polo in his description of Hangzhou. This investigation is based on the research about weights and curriencies, as it is presented in the appendices, as well as on relevant data and indications we can find in Chinese sources. Henry Yule, for example, was quite critical when stating, in 1903, that Marco Polo's amount for the tax revenue of Hangzhou was unquestionably an exaggeration, though supposedly not an intentional one. Or, in other words: "A sufficiently startling statement, and quite enough to account for the sobriquet of Marco Milioni."[2] In contrast to Yule, Guillaume Pauthier had much more confidence in Marco Polo's data:

> Dans tous les cas, la concordance des faits rapportés par notre voyageur, avec les Annales officielles des Mongols de Chine, est on ne peut plus remarquable; et elle prouve que Marc Pol n'en a pas imposé à ses lecteurs en disant "qu'il fut plusieurs fois envoyé par le grant Kaan pour voir (ou vérifier) le compte des recettes (en impôts de diverses natures) que cette province de Hâng-tcheou rendait annuellement au trésor." Le fait ne peut pas être maintenant douteux. Aucune preuve plus frappante de la véracité scrupuleuse de Marc Pol ne pouvait être fournie, et nous sommes heureux d'avoir pu la produire d'une manière aussi authentique.[3]

My investigation will show that Pauthier's trust in Marco Polo in this instance was justified and that indeed the figures mentioned by him are in conformity with what we know from the data transmitted by Chinese

---

[1] Arthur Christopher Moule, *Quinsai with Other Notes on Marco Polo*, Cambridge: At the University Press, 1957, p. 51.

[2] Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 218n2.

[3] Pauthier (1865), p. 511.

Source: Le livre des merveilles du monde, MS. fr. 2810, folio 69r. Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

Note: The illustration shows three tax officials collecting revenues in an office with beautiful floor tiles. The official on the right is writing out a receipt, while the official in the centre is emptying a bag with gold coins. The official on the left with one hand reaches out for the gold pieces, while with a finger of his other hand he points to a heap of silver pieces. On the other side of the table which is covered with a green cloth three merchants are depicted. One of them holds a receipt in his hand, another brings in a bag filled with gold or silver coins.

Figure 35. The collection of large revenues in Kinsay, French mediaeval illustration of about 1412.

sources. In the first part I will analyse the data on the salt tax revenue, while the second part is dedicated to the other fiscal resources of this region.

1. Marco Polo's Millions: The Salt Tax Revenue

> *On the rent which the great Cane hath of the prouince of Quynsay. Chap. 101.*
> Seing I haue declared onto you of the City and prouince of Quinsay, now I wil declare you what rent the greate Cane hath yearely, out of this prouince only, of the salt euvery yere 4500. hanegs or bushels of Gold, and to euery measure goeth 18000. Sazos, and euery Sazo of Gold is worth seauen Duckets, [...][4]

[4] John Frampton, *The most noble and famous trauels of Marcus Paulus, one of the nobilitie of the state of Venice, into the East partes of the world, as Armenia, Persia, Arabia, Tartary,*

The importance of the salt tax revenue for the Yuan dynasty is an uncontested fact. In Chinese history, none of the dynasties relied as heavily on the monopolisation and taxation of salt as the Mongol conquerors. In the "State Codex of the Yuan" we can read that "for expenditures on the administration of the state, salt levies (*yanke* 鹽課) are important."[5] The fiscal importance of the salt revenue is especially borne out by the rather detailed revenue figures that we have from 1328. They show that within the tax receipts in paper money, salt revenues dominated absolutely, amounting to about 80 percent of the total income in this currency.[6] This is corroborated by a statement in the biography of Hao Bin 郝彬 (1259–1320) where it is said that "for the administrative expenses of the state, the salt revenue provides eight parts out of ten [...]."[7] Another similar testimony comes from the tomb inscription of Cao Jian 曹監 stating that "salt profits constitute more than one half of the revenue income of All-under-heaven" (*Tianxia furu, yanli yu ban* 天下賦入, 鹽利逾半).[8] Although taxes in kind, especially grain, were substantial and should not be underestimated within the whole picture of public revenues, there can be no doubt that proceeds derived from the salt monopoly constituted one of the main pillars of Yuan fiscality.[9]

To date, Guillaume Pauthier is the only Western Marco Polo researcher to have made a serious attempt to come to grips with the tax figures mentioned by the Venetian traveller, but compared with Pauthier's situation almost 150 years ago, we are now in a better position to make a fresh attempt in this direction. Confidence to do so is nourished by several

---

with many other kingdoms and Prouinces. No lesse pleasant, than profitable, as appeareth by the Table, or Contents of this Booke. Most necessary for all sortes of Persons, and especially for Trauellers. Translated into English, At London: Printed by [H. Bynneman for] Ralph Nevvbery, Anno. 1579, p. 99.

[5] *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang*, chap. 22, p. 40a (vol. 1, p. 351).

[6] See Table 27 in Appendix 8. Cf. also Yoshida/Vogel (1993), p. 26.

[7] *Yuanshi*, vol. 13, chap. 170, p. 4001.

[8] Li Xiusheng 李修生 (ed.), *Quan Yuanwen* 全元文 (Complete Prose Literature of the Yuan), Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chuanbanshe, 1998ff., vol. 25, p. 456; Peng Hai (2010), p. 209.

[9] For an introduction to the history of the Yuan salt monopoly see Schurmann (1956), pp. 166–192; Chen Gaohua 陳高華, "Yuandai yanzheng ji qi shehui yingxiang" 元代鹽政及其社會影響 (The Salt Administration during the Yuan Period and its Influence on Society), in *Lishi luncong* 歷史論叢 (Collected Articles on History), 1 (1964): 195–217, repr. in Nanjing daxue lishixi Yuanshi yanjiushi 南京大学历史系元史研究室 (Yuan History Research Institute, Faculty of History of Nanjing University) (ed.), *Yuanshi luncong* 元史论丛 (Studies of Yuan History), Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1984, pp. 307–339; Chen Gaohua 陈高华 and Shi Weimin 史卫民, *Zhongguo jingji tongshi: Yuandai jingjishi* 中国经济通史: 元代经济史 (Comprehensive Economic History of China: Economic History of the Yuan Period), Beijing: Jingji ribao chubanshe, 2000, pp. 615–633; Guo Zhengzhong (chief ed.) (1997), pp. 427–493; Zhang Guowang (2009).

factors: First of all, research on the fiscal administration of the Mongol empire in general and the Yuan dynasty in particular has improved over the last six decades so that not only new qualitative knowledge has been produced, but also more quantitative data are available. These new data come not only from written sources containing monetary, metrological, and fiscal information, but also from evidence drawn from concrete metrological and monetary remains, such as weights, coins or silver ingots. The relevant data has been collected and analysed in Appendices 3 to 6. A second reason is that sometimes basic assumptions of former investigators are wrong, e.g., in the case of Henry Yule when he states that one *ding* of paper money equalled ten tael or *liang* of silver.[10] As a matter of fact, exchange rates between paper money and monetary gold and silver under the Yuan were not only different, but also changed crucially in the course of time, as we will see below. Thirdly, in contrast to Pauthier who attempted to convert almost all monetary and metrological data supplied both by Marco Polo and the Chinese sources into contemporary values, I will rather concentrate instead on expressing data in the units used in the Yuan empire. For this purpose, I have made an effort to obtain average values for such basic monetary and metrological units as *grosso, saggio, libbra, miskal* and *liang*. It must also be said though that, besides giving mean values, some of my estimates also give best-case and worst-case values in order to indicate the range of possible variation.

Let us now discuss the data which Marco Polo reports on the "great yearly revenue that the Great Kaan hath from Kinsay." He begins with the proceeds derived from the salt monopoly in Hangzhou and its territory:

> [Text MP E]
> Now I will tell you about the great revenue which the Great Kaan draweth every year from the said city of Kinsay and its territory, forming a ninth part of the whole country of Manzi. First there is the salt, which brings in a great revenue. For it produces every year, in round numbers, fourscore *tomans*[11] of gold; and the *toman* is worth 70,000 *saggi* of gold, so that the total value of the fourscore *tomans* will be *five millions and six hundred thousand saggi of gold* [emphasis added], each *saggio* being worth more than a gold florin or ducat; in sooth, a vast sum of money! [This province, you see, adjoins the ocean, on the shores of which are many lagoons or salt marshes, in which the sea-water dries up during the summer time; and thence they extract

[10] Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 217n2.

[11] On *toman*, i.e. the Turkish and Mongolian *tüman*, "ten thousand," see Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 2, pp. 858–859.

such a quantity of salt as suffices for the supply of five of the kingdoms of Manzi besides this one.][12]

Before we start to discuss the salt tax revenue figure given by this and other versions of the Marco Polo text, let me first mention that it is difficult to establish what would have been the Nine Kingdoms into which the province of Mangi or Manzi, or the territory of the conquered Southern Song, would have been divided. In contrast to Yule's compounded version, in which, in agreement with the early French texts, he speaks of "Kinsay and its territory, forming a ninth part of the whole country of Manzi," the Latin verson of the Z manuscript and Ramusio are more specific when they render this "que sunt pars nona, sive regnum nonum, provincie Ma<n>çi" and "ch'è la nona parte overo il nono regno di Mangi" respectively (cf. Appendix 7). Arthur Christopher Moule in his investigation on Kinsay remarks that there were twelve larger administrative divisions (one *zhongshu sheng* 中書省 or Metropolitan Secretariat and eleven *xing zhongshu sheng* 行中書省 or Branch Secretariats) in the whole Yuan empire of which only six of the eleven Branch Secretariats, i.e., Henan, Sichuan, Yunnan, Jiangzhe, Jiangxi and Huguang, would be included in Mangi. If one takes smaller administrative units called *dao* 道 (circuits) instead, there would have been too many. Moule, however, also states that the administrative divisions and boundaries were often changed during the early years of a dynasty.[13]

Rather than thinking in terms of Yuan administrative units however, it makes more sense to assume that the nine regions or kingdoms refer still to the administrative subdivisons of the Southern Song, exclusive of Sichuan. That Marco Polo did not count Sichuan to Manzi is made clear by Marco Polo himself: "[…] then you arrive at a plain belonging to a province called Sindafu, which still is on the confines of Manzi, […]."[14] Altogether one can thus distinguish eleven administrative units in the Southern Song empire, namely Huainan donglu 淮南東路 and Huainan xilu 淮南西路 (or, taken together, Lianghuailu 兩淮路), Liangzhe xilu 兩浙西路, Liangzhe donglu 兩浙東路 (or, taken together, Liangzhelu 兩浙路), Jiangnan donglu 江南東路, Jiangnan xilu 江南西路, Jinghu beilu 荊湖北路, Jinghu nanlu 荊湖南路, Fujianlu 福建路, Guangnan donglu 廣南東路 and Guangnan

[12] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 215.

[13] See Moule (1957), pp. 42–43.

[14] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 36. Cf. also Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 460; "[…] que est encore de le confin dou Mangi […]," and Prášek (1902), p. 109: "[…] que est similter affinis Mangi […]."

xilu 廣南西路.[15] If we assume that four of the regions were often mentioned paired, that is Lianghuailu and Liangzhelu, the resulting number of regions would be nine.

The existence of a concept of nine regions for Manzi is confirmed, though in a somewhat different way, by an entry in the "History of the Yuan" (*Yuanshi*). When in 1276 the Southern Song capitulated, they surrendered to the Yuan all the prefectures of Liangzhe 兩浙 [Liangzhe xilu 兩浙西路 and Liangzhe donglu 兩浙東路], Fujian 福建, Jiangdongxi 江東西 [Jiangnan donglu 江南東路 and Jiangnan xilu 江南西路], Hunanbei 湖南北 [Jinghu beilu 荊湖北路 and Jinghu nanlu 荊湖南路], Erguang 二廣 [Guangnan donglu 廣南東路 and Guangnan xilu 廣南西路] and Sichuan 四川.[16] By excluding Sichuan and by spelling out the compounded regions consisting of two administrative units, one would likewise arrive at a figure of "Nine Kingdoms." However, this entry of 1276 does not mention Lianghuailu 兩淮路 (i.e. Huainan donglu 淮南東路 and Huainan xilu 淮南西路)—certainly because this region was already in the hands of the Mongol troops when they marched towards Hangzhou.[17] Lianghuailu, no doubt belonged to the Southern Song empire or to Manzi, and thus has to be included into the discussion, as this has been done above.

The assumption that with the Nine Kingdoms nine of the former Song Routes were meant finds its corroboration in another passage in the Franco-Italian manuscript (F) where it is stated that "[W]e have now spoken of but three out of the nine kingdoms of Manzi, to wit Yanju and Kinsay and Fuju. [...]"[18] During the Southern Song period, Yangzhou was the capital of Huainan donglu, Hangzhou of Liangzhe xilu, and Fuzhou of Fujianlu.[19] That Lianghuailu was included in Marco Polo's notion of Manzi is corroborated by the fact that in the chapters dealing with Coiganju he explicitly remarks three times that this city is standing at the entrance to Manzi.[20] Coiganju is none other than Huai'anzhou 淮安州,

---

[15] See the maps in Guo Zhengzhong (chief ed.) (1997), p. 271, and Map 2 in Cecilia Lee-fang Chien (2004), p. xvii.

[16] *Yuanshi*, vol. 1, chap. 9, p. 176; Peng Hai (2010), p. 178.

[17] Rossabi (1998), pp. 88–89.

[18] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 236. Cf. Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 528: "Nos ne voç avon contés, des IX roiames dou Mangi, mes que des III; ce sunt Yangiu et Quisai et Fugiu, e de ce avés voç bien entendu; [...]."

[19] Tan Qixiang (chief ed.) (1982), vol. 6, 59–60, 62, 67–68; Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 236.

[20] Cf. Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, pp. 497, 500–501; Yule (1903), vol. 2, pp. 143, 151–152.

which was exactly the first city on the Southern Song side at the border betweem the Jin and Southern Song empire.[21]

Another reasonable assumption we have to make is that by the salt revenue of "the said city of Kinsay and its territory" was meant that of the salt zone of Liangzhe.[22] As a matter of fact, a Salt Distribution Commission (*yanyunsi* 鹽運司) was set up in Hangzhou under the Yuan, as early as in 1277 or 1278.[23] Moreover, the role of Hangzhou also becomes evident by the fact that during the early Yuan period nine Salt Commissions (*yansi* 鹽司) were established in the area of Hangzhou, in addition to a salt control and weighing station in Hangzhou itself.[24] However, in this respect we have to deal with a passage that is only mentioned in the Z manuscript version (V 6) and Ramusio's text (V 11): "This province [Kinsay and its territory]…; and thence they extract such a quantity of salt as suffices for the supply of five of the kingdoms of Manzi besides this one." One Chinese historian, Li Zefen 李則芬, writing in 1977, pointed out—probably correctly—that Marco Polo mixed up the salt distribution of Lianghuai with the one of Liangzhe.[25] As a matter of fact, the salt monopoly zone of Zhejiang salt during the Song period covered the administrative units in Liangzhe xilu and Liangzhe donglu as well as in Jiangnan donglu. Huai salt, however, was distributed mainly in Huainan donglu, Huainan xilu, Jiangnan donglu, Jiangnan xilu, Jinghu nanlu and Jinghu beilu.[26] In the

---

[21] See Tan Qixiang (chief ed.) (1982), vol. 6, 62, 1/7, under the place name Chuzhou 楚州 or Shanyang 山陽.

[22] For some basic data on the Liangzhe salt monopoly during the Yuan period see p. 184 of Schurmann's (1956) translation of the economic chapters of the *Yuanshi*. A special article on Zhejiang salt during the Yuan period was written by Lin Shujian (1991), pp. 307–322. The Zhejiang saltworks under the Mongols are also an important topic in Yoshida/Vogel (1993). For an instructive study of the Liangzhe salterns under the Southern Song see Worthy (1975), pp. 101–141.

[23] *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 91, p. 2313; Schurmann (1956), pp. 170, 184; Guo Zhengzhong (chief ed.) (1997), p. 443.

[24] See Yoshida/Vogel (1993), p. 31. The nine salt commissions were located in Chacao 茶槽, Renhe 仁和, Beizha 北柵, Xucun 許村, Nanlu 南路, Xixing 西興, Qianqing 錢清, Qiantang 錢塘 and Xilu 西路.

[25] See the Italian translation of Li's article by Italo M. Molinari, *Un articolo d'autore Cinese su Marco Polo e la Cina*, Napoli: Istituto Orientale di Napoli (Supplemento n. 30 agli Annali, vol. 42, fasc. 1), 1982.

[26] See Guo Zhengzhong 郭正忠, "Songdai dongnan haiyan keli suishou kaochao" 宋代东南海盐课利岁收考察 (An Investigation into the Annual Levy Proceeds from Sea Salt in Southeast [China] during the Song Period), in his *Songyan guankui* 宋盐管窥 (My Humble Opinion on Salt in the Song Period), Taiyuan: Shanxi jingji chubanshe, 1990, pp. 300, 321–322. Moreover, some Huai salt was also allotted to Jingdong donglu 京東東路 and Liangzhelu. See maps 4 and 10 in Cecilia Lee-fang Chien (2004), pp. xx and xxxii.

case of Huai and Zhe salt the Yuan followed basically the salt distribution pattern of the Song period,[27] and because of this it is clear that the statement "[…] they extract such a quantity of salt as suffices for the supply of five of the kingdoms of Manzi besides this one […]" does not fit the Zhe salt distribution zone which consisted of only three administrative units (Liangzhe xilu, Liangzhe donglu and Jiangnan donglu), but perfectly agrees with the Huai salt area, consisting of Huainan donglu as a production region and the five regions of Huainan xilu, Jiangnan donglu, Jiangnan xilu, Jinghu nanlu and Jinghu beilu as major consumption areas.

In spite of this confusion over the number of distribution zones of Huainan and Zhejiang salt, I nonetheless think that in the section dealing with the revenue of Kinsay Marco Polo meant the salt zone of Liangzhe, and nothing else. First of all we have to be aware that the sentence regarding the distribution of salt only occurs in the Z manuscript and subsequently in the Ramusio version. We do not know from where exactly the copyist of the Z manuscript got this passage. The attribution of it to the Kinsay chapter may have been a mistake by him, and not by Marco Polo himself. But even if the Venetian himself is the origin of this wrong attribution, it could well be that after so many years Marco Polo had mixed up things in hindsight. Moreover, even if he confounded Zhe salt with Huai salt, we should not forget the amazing fact that the Venetian traveller is the only non-Chinese author who gives us such a precise description of the production and distribution areas of China's most important sea salt producer, the Huai region.

According to Yule's compounded Marco Polo version, the annual revenue from salt in Kinsay and its territory amounted to 5,600,000 *saggi* of gold. This figure is basically in accordance with the Franco-Italian manuscript (V 1), the early French texts (V 2 and V 3), and the Z version (V 6) which define the value of a *toman* as being worth 70,000 *saggi* of gold. In contrast to these texts, however, Pipino's rendering (V 4) as well as the later manuscripts and printed texts more or less explicitly based on it, the Venetian version of Padova (V 7), the Tuscan manuscript (V 8) and Ramusio's rendering (V 11) give a *toman* with 80,000 *saggi* and hence logically a total value of 6,400,000 *saggi* of gold. There is no need to discuss such unrealistic or even fanciful conversions as they are contained, e.g., in the very much shortened Sessa manuscript (V 10), the German Admont account (V 12) the Spanish printed version of Santaella of 1518 (V 16) or the

[27] See Guo Zhengzhong (chief ed.) (1997), pp. 450–451; Lin Shujian (1991), p. 312.

first English translation of John Frampton of 1579 (V 19) as these are often very much condensed accounts of later periods and cannot be anything else than corrupted renderings. There remains the fact, however, that two different figures—namely 5,600,000 and 6,400,000 *saggi* of gold—have to be taken into account as both are mentioned in the earliest manuscript versions of Marco Polo's report.

On the basis of my investigation of the relationship between the weight of *saggi* and that of 1 *liang* of monetary silver and thus of gold (Appendix 6) as well as in consideration of the official exchange rates between gold and Zhongtong paper money, the two different figures of the salt revenue income of Kinsay provided by early versions of Marco Polo's account can now be converted from *saggi* into *liang* of gold and from *liang* of gold into *liang* of Zhongtong paper money:

Average relationship between *saggi* and *liang*:

≈ 9.0791 *saggi* = 39.04 g = 1 *liang* of gold

Thus:

5,600,000 *saggi* = 24,080 kg of gold = 616,801 *liang* of gold

6,400,000 *saggi* = 27,520 kg of gold = 704,916 *liang* of gold

Highest possible relationship between *saggi* and *liang*:

≈ 10.1045 *saggi* = 40.62 g = 1 *liang* of gold

Thus:

5,600,000 *saggi* = 22,512 kg of gold = 554,210 *liang* of gold

6,400,000 *saggi* = 25,728 kg of gold = 633,383 *liang* of gold

Lowest possible relationship between *saggi* and *liang*:

≈ 7.8205 *saggi* = 36.6 g = 1 *liang* of gold

Thus:

5,600,000 *saggi* = 26,208 kg of gold = 716,067 *liang* of gold

6,400,000 *saggi* = 29,952 kg of gold = 818,362 *liang* of gold

Official rates for purchasing and selling gold with Zhongtong paper money by state agencies from 1282–1286:

1 *liang* of gold purchased for 14.8 *liang* Zhongtong paper money
1 *liang* of gold sold for 15.0 *liang* of Zhongtong paper money[28]

Hence mean exchange rate for 1 *liang* gold:

14.8 + 15.0 / 2 = 14.9 *liang* of Zhongtong paper money

28

Official rates for purchasing and selling gold with Zhiyuan and Zhongtong paper money by state agencies from 1287 onwards:

1 *liang* of gold purchased for 20.0 *guan* Zhiyuan paper money
1 *liang* of gold sold for 20.5 *guan* Zhiyuan paper money
1 *guan* Zhiyuan paper money = 5 *guan* Zhongtong paper money[29]

Hence mean exchange rate for 1 *liang* gold:
(20.0 + 20.5 / 2) × 5 = 101.25 *guan* Zhongtong paper money

29

Relationship between the paper money units *guan* or *liang* and *ding* during the Yuan period:

50 *guan* or *liang* Zhongtong paper money = 1 *ding* Zhongtong paper money

---

[28] Peng Xinwei/Kapan (1994), vol. 2, p. 478n42; Franke (1949), p. 58, erroneously has 18 *liang* instead of 15 *liang* as selling rate. Cf. *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang*, chap. 22, p. 2b (vol. 1, p. 299).

[29] Peng Xinwei/Kapan (1994), vol. 2, p. 479n43; Franke (1949), p. 78.

Table 20. Approximate average salt revenues of Kinsay in gold and paper money according to the exchange rates of 1282–1286 and from 1287 onwards

Date	*saggi* of gold	*liang* of gold	*guan* of Zhongtong paper money	*ding* of Zhongtong paper money
1282–1286	5,600,000	**616,801**	***9,190,335***	183,807
	6,400,000	**704,916**	***10,503,248***	210,065
from 1287	5,600,000	616,801	62,451,101	1,249,022
onwards	6,400,000	704,916	71,372,745	1,427,455

Note: Average conversion relationship between *saggi*/*miskals* and one *liang* for silver (or gold) of the Yuan period ≈ 9.0791 *saggi*/*miskals* = 1 *liang* (see Appendix 6). 50 *liang* Zhongtong paper money = 1 *ding* Zhongtong paper money.

Table 21. Lowest possible salt revenues of Kinsay in gold and paper money according to the exchange rates of 1282–1286 and from 1287 onwards

Date	*saggi* of gold	*liang* of gold	*guan* of Zhongtong paper money	*ding* of Zhongtong paper money
1282–1286	5,600,000	**554,210**	***8,257,729***	165,155
	6,400,000	**633,383**	***9,437,406***	188,748
from 1287	5,600,000	554,210	56,113,763	1,122,275
onwards	6,400,000	633,383	64,130,028	1,282,601

Note: Highest conversion relationship between *saggi*/*miskals* and one *liang* for silver (or gold) of the Yuan period ≈ 10.1045 *saggi*/*miskals* = 1 *liang*.

Table 22. Highest possible salt revenues of Kinsay in gold and paper money according to the exchange rates of 1282–1286 and from 1287 onwards

Date	*saggi* of gold	*liang* of gold	*guan* of Zhongtong paper money	*ding* of Zhongtong paper money
1282–1286	5,600,000	**716,067**	***10,669,398***	213,388
	6,400,000	**818,362**	***12,193,594***	243,872
from 1287	5,600,000	716,067	72,501,784	1,450,036
onwards	6,400,000	818,362	82,859,153	1,657,183

Note: Lowest conversion relationship between *saggi*/*miskals* and one *liang* for silver (or gold) of the Yuan period ≈ 7.8205 *saggi*/*miskals* = 1 *liang*.

When making educated guesses on the basis of the figures provided both by Marco Polo and by Chinese sources this has to be done on the premise that during the Yuan period prices were generally expressed in Zhongtong paper money, and that this even continued to be the case when other

types of paper money were introduced or the Zhongtong paper notes had ceased to circulate.[30] Another assumption we have to make based on the popularity of Zhongtong paper notes is that Marco Polo did not mean revenue in real gold, but simply wanted to use a currency or specie with which his readers were familiar. Paper money was unknown in Europe and hence gold currency served Marco Polo as a means to valuate the Mongols' public revenue in Zhongtong paper money.[31] And it also seems to be reasonable to assume that Marco Polo used the official exchange rates when converting Zhongtong paper notes to *liang* of gold in order to highlight the wealth of the Great Khan's public revenue for his readers. It is well known that a notable inflation of paper money set in with the conquest of Central and South China in 1275. As we have mentioned before, from 1275 until the monetary reform of 1287, market prices expressed in Zhongtong paper money rose between four and twenty times—or ten times on average—in comparison with the period in and shortly after 1260.[32] This finds its reflection, for instance, in the rise of the unofficial prices for salt in 1284 from 80 to 120 *guan* per *yin*, in comparison to the official prices of 20 to 30 *guan* for the same amount (see Table 15, p. 320). Nonetheless, because Marco Polo probably presented the official side of the salt monopoly, it is very likely that his figures were based on the official exchange rates, and not the unofficial or market prices which were much more heavily impacted by the effects of the ongoing inflation.

On the basis of the available tax revenue figures of the Liangzhe salt region and the prices for a *yin* of salt during the Yuan period (Table 15) it can be estimated that in the years from 1285 to 1286, with outputs in Liangzhe between 350,000 and 450,000 *yin* of salt and prices between 20 and 30 *guan* Zhongtong paper money per *yin*, the annual revenues could be as low as *7,000,000 guan* Zhongtong paper money and as high as *13,500,000 guan* of this type of paper notes. When we convert these figures into *liang* of gold at the official exchange rate, annual figures as low as 469,799 and as high as 906,040 *liang* of gold would result.

---

[30] Peng Xinwei/Kaplan (1994), vol. 2, pp. 488n44, 481, 482.

[31] See also Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 218n2: "Marco's amount, as he gives it, is, I think, unquestionably a huge exaggeration, though I do not suppose an intentional one. In spite of his professed rendering of the amounts in gold, I have little doubt that his tomans really represent paper-currency, […]." In a similar vein Jean-Claude Faucon states that in the opinion of both Pauthier and Yule, Marco Polo's indications would have been exact if he had expressed them in *liang* [in silver] or *chao* of paper money. See Faucon (2008), p. 106.

[32] See chapter II.5.

In a next step, we will compare these revenue figures expressed in *guan* of paper notes and *liang* of gold with the figures obtained by converting Marco Polo's *saggi* into the same monetary units, i.e. paper notes and gold, taking into account the average, lowest and highest possible values. Tables 20–22 show that Marco Polo's Kinsay salt revenue in *liang* of gold could be as low as **554,210** and as high as **818,362** *liang* of gold. Thus, there is no difficulty in integrating them into the possible range of **469,799** and **906,040** *liang* of gold that we derived from the data presented by Chinese sources. Given these results and in view of the fact that the Liangzhe salt administration only produced about 17 percent of Yuan salt revenues (Table 16, p. 332), I fail to see in which way Marco Polo has exaggerated the public income derived from the salt monopoly of the Kinsay region.

Another result of my calculations is, however, that it is highly improbable that Marco Polo's Kinsay salt revenue figures refer to the period from 1287 onwards. In that year Zhongtong paper money was officially devalued quite substantially, so that prices expressed in Zhongtong paper money represented about 6.7 times less gold than before 1287. In other words, if we take Marco Polo's *saggi* figures and convert them into paper money at the official rate valid since 1287, this would result in a annual revenue as "low" as 56 million and as high as 82 million *guan* of Zhongtong paper money (Tables 20–22). This would be much too high in comparison with the roughly 17 to 29 million *guan* Zhongtong paper money as they can be calculated on the basis of indications made in Chinese sources (Table 15, p. 320). In the light of these considerations it makes good sense to assume that Marco Polo's figures at any rate refer to the period before 1287, and most likely to the years 1285 and 1286.[33]

So far, I have only found two references to Yuan salt tax revenue from other non-Chinese mediaeval authors. One is from the Persian historian Wassaf (fl. 1299–1323) who in his description of Kinsay of about 1300 reported that the salt revenue amounted to 700 *balichs* (1 *balish* = 1 *ding* = 50 *guan*)

[33] Shortly before publishing this monograph, it came to my attention that one Chinese historian, Chen Dezhi, came more or less to the same conclusion, though his calculations were much less elaborate than those carried out here. At any rate, the results obtained by both of us independently show the solidity of the approach. For the relevant concise statement of Chen Dezhi 陈得芝 see his "Make Boluo zai Zhongguo de lücheng jiqi niandai" 马可波罗在中国的旅程及其年代 (Marco Polo's Travel Route and Period in China), in Nanjing daxue lishixi Yuanshi yanjiushi 南京大学历史系元史研究室 (Yuan History Research Institute, Faculty of History of Nanjing University) (ed.), *Yuanshi ji beifang minzushi yanjiu jikan* 元史及北方民族史研究集刊 (Collected Research Papers on Yuan History and the History of the Northern Nationalities), 10 (1986): 7.

of paper money daily (see W 1 in Appendix 2). This would result in an annual tax revenue of 365 days × 700 *ding* = 12,775,000 *guan* Zhongtong paper money. In view of the data collected in Table 15 this would be too low for the period around 1300 when the annual Liangzhe salt revenue may have fluctuated between 26,000,000 and 29,000,000 *guan* Zhongtong notes. It seems quite probable that Wassaf's figure referred to the period before the monetary reform of 1287 and thus would be quite in agreement with the figures we have obtained from converting Marco Polo's salt tax values indicated in gold into paper money. I refrain from speculating whether Marco Polo, in some way, obtained the data from Wassaf, because this is as speculative as to argue that it was the other way round—namely that Wassaf copied Marco Polo. It is most likely that both had their own sources of information. At any rate, Wassaf's figure, even if correct for the early 1280s, is anachronistic for the period around 1300.

Another author giving figures of Yuan salt revenue is Odorico da Pordenone (1286–1331), writing in about 1330 and thus much later than the Venetian traveller. His report, however, is not about the Hangzhou salt revenue, but the one of Yangzhou. Moreover, the figures that survived in various manuscript versions vary widely (see O 1 to O 6). In a note to the relevant passage Henry Yule remarked that some of the manuscripts state the revenue at 50 *tomans*, others at 50,000 *tomans*. Because in his view the first was too low and the second too high, he proposed 500 *tomans* to be a more appropriate figure.[34] In my view, the only figure that should be taken into consideration is 50 *tomans*, i.e. 50 x 10,000 = 500,000 *balish*/*ding* = 25,000,000 *guan* Zhongtong paper money. We have seen (cf. Table 15) that the Liangzhe salt revenue amounted to about 10.5 million *guan* in 1285, 13.5 million *guan* in 1286, 17.5 million *guan* in 1289, and to a range from about 26.0 to 29.3 million *guan* in the period from 1296 to 1301. Given the fact that the Liangzhe salt revenue constituted about 14.0 percent and Lianghuai about 33.7 percent (i.e. more than double the amount of Liangzhe; cf. Table 16) of the empire-wide salt tax income, then the 25.0 million *guan* mentioned by Odorico da Pordenone make only sense for the 1280s, if at all. 500 *tomans*, as proposed by Yule, would amount to 250 million *guan* of Zhongtong notes and would be much too high, let alone 50,000 *tomans*.

[34] Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, New Edition, Revised throughout in the Light of Recent Discoveries by Henri Cordier, *Vol. II: Odoric of Pordenone*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1913, p. 211n1.

Another difficulty that is hard to explain in the case of Odorico is his indication that 1 *balish*/*ding* is worth a florin and a half and that thus a *toman* has a value of 15,000 florins. If we assume that *balish* means here 50 *guan* of Zhongtong paper money, then this would represent at the official exchange rate for gold before 1287 a value of 131 g of gold,[35] and at the exchange rate from 1287 onwards a value of 19.3 g of gold.[36] Odorico, however, gave an equivalent of 1.5 florins, or some 5.3 g (1 florin = about 3.5 g). The only way to explain this is that his rate represented the market value of paper notes, which was much lower than its value at the official exchange rate. What we can exclude with certainty here is that Odorico did not mean paper money, but had *balish*/*ding* of gold in mind, because his 15,000 florins would result in 26.9 g per *liang*,[37] a value being much too low when compared with the about 39.04 g of a *liang* during the Yuan period.

In sum, compared with Wassaf's report on the Hangzhou salt revenue and Odorico da Pordenone's figure of Yangzhou salt tax income, Marco Polo's data are in much better agreement with what we know from Chinese sources on the Yuan salt monopoly.

2. Total Annual Revenue as Reported by the Venetian

> *De prouentibus, qui magno Cham in urbe Ruinsai, & prouincia Mangi penduntur. Cap. LXV.*
> [...] Ego Marcus semel audivi computum fieri singulorum reddituũ, qui magno Cham penduntur annuatim in regno Quinsay, quod est nona pars prouincia Mangi: ascenditq; summa omnium, sale tamen excepto, ad quindecim milia milium aureorum, atq; sexcenta milia.[38]
>
> Il Gran Kan cercava d'immedesimarsi nel gioco: ma addesso era il perché del gioco a sfuggirgli. Il fine d'ogni partita è una vincita o una perdita: ma di cosa? Qual era la vera posta? Allo scacco matto, sotto il piede del re sbalzato via dalla mano del vincitore, resta un quadrato nero o bianco. A forza di scorporare le sue

[35] 1 *liang* of gold = about 39.04 g of gold = 14.9 *guan* Zhongtong paper money.
[36] 1 *liang* of gold = about 39.04 g of gold = 101.25 *guan* Zhongtong paper money.
[37] 15,000 florins × 3.5 g / 39.04 g / 50 = 26.9 g.
[38] *Marci Pavli Veneti de regionibus orientalibus*, in Simon Grynäus (1493–1541), *Novvus orbi regionvm ac insvlarvm veteribvs incognitarvm, ...*, Basileae: apvd Io. Hervagivum, 1532 (Database "Western Books on China" in the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library), p. 395.

> conquiste per ridurle all'essenza, Kublai era arrivato all'operazione estrema: la conquista definitiva, di cui i multiformi tesori dell'impero no erano che involucri illusori, si riduceva a un tassello di legno piallato: il nulla [...][39]

Let us now consider what Marco Polo has to say about the customs and revenue of Kinsay and its territories, exclusive of the salt income which he had already elucidated before this. Here, too, I will first make clear the disparity between the figures which are given by different manuscript versions and will then convert them into *liang* of gold and and *guan* of Zhongtong paper money. Thereafter, I will discuss them against the background of what we know about the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the Yuan fiscal system and in the light of the relevance of the Hangzhou region for the public income of the Mongol regime. All these calculations and conversions will show that Marco Polo's figures on the customs and revenue of Kinsay and its territory—a ninth part of Manzi—did not lie outside the range of data offered by Chinese historiography on the public income of the Yuan period.

After his introduction dealing with the importance of salt taxation, the report of theVenetian traveller on Kinsay and its revenue continues as follows:

> [Text MP F]
> And you must know that Messer Marco Polo, who relates all this, was several times sent by the Great Kaan to inspect the amount of his customs and revenue from this ninth part of Manzi, and he found it to be, exclusive of the salt revenue which we have mentioned already, 210 *tomans* of gold, equivalent to 14,700,000 *saggi* of gold; one of the most enormous revenues that ever was heard of. And if the sovereign has such a revenue from one-ninth part of the country, you may judge what he must have from the whole of it! However, to speak the truth, this part is the greatest and most productive; and because of the great revenue that the Great Kaan derives from it, it is his favourite province, and he takes all the more care to watch it well, and to keep the people contented.

With regard to Kinsay's other revenue except salt, the different manuscripts are inconsistent in their indications. The variety refers to the number of *tomans*, the number of *saggi* per *toman* as either 70,000 or 80,000 *saggi*/*toman* as already mentioned in the salt revenue part, as well as to

---

[39] Italo Calvino, *Le città invisibili*, 3rd. ed. Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1972, pp. 128–129.

the quantity resulting from the, often erroneous, multiplication of *saggi* per *toman*:[40]

Table 23. The revenue of Kinsay, except salt, in selected Marco Polo versions

Manuscript	*tomans*	*saggi/toman*	*saggi*
Franco-Italian F (V 1)	210		**14,700,000**
Early French B1 (V 2)	210	[70,000]	[14,700,000]
French A1 (V 3)	200		15,700,008
French B (sub V 3)	200		15,700,008
French C (sub V 3)	210		15,700,000
French Geographical Society (sub V 3)	210		15,700,000
Latin Pipino (V 4)			15,600,000
Latin Grynäus (V 5)			15,600,000
Latin Ms. Z (V 6)	210		
Venetian Ms. VA^3 (V 7)	200		
Tuscian TA^2 (V 8)	210		15,700,000
Venetian Ms. VA^2 (V9)	2,000		
Italian Sessa (V 10)	20,000		
Italian Ramusio (V 11)	210	80,000	**16,800,000**
German Ms. Admont (V 12)	210,000		15,600,000
German printed version (V 13)	210		15,800,000
Catalan Ms. (14)			
Aragon Ms. (14a)			
Portuguese Fernandes (V 15)			15,600,000
Spanish Santaella, 1518 (V 16)	10,000		
English Frampton, 1579 (V 19)	10,000		
Dutch Glazemaker, 1664 (V 20)			15,600,000

Sources: Appendix 7, including footnotes.

Regardless of whatever was the original figure, Table 23 shows that the amount of the revenue of Kinsay, exclusive of that from salt, ranged between 16,800,000 *saggi* of gold as the highest and 14,700,000 *saggi* as the lowest value, just depending whether the *toman* is equivalent to 80,000 or 70,000 *saggi* of gold. If we now carry out conversions in an identical way as we did in the case of the salt revenue figures, Marco Polo's indications in *liang* of gold and in *guan* and *ding* of paper money would result in

[40] Yule notes, e.g., that some manuscripts have 1 *toman* = 70,000 *saggi*, but 210 *tomans* = 15,700,000 *saggi* (Pauthier MS C and the Geog. Text); others have 80,000 and 15,700,000 *saggi* (Crusca and Latin); Ramusio alone has 80,000 and 16,800,000 *saggi*. See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 217n2.

the following range of amounts for the periods before 1287 and from 1287 onwards:

Table 24. Approximate average revenues of Kinsay (except salt) in gold and paper money according to the exchange rates of 1282–1286 and from 1287 onwards

Date	*saggi* of gold	*liang* of gold	*guan* of Zhongtong paper money	*ding* of Zhongtong paper money
1282–1286	14,700,000	1,619,103	24,124,638	**482,493**
	16,800,000	1,850,404	27,571,015	**551,420**
from 1287	14,700,000	1,619,103	163,934,179	3,278,684
onwards	16,800,000	1,850,404	187,353,405	3,747,068

Note: Average conversion relationship between *saggi*/*miskals* and one *liang* for silver (or gold) of the Yuan period ≈ 9.0791 *saggi*/*miskals* = 1 *liang* (see Appendix 6). 50 *liang* Zhongtong paper money = 1 *ding* Zhongtong paper money.

Table 25. Highest possible revenues of Kinsay (except salt) in gold and paper money according to the exchange rates of 1282–1286 and from 1287 onwards

Date	*saggi* of gold	*liang* of gold	*guan* of Zhongtong paper money	*ding* of Zhongtong paper money
1282–1286	14,700,000	1,879,675	28,007,161	**560,143**
	16,800,000	2,148,200	32,008,184	**640,164**
from 1287	14,700,000	1,879,675	190,317,094	3,806,342
onwards	16,800,000	2,148,200	217,505,250	4,350,105

Note: Average conversion relationship between *saggi*/*miskals* and one *liang* for silver (or gold) of the Yuan period ≈ 7.8205 *saggi*/*miskals* = 1 *liang* (see Appendix 6).

Table 26. Lowest possible revenues of Kinsay (except salt) in gold and paper money according to the exchange rates of 1282–1286 and from 1287 onwards

Date	*saggi* of gold	*liang* of gold	*guan* of Zhongtong paper money	*ding* of Zhongtong paper money
1282–1286	14,700,000	1,454,797	21,676,481	**433,530**
	16,800,000	1,662,626	24,773,121	**495,462**
from 1287	14,700,000	1,454,797	147,298,196	2,945,964
onwards	16,800,000	1,662,626	168,340,883	3,366,818

Note: Average conversion relationship between *saggi*/*miskals* and one *liang* for silver (or gold) of the Yuan period ≈ 10.1045 *saggi*/*miskals* = 1 *liang* (see Appendix 6).

The result of our conversion of Marco Polo's *saggi* figures into *ding* of paper money provides us with a range of **433,530** as the lowest and **640,164** *ding* Zhongtong paper money as the highest value of the total revenue (except salt) of Kinsay and its region. After having discussed the possible range of conversions of the data provided by Marco Polo, let me now present relevant information on the fiscal system of the Yuan dynasty, both with regard to the overall public income as well as concerning the fiscal importance of the Hangzhou region.

The Yuan fiscal system consisted of three major categories—namely grain taxes (*shuiliang* 稅糧), household taxes (*kechai* 科差) and revenues from various products (*zhuse kecheng* 諸色課程).[41] The household taxes (*kechai, qubchir*) included revenue in silk yarn, silk floss, silk cloth, cloth, *baoyin*-taxes in silver, and levies in cowries. Taxes for various products comprised levies for salt, tea, liquor, and vinegar, commercial taxes, annual [monopoly] taxes and taxation of various items subsumed under non-quota taxes (*ewaike* 額外課). The annual [monopoly] levies (*suike* 歲課) were collected for copper, iron, lead and tin, alum, nitre and sodium carbonate, bamboo, wood, as well as gold and silver. The non-quota levies (*ewaike*) comprised at least thirty-two different items.[42] Herbert Franz Schurmann, Chen Gaohua and Shi Weimin as well as Herbert Franke have analysed and listed the available figures on tax items, revenues and expenditures in money or kind for the period from 1263 to 1329. The data provided by them are condensed in Table 27 in Appendix 8. As for most of the Yuan period, the data for the time when Marco Polo was in China are sparse. Despite this and other shortcomings, some rough estimates can nonetheless be formed on the basis of an evaluation of the general quantitative and qualitative trends in public revenue during the Yuan dynasty.

A first particular feature we can notice in Table 27 is that Yuan revenue not only comprised paper money, but also a number of other items. In 1265, for instance, apart from 56,874 *ding* of paper money, 986,912 *jin* of silk yarn and 85,412 bolts of cloth were collected as household taxes. The most complete picture on the various tax items collected during the Yuan period is provided by the data set of 1328. Besides tax grain in kind, grain tax was also collected in money. Other tax items in kind comprised silk

[41] With regard to the designation of the various tax categories I follow for the most part the English terminology in Schurmann (1956).

[42] For these different items see the list in Schurmann (1956), pp. 238–239.

floss, silk yarn, silk cloth, cloth, copper, iron, lead, tin, bamboo and wood. Taxes in money were levied for a part of grain taxes, for a part (i.e. *baoyin* 包銀 "farming the silver") of the household taxes, for salt, tea, liquor, vinegar, for commercial taxes as well as for iron, lead and tin, alum, nitre and sodium carbonate, bamboo and wood. In Yunnan, a certain amount of cowries was accepted in tax payments. In addition, also some amounts of gold and silver were collected as taxes.

Secondly, Table 27 makes clear that, with the exception of grain, paper money was the most important means of tax payments. In 1298 the annual revenue was given with 3,600,000 *ding* paper money, 100,000 *liang* silver and 19,000 *liang* gold. According to the official exchange rate[43] the 3,600,000 *ding* paper money represented a value of 1,777,777 *liang* of gold, while the 100,000 *liang* silver equaled about 10,000 *liang* of gold. Precious metals thus constituted only about 0.16 percent of the official revenue value. In 1329 the share of precious metals was again likewise marginal, when compared with paper money.

Thirdly, it can be ascertained that the absolute amounts of taxes collected in paper money were rising. While in 1284 total taxes collected in paper money amounted almost to 1,000,000 *ding*, they increased to about 3,000,000 *ding* in 1292. In 1307 they reached about 4,000,000 *ding*, in 1328 more than 9,000,000 *ding*. A similar development can be observed in the sector of tea levies, where taxes rose from 1,200 *ding* in 1276 to almost 300,000 *ding* in the 1320s. While part of this development may have been due to subjecting more and more production sectors to taxation, it is likewise clear that it was closely linked to the increasing depreciation of the paper currency from the 1280s onwards.

As the former seat of the Southern Song court, "Kinsay and its territory" no doubt must have generated a considerable amount of revenue. Marco Polo called this the greatest and most productive region, far out-weighing its territorial share of one-ninth part of Manzi and he stressed that due to its fiscal importance Kinsay was especially taken care of and guarded by the Great Khan. In a similar way to the case of salt, in which the salt revenues of Kinsay must have referred to the Liangzhe salt zone, there can hardly be any doubt that the other tax levies of "Kinsay and its territories" meant those of the province of Jiangzhe. Chinese sources provide us with some concrete hints about the fiscal relevance of this province, as for a number of major and minor tax items not only empire-wide quotas

[43] 101.25 *guan* Zhongtong paper money = 1 *liang* gold.

and figures are available, but also regional ones, including Jiangzhe. In Table 28 I have assembled such data which show that Jiangzhe's share in the total empire-wide revenue was indeed of tremendous importance and that Marco Polo has by no means exaggerated the weight of this province within the Yuan fiscal system and thus its relevance for the upkeep of Mongol rule.

Table 28. Share of Jiangzhe 江浙 in various tax items in 1328

Tax items	Empire-wide figures	Jiangzhe figures	Share of Jiangzhe (%)
Taxes in kind:			
Grain tax (*shi*)	12,114,708	4,494,783	37.10
Iron tax (*jin*)	884,543	245,867	27.80
Gold (*liang*)	24,450	9,000	36.81
Silver (*liang*)	77,460	6,300	8.10
Taxes in *ding* of paper money:			
Salt tax [Liangzhe salt zone]	**7,661,000**	**1,363,658**	**17.80**
Grain tax	**149,274**	**57,830**	**38.74**
baoyinchao	989	?	?
Tea levies	289,211	?	?
Liquor levies	**469,159**	**196,654**	**41.92**
Vinegar levies	**22,596**	**11,870**	**52.53**
Commercial taxes	**939,682**	**269,027**	**28.63**
Non-quota levies	212,835	?	?
Iron levies	**1,880**	**1,703**	**90.59**
Lead and tin levies	**937**	**921**	**98.29**
Alum levies	**2,249**	**1**	**0.04**
Nitre and sodium carbonate levies	26	?	?
Bamboo and wood levies	**13,550**	**9,355**	**69.04**
Total in *ding* of paper money	9,763,388	?	?
Total of items with reference to Jiangzhe	***9,260,327***	***1,911,019***	***20.64***
Total of items with reference to Jiangzhe, except salt	***1,599,327***	***547,361***	***34.22***

Source: Table 27 (Appendix 8), and Table 16 (17.8 percent as share of the Liangzhe salt revenue in the empire-wide salt tax income).

Note: Gold and silver taxes were converted into paper money according to the official exchange rate: 101.25 Zhongtong paper money = about 1 *liang* gold = about 10 *liang* silver.

The figures that have survived from the Yuan period allow us to gauge to a certain extent the share of the Jiangzhe region within the total revenue receipts of the empire. Table 28 shows that, with regard to taxes in kind, Jiangzhe contributed about 37.1 percent of all grain taxes. As to the gold and silver levies, about 36.1 and 8.1 percent respectively came from Jiangzhe. With regard to the minor item of iron taxes in kind, Jiangzhe's percentage amounted to about 27.8 percent.

In the domain of taxes levied in *ding* of paper money, it can be estimated that in 1328 the share of the Liangzhe salt zone was about 17.8 percent (cf. Table 16, p. 332). For 1285, however, we may arrive at a somewhat different percentage. During that period the total salt output in the Yuan empire amounted to about 1,820,000 *yin* of salt (Table 29). As it is quite realistic to estimate the Liangzhe salt output to have reached 350,000 *yin* in that year (cf. Table 16), Liangzhe may have produced about 19.2 percent of the empire-wide salt output.

In 1328 the role of Jiangzhe was also important in other tax items. In grain taxes converted to paper money Jiangzhe's share amounted to about 38.7, in liquor levies to 41.2, and in commercial taxes to about 28.6 percent, not to speak of its share in a number of smaller levy items, such as vinegar (about 52.5), iron (about 90.6), bamboo and wood (about 69.0), and lead and tin (about 98.3).

When concentrating on the 1328 taxes levied in paper money it can be demonstrated that, for those items for which we have both empire-wide and regional data, Jiangzhe's total share amounted to 20.7 percent. In this percentage salt taxes are included. If we exclude salt taxes, as was done by Marco Polo, the Jiangzhe share constituted about 34.2 percent. From this it appears to be fair to extrapolate that Jiangzhe contributed about one third of the empire's total amount of taxes levied in paper money.

Table 29. Annual salt production and salt tax revenues of the Yuan dynasty, about 1285–1330

Date and nature of data	Production in *yin*	Revenue in *ding* of paper money
Quota for the year 1285	1,820,000	
Quota for the year 1306	1,915,000	
Production during the years 1328–1330	2,564,000 (2,815,380)[a]	7,661,000

Source: Schurmann (1956), pp. 170, 186.

Note:
[a] Estimate by Schurmann.

After having made clear the substantial importance of Jiangzhe in contributing taxes both in kind and in paper money, let us now proceed to apply the results of my calculation with figures taken from Chinese sources to Marco Polo's indications. The percentages of 34.2 and 19.2 percent as I have established them above allow us now to make an estimate of the revenue of the other parts of the empire, as I did in Tables 30 and 31. When calculating with the value for the average relationship between *saggi*/*miskal* and the Chinese *liang* for silver or gold during the Yuan period, then we may arrive at a figure as low as about 2,362,380 and as high as 2,706,427 *ding* Zhongtong paper money for the total Yuan tax income in paper currency. When comparing these two figures with the data we have on the total tax income in paper currency (Table 27 in Appendix 8) from the year 1284 (932,600 *ding*) and from 1292 (2,987,305 *ding*), we can see that these two estimates are well within the range of what we know from this period—a time which was marked by rapidly raising levies in paper currency. Hence a figure of 480,000 to 550,000 *ding* as overall income of

Table 30. Estimate of the Jiangzhe and empire-wide paper money tax revenue on the basis of the lower *saggi* figures mentioned by Marco Polo

Salt, customs and other revenue of Hangzhou in relation to other parts of the empire	*ding* of paper money
customs and revenue from Kinsay and territory, exclusive of salt (34.2 percent of these types of revenue)	about 482,493
customs and revenue from other parts of the empire, exclusive of salt (65.8 percent of these types of revenue)	about 928,305
salt revenue of Kinsay and territory (19.2 of total salt revenue)	about 183,806
salt revenue from other parts of the empire (80.8 of total salt revenue)	about 767,776
Total	about 2,362,380

Source: See Table 28 and text; Appendix 6.

Note: Calculated on the basis of the average relationship between *saggi*/*miskal* and Yuan *liang* for silver and gold (9.0791 *saggi* = 1 *liang* gold), the mean official exchange rate between gold and paper money (1 *liang* gold = 14.9 *liang* Zhongtong paper money), the relation between *liang* and *ding* in paper money (1 *ding* = 50 *liang*), and by taking 5,600,000 *saggi* for the salt revenue and 14,700,000 *saggi* for the other revenue of Kinsay and its territory. E.g. 14,700,000 *saggi* / 9.0791 = 1,619,103 *liang* gold; 1,619,103 *liang* gold × 14.9 = 24,124,638 *liang* Zhongtong paper money; 24,124,638 *liang* Zhongtong paper money / 50 = 482,493 *ding* Zhongtong paper money.

Table 31. Estimate of the Jiangzhe and empire-wide paper money tax revenue on the basis of the higher *saggi* figures mentioned by Marco Polo

Salt, customs and other revenue of Hangzhou in relation to other parts of the empire	*ding* of paper money
customs and revenue from Kinsay and territory, exclusive of salt (34.2 percent of these types of revenue)	about 551,420
customs and revenue from other parts of the empire, exclusive of salt (75.8 percent of these types of revenue)	about 1,060,920
salt revenue of Kinsay and territory (19.2 of total salt revenue)	about 210,064
salt revenue from other parts of the empire (80.8 of total salt revenue)	about 884,023
Total	about 2,706,427

Source: See Table 28 and text; Appendix 6.

Note: Calculated on the basis of the same parameters as in Table 30 and by taking 6,400,000 *saggi* for the salt revenue and 16,800,000 *saggi* for the other revenue of Kinsay and its territory.

Kinsay and its region in paper money, as it can be computed from Marco Polo's indications, is by no means far-fetched. This is all the more so as these 480,000 to 550,000 *ding* only include Kinsay's tax revenues in money, but not those in kind, to which this region likewise contributed substantial amounts of grain and raw materials.

One may object that according to the official exchange rates of 1282–1286 these quantities of 2.3 to 2.7 million *ding* paper money represented a gold value of about 7.9 to 9.1 million *liang*,[44] while according to the exchange rate of from 1287 onwards the 2.3 to 2.7 million *ding* paper money equalled a gold value of only about 1.2 to 1.3 million *liang*.[45] This is, however, of no importance here, as the exchange rates as they were current for currencies in taxation and on markets differed widely. While prices on the markets were inflated by more than a dozen times, the official devaluation of Zhongtong paper money vis-à-vis gold amounted to only 6.8 times in 1287. In the same year, the official price per *yin* of salt was also

[44] 1 *ding* paper money = 50 *guan* paper money / 14.9 = about 3.3557 *liang* gold.
[45] 1 *ding* paper money = 50 *guan* paper money / 101.25 = about 0.4938 *liang* gold.

increased, from 30 *liang* Zhongtong paper money to 50 *liang* Zhongtong paper money (Table 15, p. 320)—thus, however, only being raised by 1.67 times. This means that, especially in this initial period of official devaluation of Zhongtong paper money in public revenue, our main consideration has to be the absolute figures of Zhongtong paper money, and less their valuation in gold, as devaluation in the official domain proceeded at a much slower pace compared to private sectors.

In conclusion, while all these calculations contain some elements of guesswork, extrapolations and projections, it has nonetheless become clear that the Kinsay revenue figures provided by Marco Polo are by no means so far from the mark as has been hitherto assumed. To the contrary, when all the complexities of the currency situation, state revenue system, price developments and market conditions are properly taken into account, they make a good deal of sense, especially for the years 1285–1289. Thus, a relatively short period can be identified, for which Marco Polo's figures are in accordance with what we know of the Yuan monetary conditions and the fiscal regime.

But how and from where, one may ask, did Marco Polo obtain this fiscal information as well as all the knowledge of the salt administration? He himself claimed, in the Franco-Italian rendering as in most other manuscript versions, that "[…] I, Marco Polo, have several times listened to the accounting of all these revenues […],"[46] or even, in an early French manuscript (V 3), that "[…] Messer Marco Polo, who relates all this, was several times sent by the Great Kaan to inspect the amount of his customs and revenue from this ninth part [of Manzi] […]."[47] In an earlier chapter of this book I have dealt with the question whether Marco Polo may have been appointed an Overseer (*daluhuachifu* 達魯花赤), Assistant Overseer (*fu daluhuachifu* 副達魯花赤), or to some lower office in one of the regional or local administrative bodies of Yangzhou Route. In this context it is interesting to note that the Yuan local government system was characterized by a collective style of decision-making, like the *kuriltai* assemblies on higher political and military levels. On the local level, administrative provisions demanded daily participation by all ranked officials in daily conferences. Failures in attending these assemblies incurred

[46] See V 1 in Appendix 7: "[…] jeo, Marc Pol, que plusor foies oi faire le conte de la rende de tous cestes couses […]."

[47] See V 3 in Appendix 7: "[…] que ledit Messire Marc Pol, qui tout ce raconte, fu pluseurs fois envoiés par le grant Kaan pour veoir le compte de ce que montent les drois et les rentes du Seigneur, de ceste .ix^{e}. partie […]."

punishments, from a monetary fine in the first instance, to a beating in a second, and dismissal from office in a third instance. A regulation from 1277 reads as follows:

> The officials of the capital, prefectures (*fu* 府), departments (*zhou* 州) and districts (*xian* 縣) gather together every morning. They sit in conference [lit.: sit in the round: *yuanzuo* 圓坐], [where] they deliberate upon legal cases, and delve into official business. Except for those to whom it is appropriate to grant leave, [the others] must not be remiss in their duties [that is, in attending conference]. As before, every day they must sign in, in the official conference register (*gongzuo wenbu* 公座文簿). Those who are absent on official business will be marked down above.[48]

Another interesting passage informing us on this participatory format of local government marked by daily conferences and collective responsibility comes from the local gazetteer of Zhenjiang of the 1330s, that is exactly the place from where Marco Polo had reported that the Nestorian Mar Sarghis has served as Assistant Overseer:

> Although they were called "subordinate officials" (*canzuo* 參佐), yet all [officials, including the subordinate ones] sat together in conference (*yuanzuo*). No matter whether an affair was great or small in the *fu* 府 [that is, the *zongguanfu* 總管府 or Route Command], it had to go up from the Commissioner of Records (*panguan* 判官) for each, one by one, to affix his official signature and seal (*shuya* 署押) [that is, the *tongzhi* 同知 or Vice-prefect, the *zongguan* or Route Commander, and the *daluhuachi* or Overseer each had to sign documents]. Only then could it be put into effect (*shixing* 施行). [...][49]

As in these daily conferences minor officials also had to take part and because during these conventions all official business had to be discussed and decided jointly,[50] there can be no doubt that this would have concerned the important topics of salt administration and revenue auditing. Hence, rather than assuming the improbable case that Marco Polo might have obtained such kinds of precise and confidential information from

---

[48] See Endicott-West (1989), p. 50, translating a passage in *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang*, chap. 13, p. 2a. Cf. also Elizabeth Endicott-West, "Imperial Governance in Yuan Times," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 46.2 (1986): 535; Ratchnevsky (1972), *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 2, p. 36.

[49] Endicott-West (1989), p. 52, quoting the *Zhishun Zhenjiang zhi* 至順鎮江志 (Local Gazetteer of Zhenjiang from the Zhishun Reign-period), comp. by Yu Xilu 余希魯 towards the end of the Zhishun reign-period (1330–1332), ed. Taibei: Huawen shuju, 1968, chap. 15, pp. 12a–b.

[50] For more details on the Yuan conference format of decision making at the local and regional level, see Endicott-West (1989), pp. 49–53.

[so-far unknown and thus hypothetical] Persian sources, it is much more likely that he indeed was assigned official duties as Overseer, Assistant Overseer and/or as a lower-level local official and that he thus had an insight into these and other administrative and military matters as a participant in the daily conferences that were both characteristic and peculiar for all levels of the Yuan government system.

3. Commercial Taxes in *Le devisament dou monde*

> *CLIII. Ci devise de la grant rende que le grant kaan a de Quisay*
> E depuis que je vos ai dit de la sel, or vos dirai de les autres chouses e mercandies. Je voç di que en ceste provences naist e se fait plus sucar que ne fait en tout le autre monde; e ce est encore grandisme rende. Mes je ne voç dirai de cascune couse por soi, mes vos dirai de toutes especerie ensenble: car sachiés que toutes especeries rendent III et t[er]s por cent; et de toutes mercandies rendent ausi III et t[er]s por cent. Et dou vin qu'il font de ris ont il ausi grant rente, et de charbonz, e de toutes les XII ars que je voç di desovre, que ont chascune ars XII^{M} estasion: de cestes arç ont il grandismes rentes, car paient de toutes couses droit; e de la soie que ont si grant abundance est mout grandisme le droit. Et por coi vos firoie lonc conto? sachiés que de la soie se done X por cent e ce monte desmesuré monoie. Et mantes autres chouses hi a que paient encore ^{X} por cent; [...].[51]

Marco Polo not only provides data on the revenue of Kinsay and its territory, but likewise, as we can glean from the passage cited above, gives precise information on the taxation of a number of commodities. Merchandise was taxed either by levying taxes on traders passing through certain towns, cities or state-established customs stations along principal highways, but also by taxing producers selling goods to traders, as well as traders themselves when selling their goods in certain areas. Commercial taxes were probably already introduced in 1230/1231, based on a proposal submitted by Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 (1189–1234). A Tax Collection Office (*zhengshou keshui suo* 徵收稅課所) was set up for the first time in 1234,

[51] For this passage in the Franco-Italian version see Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 520.

but no tax collection quotas were fixed at that time.[52] Our Venetian traveller mentions, first, that all spicery as well as all merchandise pay a tax of three and one-third percent on the value.[53] This is fully confirmed by Chinese sources which state the following:

> Later, in the seventh year of the Zhiyuan reign-period [1270], the system whereby [the government] took one-thirtieth [in taxes from the merchants] was established. Forty-five thousand *ding* of silver was established as the quota. [...][54]

It seems that even after ten years from the introduction of the Zhongtong paper money commercial taxes were still paid in silver. No doubt, with the conquest of South China commercial taxes must have increased dramatically, as compared with the quota of 45,000 *ding* the income derived by commercial taxes in about 1328 had risen "one hundred fold."[55]

Next, Marco Polo says that rice-wine makes a great return, and charcoal (*charbonz*), of which there is great quantity,[56] and this statement finds its corroboration in Chinese sources. Liquor and Vinegar Offices (*jiucuwu* 酒醋務) for taxations purposes were already established by Ögödei in 1231 and involved government control of both production and distribution. Private manufacture of liquor was strictly forbidden and severely punished. It was only in 1285 that the government monopoly of liquor production was abolished and farmed out to private producers who had to deposit a tax in accordance with the amount of grain used for distillation. Some governmental liquor production was introduced again in 1304, at least in the Dadu area, though it is difficult to judge the government's control over liquor production.[57] The "History of the Yuan" (*Yuanshi*) mentions an annual liquor and vinegar tax of more than 270,000 *ding* paper money collected by the Hangzhou [Branch] Secretariat ([*xing*]*sheng*) in 1292, which thereafter

---

[52] Schurmann (1956), pp. 213–214.

[53] Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 216.

[54] *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 94, p. 2397; Schurmann (1956), pp. 215, 217; Erich Haenisch, "Steuergerechtsame der chinesischen Klöster unter der Mongolenherrschaft: Eine kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung mit Beigabe dreier noch unveröffentlichter Phagspa-Inschriften," *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1940, p. 12. See also *Yuanshi*, vol. 9, chap. 104, p. 2650; *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang*, chap. 22, p. 9b (vol. 1, p. 336), referring to 1283; Ratchnevsky (1972), *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 2, p. 170.

[55] See *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 94, p. 2398. For a short discussion of the available figures see Schurmann (1956), p. 215.

[56] Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 216.

[57] Schurmann (1956), pp. 203–208.

was reduced by 20 percent.[58] In 1328, the liquor tax of the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat amounted to some 196,654 *ding* of paper money, or almost 43 percent out of a total of circa 462,323 *ding* of liquor taxes levied in paper money for this year. Jiangzhe was by far the largest generator of liquor tax income, followed by the Henan Branch Secretariat delivering some 75,077 *ding* of paper money.[59] Moreover, Chinese sources also confirm that coal and charcoal was taxed. Coal and Charcoal Yards (*yangzhongyuan* 養種園) were established in 1262 for gathering coal at Xishan 西山, west of Dadu, and for making charcoal at Yangshan 羊山, northwest of the capital, and Coal and Wood Office[s] (*meimusuo* 煤木所) were founded in 1285.[60] The economic chapters in the "History of the Yuan" list coal and charcoal (*meitan* 煤炭) as goods for which non-quota levies (*ewaike*) were collected. For the year 1328, an amount of some 2,615 *ding* is mentioned, of which 129 *ding* came from Datong Route 大同路 and 2,496 *ding* from the Coal and Wood Stations (*meimusuo*).[61] Although the income from coal and charcoal taxation appears not to have been important, Marco Polo's observation that charcoal was taxed is correct.

Finally, in *Le devisament dou monde* we read that silk is produced in such an abundance that it makes immense returns. For silk, however, it was not some three and one-third percent that had to be paid, but 10 percent, as with many other articles.[62] So far, I have not been able to find a tax rate for silk in the sources relevant for the Yuan period. However, a commercial tax rate of 10 percent was applied to grape wine from 1258 to 1267.[63] Moreover, goods imported from India and other places also had to pay 10 percent.[64] It is therefore not improbable at all that this rate was also applied to other goods during certain periods.

---

58 *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 94, p. 2395; Schurmann (1956), p. 210.
59 Cf. *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 94, p. 2395–2396; Schurmann (1956), p. 210.
60 Farquahar (1990), p. 104, 181.
61 *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 94, p. 2406; Schurmann (1956), pp. 238, 240.
62 Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 216.
63 *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang*, chap. 22, pp. 65a–b (vol. 1, p. 364); Ratchnevsky (1972), *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 2, p. 170n1.
64 See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 216 (only in Ramusio's version), and the next chapter.

4. Marco Polo on Levies in Overseas Trade in Quanzhou

> *CLVII. Ci devise de la cité de Çart*[*u*]*n.*
> [. . .] Et si voç di que le grant kan recoit en cest port et en ceste ville grandisme droit, por ce que vos fais savoir que toutes les nes que vienent de Inde donnent de tutes mercandies et de toutes pieres et perles X por cent, ce est la desme part de toutes chouses. Les nes tolent por lor loier, ce est le nol, de *mercandies soptil* XXX por cent; et del pevre tollent XLIIII por cent; de dou leign aloé et de sandoint e de autre *mercandie grose* tolent XL por cent: si que bien donent le mercant, entre le nol et droit dou grant kan, la mo[it]jé de tout ce que il aportent. Et por ce doit cascun croire que le grant kan a a ceste ville grandisime quantité de tesor. [. . .] [emphasis added].[65]

When writing on the city and harbour of Zayton (Quanzhou), Marco Polo states that for all the ships coming from the Indies the Great Khan levies a duty of 10 percent on all the merchandise, including precious stones and pearls.[66] He then continues to explain that the merchants or, in other words, the investors, have to pay as freight [to the ship owner] 30 percent [of a good's value] in the case of small wares, 44 percent in the case of pepper, and 40 percent in the case of lignaloes, sandalwood and other bulky commodities so that in the end this will bring the merchants a benefit of roughly 50 percent.[67]

Marco Polo's statement is not only probably the first testimony that we have on the average profits derived by Chinese merchants from overseas trade, but it is also quite precise when claiming that the import tax

---

[65] For this passage in the Franco-Italian manuscript see Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 528.

[66] That for the sea-borne goods from India and other distant places a tax of ten percent was levied is also mentioned in the chapter on Kinsay, but only in the Ramusio version. See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 235.

[67] Cf. Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 235, though, in my view, his English rendering is somewhat unclear. More explicit is the Tuscan redaction. See Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 211, and especially Pipinos' Latin version: "[. . .] Habet autem magnus Kaam de portu illo prouentus maximos. Quelibet enim nauis soluit de mercacionibus suis omnibus de centenario quolibet mensuras x, Nauis uero recipit a mercatoribus pro naulo suo de mercacionibus mensuras xxx pro centenario. De pipere uero xliiii recipit pro centenario de ligno aloe et sandalis et de grossis mercacionibus reliquis accipit pro centenario xl propter ea negociatores soluunt in vniuerso computato tributo regis et naulo nauis medietatem omnium mercacionum suarum, quas deferunt ad portum superius memoratum. [. . .]." See Prášek (1902), p. 150.

for all merchandise as well as precious stones and pearls imported from India and elsewhere amounted to 10 percent. At any rate it fits well into the history of the organisation and control of maritime trade set up by the Mongols. Shortly after the conquest of South China in 1276, the Yuan appointed maritime trade officials (*shiboguan* 市舶官) to supervise the ships travelling to foreign countries. During this time, the government "took [as] tax one-tenth of the goods. If [the goods] were coarse, [the government] took one-fifteenth."[68] Although Marco Polo does not mention the tax rate of one-fifteenth for the coarse goods, the indication of a one-tenth levy [for "fine" goods] is in perfect agreement with his statement. Moreover, the Venetian also makes a clear distinction between fine (*soptil*) and coarse (*grose*) commodities, which corresponds to the terms *xi* 細 (fine) and *cu* 粗 (coarse) in relevant Chinese sources.

In 1277 a Maritime Trade Office (*shibosi* 市舶司) was set up in Quanzhou, headed by Mangghudai 忙古䚟, chief of the Fuzhou 福州 Branch Secretariat. This was followed by three other such offices in Qingyuan 慶元, Shanghai 上海 and Ganpu 澉浦. All these offices were put under the supervision of the Pacification Commissioner (*anfushi* 安撫使) of Fujian. Some time thereafter, the government established the "double and single percentage tax system" (*shuangchou danchou zhi zhi* 雙抽單抽之制), differentiating between merchant ships trading in local goods and such in foreign commodities. From then onwards, the former were subjected to a single percentage tax, while the latter to a double percentage tax.[69] It is reasonable to assume that this meant that domestic merchandise was taxed with a rate closer to the commercial tax of three and one third part, as it was the general rate in the empire, as described in the chapter before, while the ten percent rate continued to be applied for foreign goods.

In 1284 there was a drastic change in Yuan maritime trade policy initiated by Lu Shirong 盧世榮 (d. 1285) who had a [combined] Maritime Trade and Salt Distribution Commission (*shibo duzhuanyun si* 市舶都轉運司) set up in Quanzhou and Hangzhou. The government itself then monopolized maritime commerce, provided ships and capital and selected people to go abroad and trade for all kinds of commodities. These people received thirty percent of the profits, while the government reserved seventy percent for itself. Rich and powerful individuals were barred from

[68] *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 94, p. 2401; Schurmann (1956), p. 230.
[69] *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 94, p. 2401; Schurmann (1956), p. 231.

investing their own money and engaging in foreign trade. Violaters were punished and half of their family property was confiscated. Foreign merchants travelling on government ships were taxed in accordance with the [former?] regulation. More or less at the same time, in 1285, the Maritime Trade Office (*shibosi*) of Fujian was incorporated into the Salt Distribution Commission (*yanyunsi* 鹽運司) [for Fujian]. The latter's name was changed to *duzhuanyun [yan] si* 都轉運[鹽]司, being responsible for directing salt commerce and maritime trade in Fujian.[70] As Schurmann makes clear, however, this state monopolisation of maritime trade met protest and resistance from other cliques in the government and was abolished again in April/May 1285, after barely nine months of having been instituted and only one month before Lu Shirong was dismissed and shortly thereafter executed.[71] Maritime trade offices were opened again in 1286/1287.[72] From all this follows that thereafter the former system must have been restituted, and with it the old tax rates regulating the levy percentages for fine (one-tenth) and coarse (one-fifteenth) foreign goods as well as the tax rate for domestic commodities. Simultaneously, the Maritime Trade Offices came under the control of the Financial Office (*quanfusi* 泉府司)—a step indicating the increasingly leading role of the *ortogh* merchants in maritime commerce thereafter. And in 1287, a provincial branch of the Financial Office, the Branch Financial Office (*xing quanfusi* 行泉府司), was established in order to tighten central control.[73]

Several important changes occurred in the organisation, control, and taxation of maritime trade after the Polos had left China:[74]

– In 1292 merchants selling goods which had already been taxed by the authorities in Quanzhou and Fujian were subjected to a further levy of one twenty-fifth on fine goods and one-thirtieth on coarse commodities if being sold in the region of Branch Secretariats with Maritime Trade Offices. In compensation, they were exempted from paying regular commercial taxes. If they purchased goods from the Maritime Trade

[70] *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 94, p. 2401; Schurmann (1956), p. 231. An office of the same name under the Pacification Office of Guangdong is also mentinond for the year 1296. See Ratchnevsky (1972), *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 2, p. 175n3.

[71] Schurmann (1956), p. 225.

[72] Cf. Ratchnevsky (1972), *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 2, p. 175n3.

[73] See Schurmann (1956), p. 224. On the *ortogh* merchants' involvement in Quanzhou maritime trade see also Endicott-West (1989a), pp. 139–140.

[74] If not otherwise indicated, the following account is based on Schurmann (1956), pp. 222–234, and Ratchnevsky (1972), *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 2, pp. 173–176.

Offices and sold them in other regions, however, they then had to pay the regular commercial taxes.[75]

- In 1293, besides Quanzhou, Qingyuan, Shanghai and Ganpu, Maritime Trade Offices were also established in Wenzhou 溫州, Guangdong 廣東 and Hangzhou 杭州. In the twenty-two detailed items issued for regulating maritime commerce we find a confirmation of the continued existence of the old tax rates—namely, one-tenth on fine goods and one-fifteenth on coarse commodities.[76]
- In 1297 the Branch Financial Office (*xing quanfusi*) was closed.
- In 1298 Ganpu and Shanghai were incorporated into the Maritime Trade Supervisorate (*shibo tijusi* 市舶提擧司) of Qingyuan. In the same year the Financial Bureau (*zhiyongyuan* 制用院) was set up.
- In 1303 private merchants were forbidden from going down to sea and hence the Financial Bureau (*zhiyongyuan*) was closed.
- In 1308 the [Branch] Financial Office ([*xing*] *quanfusi*) was opened again.
- In 1309 the [Branch] Financial Office *xing quanfusi* was again abolished and the Maritime Trade Supervisorate (*shibo tijusi*) made subordinate to the Branch Secretariat.
- In 1311 the Maritime Trade Supervisorates (*shibo tijusi*) were abolished, and once again the government monopolized all trading rights for itself and banished private commerce.[77]
- In 1314, because the prohibition resulted in an abrupt rise in prices the prohibition of private maritime trade was lifted. The Maritime Trade Supervisorates (*shibo tijusi*) were re-established in Guangdong, Quanzhou and Qingyuan as well as the Maritime Trade Office (*shibosi* 市舶司) in Hangzhou, directly under the command of the Branch Secretariat.[78] This time the government took two-tenths of the fine commodities and two-fifteenths of the coarse goods.[79]

---

[75] See *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 94, p. 2402. It seems that the rate of the additional levy of one thirtieth had been only first applied to Quanzhou, while for all other Maritime Trade Offices the rate amounted to one fifteenth. In 1293, however, this extra levy appears to have been unified to one thirtieth for all Maritime Trade Offices. See *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang*, vol. 1, p. 368 (chap. 22, p. 73a); *Yuanshi*, vol. 2, chap. 17, p. 371; Ratchnevsky (1972), *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 2, pp. 175–176.

[76] *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang*, vol. 1, p. 368 (chap. 22, p. 73a).

[77] The economic chapters in the *Yuanshi* confuse the date of the prohibition of 1311 with that of 1314. Cf. Ratchnevsky (1972), *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 2, p. 175n2.

[78] See Ratchnevsky (1972), *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 2, p. 175, with amendments.

[79] For the regulations of 1314 see *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 94, p. 2403, and especially *Tongzhi tiaoge jiaozhu*, pp. 533–547.

– In 1320 all [Maritime Trade] Supervisorates (*tijusi* 提擧司) were again abolished, because people going abroad traded in silk, silver and luxury goods.
– In 1322 the [Maritime Trade] Supervisorates (*tijusi*) of Quanzhou, Qingyuan and Guangdong Offices were re-opened. [Private] maritime trade was again prohibited.
– In 1323 private merchant overseas trade was permitted again.

This short history of government regulation of maritime trade makes clear that Marco Polo's one-tenth rate and his statement about freight costs and profit shares are in perfect agreement with the data provided by Chinese sources. The one-tenth rate was in force during the period when he was in China, while after his stay in China changes—both minor and major—took place in Yuan organisation and administration of maritime trade.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ADMINISTRATIVE-GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS IN YUAN CHINA

> Some of the most severe criticisms of Marco have arisen from the difficulties commentators have found in identifying the many places that he mentions and in tracing his routes around China. . . . In fact, however, it is not very hard to identify the overwhelming majority of place-names included in his account, and his itineraries can, for the most part, be followed with ease.[1]

Apart from the quality of the details on Chinese salt production reported in *Le devisament dou monde*, the circulation of different monies such as paper notes, silver, gold, cowries and salt, and on tax revenue figures of some parts of the Yuan empire, another surprising distinction of the Venetian's account is his precision in administrative-geographical terms. In the chapter on paper money I have highlighted the overall conformity between the places for which Marco Polo mentioned the use of paper money and the existence of Yuan monetary institutions as culled from Chinese sources. I also made clear in this and other chapters that during the period of the Venetian's stay in China paper money was not circulating in uniform intensity and exclusivity in all parts of the empire. One instance was that of Fujian, where paper money appears to have been a latecomer. Another and even more conspicuous case was the region of Yunnan and *Tebet* where cowries, salt currency, gold and silver were dominating public and private transactions and where, during the time of Marco Polo, there was no—or only a very little—paper money in use. All these specific aspects of the circulation of various kinds of monies in different parts of the Yuan empire are presented by the Venetian in a way that is, in terms of quality, beyond compare with all that we can find in other Western, Arabic and Persian mediaeval texts.

This agreement in spatial terms is also evident in other themes dealt with in this book. In the case of cowries I demonstrated that for Marco Polo's places with cowry currencies explicit corroboration can be found

---

[1] Stephen G. Haw, *Marco Polo's China: A Venetian in the Realm of Khubilai Khan*, London and New York: Routledge, 2006, p. 82.

in Chinese sources. Although Yuan sources say next to nothing on the use of salt money, there exist plenty of relevant Chinese reports from before and after the Yuan period testifying to the circulation of this specific type of currency in Southwest China. Moreover, I have made clear that with Lianghuai, Liangzhe and Hejian Marco Polo brought up exactly the three most important salt production regions in Yuan China. In addition, when mentioning the importance of salt production in the Eastern Route of Huainan (Huainan donglu 淮南東路), *Le devisament dou monde* highlights the three places Tongzhou 通州, Taizhou 泰州 and Huai'an 淮安 (Chuzhou 楚州), which, according to Chinese sources, were precisely the three decisive supervising administrative units in this most important salt zone of both the Song and Yuan period. In addition, in the chapter on the salt revenue (chapter VI.1) I made clear that the Nine Kingdoms of Manzi refer to administrative subdivisons of the Southern Song. And finally, it can be demonstrated that the Venetian's statement about the twenty-seven cities subordinated to Yangzhou 揚州 finds its precise corroboration in Chinese sources.

Let us continue here by mentioning other examples of quite accurate and very plausible indications of administrative-geographical information provided by Marco Polo:

– First of all, in the chapter on Yangzhou, the Venetian is correct in pointing out that there were twelve *baronz* (barons) that governed twelve regional *sajes* (*Sings; sheng* 省) or Secretariats,[2] corresponding exactly to the eleven Branch Secretariats plus the Metropolitan Secretariat.[3]
– Second, when describing the Metropolitan Secretariat with its twelve "barons" (not to be mixed up with his twelve "barons" governing the regional Secretariats),[4] Marco Polo mentions that they were responsible

[2] Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 503; Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 154.

[3] Cf., e.g., Hucker (1985), p. 63; Peng Hai (2010), p. 176. After Marco Polo, Rashid al-Din (1247–1318) is the first known instance among Arabic and Persian writers where the division of Yuan China into twelve *šing* is mentioned. See Donald Daniel Leslie, "The Identification of Chinese Cities in Arabic and Persian Sources," *Papers on Far Eastern History*, 26 (1982): 13.

[4] For a discussion of the issue of the twelve barons of the central government see Peng Hai 2010), pp. 174–175. His discussion can be summarized as follows: Marco Polo somewhat overgeneralized the central governmental structures and equated them too much with those of the provincial governments, i.e. the Branch Secretariats. The decisive agencies of the central government consisted basically of the Metropolitan Secretariat (*zhongshusheng* 中書省), the Bureau of Military Affairs (*shumiyuan* 樞密院) and the Censorate

for the selection of the governors of the thirty-four great *provences* (provinces).[5] Four possibilities exist to explain this number of thirty-four regional administrative divisions: A) One is that Marco Polo referred to superior prefectures (*fu* 府, *sanfu* 散府) of which up to thirty-tree were established in honoured or strategic places.[6] This was a suggestion already made by Henry Yule,[7] but which is not convincing as it does not convey the sense of a spatial structure covering the whole Yuan empire as it appears to be implied by the Marco Polo text. B) Another, somewhat more convincing interpretation is that within the deep structure of Yuan spatial administration the Song and Jin systems were still present. Ye Ziqi 葉子奇 in his *Caomuzi* 草木子 (Book of Master Plants) of 1378 mentions that the Song had thirty-three *lu* 路 (Routes),[8] thus a figure closely corresponding to the thirty-four "provinces" mentioned by Marco Polo.[9] In ca. 1208, the Jin empire was divided into 20 and the Southern Song into 17 Routes, resulting in a total of 37 of these administrative units of which 8 (3 and 5 respectively) consisted of a complementary part—as, for instance, the Eastern Route of Huainan (Huainan donglu 淮南東路) and the Western Route of Huainan (Huainan xilu 淮南西路).[10] Uematsu Tadashi writes that it is commonly thought that the *xingsheng* 行省 or Branch Secretariats of the Yuan were replacing the Song system of *lu*. Actually, however, the previous Song administrative units continued to function, though in altered form and scope as Surveillance Commissions

(*yushitai* 禦史台) with an upper-echelon staff of approximately 8, 5 and 4 officials respectively. The decision-making group was certainly not composed of a fixed number of officials and officers, but varied according to the circumstances and requirements. Cf. also Farquhar (1990), p. 170, stating that the number of upper-echelon officials of the Metropolitan Secretariat varied greatly over the years.

5 Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 442; Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 431.

6 Cf. Hucker (1985), p. 65.

7 For more details see Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 433.

8 See *Caomuzi*, chap. "Zazhipian" 雜制篇, p. 64. The Song administrative units called *lu* are not to be confused with the approximately 185 much smaller *lu* of the same name of the Yuan period. Cf. Hucker (1985), p. 64. However, the historical atlas compiled under the general editorship of Tan Qixiang (chief ed.) (1982) lists in vol. 6 only 25 *lu* for the Northern Song around the year 1111, with seven cases consisting of a complementary part (xy East and xy West or yz North and yz South). For the end of the Northern Song 26 *lu* are indicated. See Hucker (1985), p. 46.

9 See also Marco Polo's chapter on Zhenzhou where more than 16 provinces with more than 200 great cities along the Yangzijiang are mentioned. See Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 507; Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 170.

10 Cf. Tan Qixiang (chief ed.) (1982), vol. 6.

(*suzheng lianfangsi* 肅政廉訪司).[11] The latter, however, amounted to 24 at their fullest extent according to the findings of Charles O. Hucker,[12] which would not come up to the 34 mentioned by Marco Polo. C) Another closely related, and likewise plausible approach is to concentrate on the 21 Surveillance Commissions (*suzheng lianfangsi*) and 14 Pacification Commissions (*xuanweisi* 宣慰司), which are listed in the "Chapters on Administrative Geography" (*dilizhi* 地理志) of the "History of the Yuan" (*Yuanshi*) for the territory of China Proper[13] and which apparently were constituting the regional structure immediately below the level of the Branch Secretariats—that is, outside of the area of the Metropolitan Secretariat. If we add up these figures which, based on the historical annotations available in these chapters, seem to me to represent the administrative-geographical conditions in the 1280s and 1290s, we arrive at a total of 35 (21 + 14) such commissions which is quite near the figure given by Marco Polo.[14] This statement, however, has to be qualified in the sense that in five cases the Surveillance Commission and Pacification Commission appear to have had their headquarters in one and the same place and that we rather have to do it in these cases with one combined single commission having jurisdiction over one and the same territory. As a matter of fact, the "History of the Yuan" in all these cases explicitly mentions only "1 commission."[15] Taking this into account, we would arrive at a figure of thirty 30 (35 – 5) of these units for China Proper only.[16] Yet, it is easy to replace these "missing" units by taking the territory of the Yuan empire outside of China Proper into account as well as by considering additional administrative units structuring the regional level of the Branch Secretariats in the same way than the Commissions did. For one Branch Secretariat outside of China Proper, i.e. Lingbei 嶺北, no commission in actual function is mentioned in the "Chapters on Administrative Geography" of the "History

[11] Uematsu Tadashi, "The Control of Chiang-nan in the Early Yüan," *Acta Asiatica*, 45 (1983): 52.

[12] Cf. Hucker (1985), p. 64.

[13] *Yuanshi*, vol. 5, chap. 58–63, pp. 1345–1562.

[14] The *Da Yuan hunyi fangyu shenglan*, representing the state of administrative geography around 1303, lists 20 Pacification Commissions and 18 Surveillance Commissions, thus a total of 38. See *Da Yuan hunyi fangyu shenglan* 大元混一方輿勝覽 (Unified Almanac of Administrative Geography of the Great Yuan), comp. originally by Liu Yingli 劉應李 in ca. 1303; re-compiled by Zhan Youliang 詹有諒; rearranged by Guo Shengbo 郭聲波, ed. Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 2003, table of contents pp. 1–28.

[15] See *Yuanshi*, vol. 5, pp. 1413–1414, 1417, 1503–1504, 1528–1529, and 1532.

[16] In the case of the *Da Yuan hunyi fangyu shenglan* this would result in 38 – 7 = 31.

of the Yuan," but the relevant historical record of changes in administrative geography makes it clear that in 1260 a Pacification Commission existed in Helin 和林 which was only abolished in 1307.[17] A similar case is the Zhengdong 征東 Branch Secretariat, i.e. Korea. Although it was established only in 1299, it may have been a commission before, as "1 commission" is mentioned, however without informing us on its exact type.[18] Moreover, in the Shaanxi Branch Secretariat there was set up the office of a Plenipotentary Grand Marshal (*zongshuaifu* 總帥府) for Gongchang 鞏昌 and other places, which is mentioned in the "Chapters on Administrative Geography" under the heading of Gongchang Prefecture as "1 commission."[19] Thus, if we add these three administrative units to the thirty mentioned above, the result would be 33 units, again a figure very close to that mentioned by Marco Polo.[20] D) A fourth and rather straightforward explanation is offered by another passage in the *Caomuzi* stating that the Yuan established [outside of the Metropolitan Secretariat] 11 Branch Secretariats and 23 circuits (*dao* 道),[21] in sum 34 administrative units and exactly the figure given by Marco Polo. Certainly not all the 60 or so circuits could have been meant,[22] but, in accordance with the findings in C), apparently only those in which a Surveillance Commission had been set up. As we have mentioned above, 24 of them existed at their fullest extent. In sum, although we cannot be sure about the exact figures of regional units immediately below the level of Branch Secretariats at a given point of time due to frequent changes in the regional administrative organisation over the years and possible omissions in the historical records, the elucidations and calculations presented above make sufficiently clear that the 34 "great provinces" mentioned by Marco Polo make good sense in the light of the information we have on the general structure of regional administration during the Song, Jin and Yuan periods.

– In the chapter describing the city of Zhenzhou 真州 and the role of the Yangzijiang as a trade artery Marco Polo remarks that there are more than sixteen provinces (*provences*) and more than 200 great

[17] *Yuanshi*, vol. 5, chap. 58, pp. 1382–1383.
[18] *Yuanshi*, vol. 5, chap. 63, pp. 1562.
[19] *Yuanshi*, vol. 5, chap. 60, p. 1429.
[20] 35 – 5 = 30 and 30 + 3 = 33. For the *Da Yuan hunyi fangyu shenglan* this small arithmetical operation would even exactly end up with 34, i.e. 38 – 7 = 31 and 31 + 3 = 34.
[21] *Caomuzi*, chap. "Zazhipian" 雜制篇, p. 63; Peng Hai (2010), pp. 174, 176.
[22] Hucker (1985), p. 64.

cities (*cités grant*) along the banks of this great river.[23] In this instance, there exist admittedly greater difficulties to explain the figure of sixteen "provinces." First of all, we have to assume that Marco Polo had in mind only that part of the river which, up to Luzhou 瀘州 in Sichuan, was called Dajiang 大江 or "Great River."[24] During the Southern Song, only nine of the Routes of the Southern Song type were more or less located along the Yangzijiang, namely Huainan donglu 淮南東路, Huainan xilu 淮南西路, Liangzhe xilu 兩浙西路, Jiangnan donglu 江南東路, Jiangnan xilu 江南西路, Jinghu nanlu 荊湖南路, Jinghu beilu 荊湖北路, Kuizhoulu 夔州路, and Tongchuanfu lu 潼川府路.[25] During the Yuan period, the Dajiang flowed through five Branch Secretariats only, that is, Jiangzhe 江浙, Jiangxi 江西, Henan jiangbei 河南江北, Huguang 湖廣 and Sichuan 四川.[26] It is, however, quite possible that Marco Polo's "provinces" not only comprised Branch Secretariats, but also the circuits (*dao*) that had a headquarter of a Surveillance Commission and/or a Pacification Commission. Another explanation might be that in this case Marco Polo referred to the Yuan-style administrative units of Route (*lu*), department (*zhou*) and prefecture (*fu*). As normal upstream trade was only possible to the Yangzijiang Gorges, Marco Polo may have only the stretch of the Dajiang from Jiangyin in Jiangzhe to Guizhou in Huguang in mind. On this stretch the Dajiang crossed eighteen Routes, departments or prefectures. These were in 1330: Jiangyinzhou 江陰州, Changzhoulu 常州路, Zhenjianglu 鎮江路, Jiqinglu 集慶路, Taipinglu 太平路 and Chizhoulu 池州路 in Jiangzhe xingsheng; Yangzhoulu 揚州路, Luzhoulu 瀘州路, Anqinglu 安慶路, Qizhoulu 蘄州路, Huangzhoulu 黃州路, Gaiyangfu 沔陽府 and Zhongxinglu 中興路 in Jiangnan jiangbei xingsheng; Jiangzhoulu 江州路 in Jiangxi xingsheng; Xingguolu 興國路, Wuchanglu 武昌路, Balinglu 巴陵路, Fengzhoulu 澧州路 and Guizhoulu 歸州路 in Huguang xingsheng.[27] One might argue that Jiangyin in the East is already located too far downstream in the estuary and Guizhou in Huguang too far upstream, which then would result in there being seventeen Routes, departments or prefectures. Although the elucidation of this problem needs further

[23] See Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 507; Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 170.
[24] Tan Qixiang (chief ed.) (1982), vol. 7, 19–20.
[25] See Tan Qixiang (1982), vol. 6.
[26] See Tan Qixiang (1982), vol. 7.
[27] See Tan Qixiang (1982), vol. 7, 19–20, 29, 27–28, 30–31, 32–33.

investigation, especially with regard to the 200 cities indicated by Marco Polo, the various approaches presented above make clear that the sixteen "provinces" mentioned by the Venetian can make sense.

– Another interesting quantification made by Marco Polo relates to the total number of cities and their military garrisons in the former Southern Song domains, in Manzi, which he indicates as 1,200 cities, each with a garrison of at least 1,000 men, but some with 10,000, 20,000 or even 30,000 soldiers.[28] Although this appears to be too high a number of cities, it was not too far-fetched in view of the fact that about 300 prefectures and 1,500 districts existed in the Song empire at its fullest extent around 1100, and 400 prefectural-level units and approximately 1,127 districts under the Yuan dynasty, and that the South was much more densely populated than the North.[29] Moreover, Ye Ziqi, in his *Caomuzi*, indeed claimed that in each district (*xian* 縣) a chiliarchy (1,000 men) was stationed, and a myriarchy (10,000 men) in each Route (*lu* 路),[30] which is confirmed by another source, the *Sanyang tuzhi* 三陽圖志, a local gazetteer of Chaozhou 潮州 (Guangdong) of Yuan date.[31] And, as asserted by Marco Polo, a large number of troops concentrated as a matter of fact in strategically important places such as Yizhou 沂州 (later in Puzhou 濮州, both in Shandong) with four myriarchies (six in 1329) and Luoyang 洛陽 with four myriarchies of Mongolian soldiers as well as Yangzhou with probably 30 chiliarchies in 1284 and Hangzhou with four myriarchies of Han and Newly-adhered armies in 1290.[32] These data suggest that with Marco Polo's "1,200 cities" the total army strength of Manzi would easily add up to some 1.5 million soldiers or even more. The actual situation was, however, somewhat more complex, because the average strength of a myriarchy (*wanhu* 萬戶) was probably no more than 5,000 men, instead of 10,000. Given the 185 Routes of the Yuan period a garrison strength of 925,000 men would thus have been required. But even this figure is, in the view of Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, too high and could not have been afforded by the Yuan because, besides the garrison troops in the provinces, an awesome assemblage of troops was also stationed in the

[28] Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, pp. 516–517; Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 190.

[29] See Hucker (1985), pp. 45, 64–65, for estimates of the number of administrative units. For population density see Mote (1994), pp. 618–622.

[30] *Caomuzi*, chap. 3b, p. 64.

[31] Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing (1978), p. 54.

[32] Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing (1978), pp. 55–56.

region of the capital as well as in Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet. Moreover, the system was also flexible in response to the fact that the number of troops varied from one place to the next according to their respective importance.[33] Although it is impossible to give more detailed figures, there can be no doubt that the overall deployment of troops was impressive. In general, Mongol and *tammachi* (*tanmachi* 探馬赤, consisting of Mongols and associated steppe nomads from the southern rim of Mongolia) armies concentrated mainly in the region north of the Huai River, while Chinese armies were garrisoned in the south, together with a small number of Mongolian troops.[34] Alone, the imperial guards which were stationed in or near the capital reached a nominal figure of more than 225,000 men,[35] and another 150,000 to 300,000 men were deployed in Chinese Turkestan and Mongolia each.[36] In conclusion, apart from the fact that even modern historians, with the full array of Yuan sources at their disposal, have difficulties in giving a precise estimate of the strengths of the different armies in the Yuan empire, Marco Polo's description provides us no doubt with a realistic, though impressionistic, picture of the army deployment in the kingdom of Manzi.

– Marco Polo mentions that Kinsay, as one of the seats of the nine kingdoms (*roiame*) of Manzi, has more than 140 great and rich cities (*cités grant et riches*).[37] If we rely on the figures given in the "Chapters on Administrative Geography" in the "History of the Yuan" (*Yuanshi*) for the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat as it existed around the 1280s and 1290s, then this Branch Secretariat had 30 Routes (*lu* 路), 1 prefecture (*fu* 府), 2 departments (*zhou* 州), 26 subordinated departments (*shuzhou* 屬州), and 143 subordinated districts (*shuxian* 屬縣).[38] With a more refined analysis—that is, by taking into account places which had more than one administrative seat—we arrive at a figure of 162 administrative

---

[33] Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing (1978), p. 54.

[34] Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing (1978), p. 54.

[35] Mangold (1971), p. 27.

[36] See Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing (1978), p. 59. Khubilai's Chinese advicer Hao Jing 郝經 (1222–1275), in a diplomatic message sent to the Southern Song court in 1260, mentioned a figure of 1,800,000 men ready to attack Chinese territory, not including the armies of the Mongol princes and dukes, perhaps another 250,000 men or so. See Dietlinde Schlegel, "Hao Ching (1222–1275), ein chinesischer Berater des Kaisers Kublai Khan," PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München; Bamberg: Offsetdruckerei Kurt Urlaub, 1968.

[37] Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, pp. 516–517; Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 190.

[38] *Yuanshi*, vol. 5, chap. 62, p. 1491.

cities,[39] and thus a figure quite near to Marco Polo's "more than 140 great and rich cities." However, because Marco Polo speaks of Kinsay as one of the seats of the nine kingdoms and because above, in chapter VI.1, I have pointed out the possibility that Marco Polo's "kingdoms" may have referred basically still to the Song administrative unit of *lu* or Route—hence in this case Liangzhe xilu 兩浙西路, Liangzhe donglu 兩浙東路 (or, taken together, Liangzhelu 兩浙路)—it is perhaps more appropriate to base our calculations on these two Song-type administrative units. This would mean to take into account only the administrative seats listed under the Yuan-period Surveillance Commission (*suzheng lianfangsi*) of Jiangnan Zhexi Circuit 江南浙西道 and the Surveillance Commission of Zhedong Haiyou Circuit 浙東海右道, which basically corresponded to the Song-period Liangzhe xilu and Liangzhe donglu respectively.[40] If we keep strictly to this administrative-geographical definition, which makes sense insofar that Marco Polo relates his estimate to the "kingdom" governed by Kinsay, then the total number of administrative cities with one or more administrative seat would amount to only 77 around the 1280s and 1290s. Yet it may well be that here the Venetian's *cités grant et riches* not only referred to administrative or "imperial" cities, but also to commercial or industrial urban places without any regular administrative seat, as we will see below in the case of the "great trading cities" subordinated to the great and noble city of Suju (Suigiu; Suzhou 蘇州).

– Similar to the case of Yangzhou, for which Marco Polo claimed that it "has seven-and-twenty other wealthy cities under its administration" (see chapter V.3), the same degree of precision is suggested in another case—namely, the city of Tadinfu (or Condifu, Codifu, Tondinfu, Tudinfu, Tandifu), which is said to "have under its rule eleven imperial cities of great importance, all of which enjoy a large and profitable trade, owing to that immense produce of silk."[41] Although Tadinfu has been usually identified as Dongpinglu 東平路 and the city of Chinangli (Ciangli, Cyangly), mentioned by Marco Polo in the same context, with Jiangling 將陵,[42] Henry Yule has pointed out long ago that Chinangli

[39] Calculation based on the indications made in *Yuanshi*, vol. 5, chap. 62, pp. 1497–1507.

[40] Cf. Tan Qixiang (chief ed.) (1982), vol. 6, 24–25; vol. 7, 27–28 and verso.

[41] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 136. In Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 402, this reads as follows: "[…] Et saquiés tout voiremant que ceste cité de Tondinfu a sout sa segnorie XI cité imperiaus, ce est a dire que sunt noble et <de> grant vailance, car il sunt cité de grant mercandie et de grant profit: car elle ont soie outre mesure."

[42] See especially Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, pp. 258–259.

can only refer to Ji'nanlu 濟南路, because it is only this city—and not Tadinfu as it is claimed by the *Le devisament dou monde*—which "is a very great city, and in old times was the seat of a great kingdom, but the Great Kaan conquered it by force of arms [against Li Tan],"[43] and because only Ji'nanlu, and not Tadinfu, "is still the noblest city in all those provinces."[44] Hence, Yule concluded that "[T]here seems to be no solution to the difficulties attaching to the account of these two cities (Chinangli and Tadinfu) except that the two have been confounded, either by lapse of memory on the traveller's part or by misunderstanding on that of Rusticiano."[45] That Tadinfu in some way was confounded with Chinangli and that the latter was Ji'nanlu finds it support in the "Chapters on Administrative Geography" in the "History of the Yuan" (*Yuanshi*) and modern research on historical geography, showing that indeed eleven administrative cities were subordinated to Ji'nanlu.[46] Dongpinglu, however, counted only six districts, with one district

[43] See Rossabi (1988), pp. 62–67, on the rebellion of Li Tan against Khubilai Khan and on the defeat of Li Tan near his stronghold of Ji'nan.

[44] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 136. Cf. Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 492: "[. . .] est une grandisme cité et jadis avant est<oit> grant roiames; mes les grant kaan le conquiste por force d'armes. Mes toutes fois voç di qu'ele est la plus noble cité que soit <en> toutes celles contree; [. . .]."

[45] Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 137n1.

[46] See *Yuanshi*, vol. 5, chap. 58, pp. 1372–1373:

Number of administrative seats	*lu* 路 (Route)	*zhou* 州 (department)	*xian* 縣 (district)
1	Ji'nan 濟南		Licheng 歷城
2			Zhangqiu 章丘
3			Zouping 鄒平
4			Jiyang 濟陽
5		Di 棣	Yanci 厭次
6			Shanghe 商河
7			Yangxin 陽信
8			Wudi 無棣
9		Bin 濱	Bohai 渤海
10			Lijin 利津
11			Zhanhua 霑化

Note: The administrative seat of Ji'nan Route and Licheng District were in the same city (*yiguo* 倚郭). The same held true for Di Department and Yanci District. In the case of Binzhou and Bohaixian I followed Tan Qixiang (chief ed.) (1982), vol. 7, 9–10, 3/8, who indicates for these two administrative units one and the same place. The *Yuanshi*, however, does not treat this instance as one seat (*yiguo*) only, but as two. Further research is necessary to elucidate this matter.

having its administrative seat in Dongping itself—that is, together with the seat of the Route.[47]

– Another example in which the Venetian is precise in his indication of the number of great and rich cities is Saianfu (Xiangyangfu 襄陽). Most historians nowadays consider it an established fact that the Polos had not participated in the Mongol siege of this city and had probably never been there.[48] Although this fable constitutes the most glaring case in which the Venetian or Rustichello did not tell us the truth, *Le devisament dou monde* is nonetheless correct in stating that Saianfu "[…] is a very great and noble city, and it rules over twelve other large and rich cities, […]."[49] This statement finds its confirmation in the "Chapters on Administrative Geography" in the "History of the Yuan" (*Yuanshi*) which lists twelve administrative seats under the control of Xiangyanglu 襄陽路 around 1283.[50]
– In another chapter *Le devisament dou monde* states that sixteen other "great trading cities" were subordinated to the great and noble city of

[47] *Yuanshi*, vol. 5, chap. 58, pp. 1365–1366.
[48] For a contrary view see, however, Peng Hai (2010), pp. 228–241.
[49] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 158; and Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 505: "Saianfu est une cité <grant> et noble que bien a sout sa seignorie XII cité et grant et riches, […]."
[50] See *Yuanshi*, vol. 5, chap. 59, pp. 1409–1410:

Number of administrative seats	*lu* 路 (Route)	*zhou* 州 (department)	*xian* 縣 (district)
1	Xiangyang 襄陽		Xiangyang 襄陽
2			Nanzhang 南漳
3			Yicheng 宜城
4			Gucheng 穀城
5			Guanghua 光化
6			Zaoyang 棗陽
7		Jun 均	
8			Wudang 武當
9			Yun 鄖
10		Fang 房	
11			Fangling 房陵
12			Zhushan 竹山

Note: The administrative seat of Xiangyang Route and Xiangyang District were in the same city (*yiguo* 倚郭). See, however, Tan Qixiang (chief ed.) (1982), vol. 7, 15–16, 4/3, who indicates for Junzhou and Wudangxian as well as for Fangzhou and Fangling one combined seat only. Hence, though still comprising twelve administrative seats, this would admittedly result in ten physical cities only. The *Yuanshi*, however, does not treat these instances as one seat (*yiguo* 倚郭). Further research is necessary to elucidate this matter.

Suju (Suigiu; Suzhou 蘇州).[51] According to the "Chapters on Administrative Geography" in the "History of the Yuan" (*Yuanshi*), Suzhou, or Pingjianglu 平江路, was the seat of two districts and had four departments under her jurisdiction only.[52] Yet, as Marco Polo spoke in this case of "XVI cité mou grant et de gran mercandies e de grant ars," he had in mind, not administrative cities such as the "XI cité imperiaus" of Tadinfu (viz. Chinangli, i.e. Ji'nanlu) or the "XXVII cités grant et boines et de grant mercandies" of Yanju (Yangzhou), but market and industrial towns (*zhen* 鎮)—that is, cities without representatives of the official local government. If we project the territory of Pingjianglu[53] on Richard von Glahn's map showing the market towns in the Yangzi Delta from ca. 1100 to 1400, then about twenty such market towns can be identified as having been located within Suzhou's jurisdiction.[54] Thus, the sixteen great trading and manufacturing cities of Marco Polo are making good sense and are not too far from the total number of market towns identified in recent research for a period of three hundred years from 1100 to 1400.

– In the chapter on Carajan it is stated that this province is so large that it includes seven kingdoms.[55] These seven "kingdoms" correspond to the seven regions Luosi 羅斯, Yachi 押赤, Halazhang 哈剌章, Chahanzhang 察罕章, Jinchi 金齒, Chituge'er 赤禿哥兒 and Guangnan xilu 廣南西路, as has been stated by Fang Guoyu and Lin Chaomin in 1994.[56] This confirms our observations which we have already made above regarding the Venetian's reports about salt production, the use of gold, silver, cowries and salt pieces as currencies as well as other political, social, economic, monetary, cultural and religious phenomena in southwestern China—namely, that Marco Polo's account is unique both in quality and quantity when compared with the information from all other Western, Arabic and Persian authors and even when taking them alltogether. In

---

[51] See Yule (1903), vol. 2, pp. 181–182, and Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 512: "[…] Et sachiés que elle a sot sa seignorie XVI cité mou grant et de gran mercandies e de grant ars […]."

[52] *Yuanshi*, vol. 5, chap. 62, pp. 1493–1494.

[53] See Tan Qixiang (chief ed.) (1982), vol. 7, 27–28.

[54] See Richard von Glahn, "Towns and Temples: Urban Growth and Decline in the Yangzi Delta, 1100–1400," in Jacov Paul Smith and Richard von Glahn (eds.), *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University (Harvard East Asian Monographs; 221), 2003, pp. 184–185. This concerns the market towns 1–11, 15–17, 19–20, 22–23, and 30 in von Glahn's map.

[55] Ronchi (1988), *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde*, p. 469; Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 64.

[56] See Peng Hai (2010), pp. 144–145, referring to Fang Guoyu and Lin Chaomin (1994).

> administrative-geographical respects, Arabic or Persian authors known so far mention, for Yunnan, only the country of Qara-Ǧang (Carajan; Dali 大理) with the large town Yači (Yachi; Kunming 昆明).[57] Apart from simply mentioning Carajan and Yachi, they do not tell us anything about other regions, such as Zardandan, Anin or Coloman, nor do they provide any details about the political, social, economic and cultural conditions there.

This overall rather high degree of precision—not only in administrative-geographical, but also in religious-geographical terms—has also been pointed out by other researchers. One instance is Leonardo Olschki who, in the English version of his book (1960), stresses that before the Polos reached Tangut they had to cross the immense desert regions extending from Talik, in Badakhshan, across the Pamir, to present-day Xinjiang and the Great Desert. No trace of Buddhism was found by the Venetian traveller, although this land had been a centre of Buddhist faith and culture for some centuries. This is proof, Olschki writes, of the total Islamization of those regions that was accomplished in the thirteenth century with swift and lasting success in the wake of the Mongol campaigns. However, as soon as Marco Polo arrives at Sachiu (Shazhou 沙洲) on the border of the present-day Chinese province of Gansu, he notes that, besides some Nestorian Christians and Saracens, the people are for the most idolaters (i.e. Buddhists), with their own peculiar language and many abbeys and minsters full of idols of sundry fashions, to which they pay great honour and reverence. Moreover, he provides there a description of the most characteristic aspects of Chinese civilization, such as sacrifices, the worship of domestic deities, funeral rituals, and the consultation of diviners.[58]

In an article published in 1992 on cities and the organisation of space in Marco Polo's China, Christiane Deluz concludes that his vision of China was more that of a Mongol official than that of a traveller. She especially underlines that the way he presents the organisation of space of a country is absolutely original within the mediaeval "geographical" literature of the West, and is also neither offered in that manner by Willem van Rubroek (1215-after 1257) nor Giovanni dal Piano del Carpini (1182–1252). The findings of Deluz can be summarized in the following

[57] See Leslie (1982), pp. 14, 27, 29, referring to Rashid al-Din (1247–1318), thus the beginning of the fourteenth century. See footnote 66 below.

[58] Olschki (1960), pp. 235, 269–276; Yule (1903), vol. 1, p. 204.

way: In his administrative-geographical description Marco Polo organises his account—in contrast to the chapters describing the way to China—not along the administrative regional units of provinces, but in accordance with cities. Although the Venetian does not omit to mention that twelve regional "kingdoms" governed by twelve "barons" existed, his spatial organisation follows that of a hierachised urban network. Only three cities are dealt with in greater detail by Marco Polo due to their political, administrative and historical importance—namely Karakorum, Cambaluc and Kinsay. The descriptions of all the other sixty-seven Chinese urban places follow a certain, though well organized, "monotony." First, a status is allotted to the town, such as "noble," "the most noble," "great," "large," "chief," "lord," "master," or "mistress," thus establishing a status of honour and rank similar to the emerging practice in the West for distinguishing between different kinds of citizens. Second, cities are presented in an environment of other agglomerations, such as smaller or larger cities and castles. Sometimes figures of their number are mentioned, but no toponyms are given for this hinterland. This is also the place for him to mention the natural environment, the richness of the territory, its resources, and the possibilities offered for provisions. Third, reference is made to the religion of its inhabitants—whether they are "idolators," "Saracens," or "Christians." Fourth, and crucial for our study, we find indications on the use of money—mostly paper money—which, in reference to the special position attributed to the mint in Cambaluc, is explicitly depicted as a sign of close political subjection to the power of the Great Khan. We have seen in this study that as soon as we come to the southwest of China and to the Burmese and Annamite frontiers, other monies, especially gold, cowries and salt pieces as well as silver, circulate, thus indicating a more fragile degree of subjugation to Mongol rule. Fifth, Marco Polo mentions the routes followed by merchants when leaving a city, and sometimes also remarkable monuments or constructions, such as bridges, palaces, and churches.[59]

Moreover, Christiane Deluz also asserts that for fifty of the seventy Chinese cities mentioned in the Venetian's book a precise administrative function is distinguishable, for which the following pattern can be established:

a) When a city has no administrative function, it is qualified in only simple terms, such as "a city which is called Lop" or "Lop is a great city."

[59] Christiane Deluz, "Villes et organisation de l'espace: La Chine de Marco Polo," in Monique Bourin (ed.), *Villes, bonnes villes, cités et capitals: Études d'histoire urbaine (XII^e–XVIII^e siècle) offertes à Bernard Chevalier*, Tours: Université de Tours, 1993, pp. 161–168.

b) Capitals of small administrative units are likewise hardly qualified, such as "a city with the name Singuy [Sinju; Xizhou 熙州]," "a city which has the name Vuguen [Unken; Houguan 侯官]," "the noble city of Cacianfu [Cachanfu; Hezhong 河中]," or "a city, which has the name Giugiu [Juju; Zhuozhou 涿州], great and beautiful."
c) Capitals of Routes (*lu*) and even more so for Branch Secretariats (*xingsheng*) are highlighted far more, and attributed with further qualifications. Instances are: "and the master city there has the name Siccui [Sukchu; Suzhou 肃州]," "the master city is Erginul [Erguiul; Xiliangzhou 西凉州]," "Campicion [Campichu; Ganzhou 甘州] very great city and noble . . . chief and lord of the entire province," or ". . . and is the chief of the province this city . . . which has the name Taianfu [Taiyuan; 太原] . . . which is a very great city and beautiful." Sometimes, reference is even made to the lordship of the capital, such as "Cacanfu [Hejian 河間] is a noble city . . . and it has a lot of cities and castles and they are under its lordship."

Two correctives have, however, to be mentioned. One refers to other urban functions beyond political administration. A city, even a capital of a Route, does not receive special qualification if it has no remarkable industry or commerce. One of these rare instances is Erzinjan [Eçina, Eijin etc.] which is simply called "a city which has the name Arzinga." Another corrective concerns the historical role a city played in the past. Cities which have lost their administrative function, but which were residences in the past are called "mistress cities." Such cities are Kamul (Camul)—the ancient residence of the princes of the Chinggis Khanide family, Vocian (Vochan; Yongchang 永昌), old capital of the dukedom of Yaozhou 姚州 in Yunnan, or Mien (Pagan), one of the five capitals of the Birman kingdom. Sometimes this refers to historical events far in the past, as in the case of Syndufu (Sindafu; Chengdu 成都), once capital of the Later Zhou dynasty (951–960), that was destroyed by the Song (960–1279): "This city was in former days a rich and noble one, and the Kings who reigned there were very great and wealthy."[60]

This historical dimension is, moreover, very strong in the descriptions of Karakorum, Cambaluc and Kinsay, though for different reasons. As to Karakorum, the glorious past of the young Mongol dynasty is evoked, while in the case of Kinsay, the "City of Heaven," the conditions of the Song rendition are remembered, but likewise, and perhaps even in a regretful way,

[60] Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 36.

the *art de vivre* and the brilliance of the vanished Song culture. In contrast to this Cambaluc represents for Marco Polo the adequate place to exalt the power of the Great Khan, his palaces, celebrations and festivities, and his hunting activities, as well as the political and economic wheelwork manifesting his power. The network of roads radiating from the capital of the Yuan empire towards the provinces is, moreover, a reflection of the domination of Khubilai over all his Chinese territories. Based on all this evidence, Deluz concludes that Marco Polo had a precise knowledge of the different status of Chinese cities, thus dressing up a landscape of political administration. His description of the space is not only structured, hierarchised and coherent, but also characterized by inter-crossings of networks through which circulate both merchandise and men. Rather than being merely an itinerary, Marco Polo's enumeration follows the administrative divisions of China.[61]

For John Larner it seems probable that this type of material is based on a document of the Mongol administrative service. His statement, however, has to be seen in the context of his rather affirmative stance towards John W. Haeger's hypothesis—namely, that the Polos, with the exception of their trip to Quanzhou on their return journey back to Europe, had never travelled beyond Northern China.[62] In my view, the analysis of Christiane Deluz offers an insightful understanding of the seeming monotony in the enumeration of cities by Marco Polo. She shows that behind this monotony a system of organization is clearly distinguishable and that monotony should not be confused with stereotypology. While it cannot—and should not—be excluded that Marco Polo had access to Mongol administrative documents in China just because he was appointed for some official missions, his description of this urban network is another impressive testimony of the precision of his report in administrative-geographical terms.[63]

---

[61] See Deluz (1993).

[62] Larner (1999), pp. 89, 65–57.

[63] After Marco Polo it was only Rashid al-Din's (1247–1318) in his *Jami' al-tavarikh* (Collected Chronicles) who presented a more systematic picture as cities and other places were ranked according to the following order:

1. *ging* (*jing* 京, capital)
2. *du* (*du* 都, residence [or rather *lu* 路 = capital of a Route?])
3. *fu* (*fu* 府, prefecture)
4. *ǧo* (*zhou* 州, department)
5. [blank]
6. *gün* (*jun* 軍, military prefecture)
7. *hin* (*xian* 縣, district)
8. *ǧen* (*zhen* 鎮, [market] towns)
9. *sun* (*cun* 村, village)

See Leslie (1982), pp. 14–15.

Is it perceivable that Marco Polo got all this information from Persian guidebooks without ever having set foot on Chinese earth, as is suspected by Frances Wood? What we can say so far is that up to now no such Persian guidebook has come to light, and while it is possible that Persian merchants composed such guidebooks which may have circulated in an inofficial way, systematic official information about China's geography appears not to have been impressive in Ilkhan Persia up to Rashid al-Din's (1247–1318) works, the *Jami' al-tavarikh* (Collected Chronicles) and the now lost *Suwar al-aqalim* (Configuration of Climes) at the beginning of the thirteenth century—that is, after the publication of Marco Polo's book. Thomas T. Allsen supposes that Rashid al-Din derived the geographical information about China from literary sources and eyewitness testimony and especially refers to Bolad Akha (Bolad Aqa) as his source for both. Bolad had close ties to the Imperial Library Directorate which was the major depository of maps (*tu* 圖) for the Yuan court. In 1291, this office had completed the compilation of the *Da [Yuan] yitong zhi* 大[元]一統志 (The Great [Yuan] Comprehensive Geographical Account) in 755 chapters which was secured in the Imperial Library (*mishu* 秘書). Twelve years later, in 1303, a second, revised version, this time in 1,000 chapters, was submitted to the court. Both works are now lost, apart from fragments that survived from the second edition. While state officials would have had access to this and other administrative-geographic and strategic information,[64] this was certainly not the case for merchants or other commoners. Hence, if Marco Polo was appointed for official duties and missions in Yuan China, he would have had some access to such materials on the level of regional or local administrations or he would have obtained such data via official communication or consultation. This would have been much less possible if he was in China only as a merchant, or even almost impossible if he never had been there. As Allsen concluded, while Europeans eagerly acquainted themselves with Arabic philosophy, medicine and science at an early date, they became familiar with Muslim geographical literature only in the seventeenth century.[65] Although, naturally, the unofficial circulation of geographic information for mercantile purposes existed, the chronology and circumstantial conditions of the availability of precise administrative-geographical information speak much more for a scenario that Marco Polo obtained it in China while being employed in official missions than that he obtained the data

[64] Allsen (2001), pp. 103–111.
[65] Allsen (2001), p. 114.

from some unknown Persian or Arabic guidebooks in Constantinople or the Crimea. If such guidebooks had been really available to Italian merchants and also accessible to them in language and contents, Marco Polo's report would not have been so surprisingly novel and would hardly have stirred up public attention in the way it indeed did.

Eventually, it should also be mentioned that the overlapping between cities mentioned by Marco Polo on the one hand, and those culled from known Arabic or Persian sources from the ninth to the beginning of the sixteenth centuries on the other hand, provides no convincing evidence that there existed any remarkable influence from one side to the other, or vice versa. For the more or less 46 Chinese places which have been rendered into Arabic or Persian, for only about 20 could a corresponding name be found with some degree of confidence in the roughly 70 Chinese places mentioned in the Franco-Italian Marco Polo manuscript.[66] The

[66] For the Arabic and Persian renderings see Leslie (1982): 26–38. For the transliteration of Chinese places in the Franco-Italian manuscript see Table 7. The correspondences are as follows:

Chinese place	Arabic or Persian rendering	Transcription in Franco-Italian MS
Shazhou 沙洲	Sāğū (Šāğū), Šānğū (Sānğū)	Saciou
Suzhou 肅州	Saukğū (Saḫčū, Sukčū, Sukčao, Sučao)	
Ganzhou 甘州	Ḫāmčū (Ḫānğū)	Canpiciou
Shangdu上都		Ciandu
Kaiping 開平	Keminfu (Kai-ming-fu)	Clemeinfu
Dadu 大都	Daidu	Caidu
	Ḫan-balïq (Ḫan-baliğ)	Canbalu
Taiyuan 太原	Tayanfu (Tai-wan-fu, Taī(n)āngfū?)	Taianfu
Pingyang 平陽	Pinkan (Bikan)	Pianfu
Chang'an 長安	Kinğanfu (Kīnğūfu, Qenğanfū?)	Quengianfu
Zhending 真定	Aq-Balïq Manzi	Acbalac Mangi
Dali 大理	region of Qara-Ğang	Caraian
Kunming 昆明		
Yachi 押赤	Yači?	Iaci
Yangzhou 揚州	Yangğu	Yangiu
Anqing 安慶	Namging (Namgin)	Nanchin
Xiangyang襄陽	Sang Yang fu (Sayan-fu)	Sanyanfu
Zhenjiang 鎮江	Quenğanfu?	Cinghianfu
Suzhou 蘇州	Susah?	Suigiu
Xingzai 行在	Ḫingsai	Quinsai
Hangzhou 杭州	Ḫānsā (Ḫānqū)	
Ganpu 澉蒲	Ğanfū (Ğanqū)?	Ganfu
Fuzhou 福州	Fuğu (Ğoğu)	Fugiu
Quanzhou泉州		
Citong 刺桐	Zaītūn	Çart[u]n, Çait[un], <Ç>ai[t]on

correspondences mostly include capitals, metropolises, important port cities, cities along the Silk Road and other central places important for trade and transport, and—from the Arabian and Persian perspective—places with important Muslim communities. In a way that is similar to the case of paper money, it is also here the remarkable fact that even when taking into account all the Arabic and Persian sources from the ninth to the early sixteenth century as analysed by Donald Daniel Leslie, the total number of Chinese places mentioned by them appear not to reach the total figure of place names mentioned by Marco Polo. Moreover, as is made clear by Leslie, the most dramatic increase of geographical knowledge, at least as it is reflected in the existing Arabic and Persian sources, took place after Marco Polo—namely as a result of the input of Rashid al-Din (1247–1318) and Ibn Battuta (1304–1368 or 1369).[67]

[67] Leslie (1982), pp. 12–16.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

> His book is of incontestable importance and has found, as shown, a multi-fractured, though belated, echo through the centuries. However, his whole long pretended travel—and to elucidate this was the primary mission here—is an out-and-out fable play, or, to say it more clearly: the most colossal hype in the global history of discoveries.[1]

In his recent book on Marco Polo's China Stephen G. Haw has stated that if the Venetian fabricated the story of his and his relatives' journeys to and from China, "then he did an amazingly good job." Although in general a few details, of little importance, are not quite right, his account in general fits impressively well with known historical facts. For Haw it seems very improbable that anyone could have mendaciously invented such an account without making any serious and obvious mistakes, which for him is a good testimony to Marco's reliability and truthfulness. Moreover, he also states that compared to accounts left by other travellers of roughly the same period, despite some apparent omissions and a number of definite errors, Polo's description is clearly the fullest, most detailed and most accurate in Chinese matters.[2]

In this book I have shown that Haw's judgment readily applies to the information on monies, salts and revenues provided by Marco Polo for the Yuan empire. His descriptions of the conditions in these monetary, economic and financial fields are in almost perfect agreement with what historical research in Yuan history has brought to light through the analysis of written sources and historical relics. An important aspect to be especially underlined here is the fact that most of these Chinese sources were not publicly available at the time Marco Polo was in China, but,

---

[1] "Sein Buch ist von unbestreitbarer Wichtigkeit und hat, wie gezeigt, ein wenn auch verspätetes, so doch vielgebrochenes Echo durch die Jahrhunderte gefunden. Seine ganze lange vorgegebene Reise indes—und das zu klären, war hier erste Aufgabe—ist ein blankes Fabelstück, um es deutlicher zu sagen: der kolossalste Schwindel der globalen Entdeckungsgeschichte." See Dietmar Henze, *Enzyklopädie der Entdecker und Erforscher der Erde*, Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 2000, vol. 4, p. 377.

[2] See Haw (2006), pp. 51, 63.

like the "History of the Yuan" (*Yuanshi*), were only compiled and published after the collapse of the Mongol regime. Such being the case, they could neither have served as a blueprint for Marco Polo himself nor for any other Western, Arabic or Persian author, not to mention the great difficulties for a proper understanding and correct interpretation of these often very technical and specific texts.

In the chapter on paper money I demonstrated, mainly by discourse analyses and by taking into account Chinese written sources and historical relics, that no other mediaeval European, Persian or Arabic author has left such a detailed and comprehensive account on Yuan paper currency than the Venetian. Even if we put the reports of all these other authors together, they do not reach the degree of quality and quantity in Marco Polo's description of paper money. The Venetian not only covered aspects of production such as paper, printing, form and size, blockprint face designs and legends, seals and inscriptions, as well as denominations, but also touched many facets dealing with circulation, like state monopolization of gold, silver, pearls and gems exchanged for paper notes, counterfeiting regulations, the replacement of spoilt notes, and the dominant role of paper money in public revenue and expenditures as well as in the manifold market transactions.

Another important fact to be mentioned is that *Le devisament dou monde* is the only mediaeval Western, Arabic or Persian text that reports on the the use and circulation of cowry currencies and salt monies in Yunnan and *Tebet* as well as on the existence of salt wells in Yunnan Province. In all these respects, the Venetian's account is in almost perfect agreement with what we know from Chinese sources on the production or imports, forms, values and exchange rates, weights, denominations as well as use of these currencies in public and private domains. These findings support the argument of Haw and others that Marco Polo's account of the itinerary from Cambaluc to Yunnan, Myanmar and Annam is so good (and so much better than has ever previously been appreciated) that he almost certainly undertook it himself.[3]

The same holds true for the quality of Marco Polo's description of the salt production process in Changlu. The detailed account of the making of either sea salt or so-called "earth salt" is completely in accordance with what we know from independent Chinese sources—namely, that salt was not obtained by solar evaporation, but by boiling down a brine produced

[3] Haw (2006), p. 47.

by leaching sand [or ashes] in which salt had naturally or artificially accumulated; in the later case by having continuously sprinkled sea water on layers of sand [or ashes] and then having it evaporated by the actions of sun and wind. Although this was a process known in many parts of the world, this was not simply something the Venetian could have filled in by observing the Mediterranean saltworks, because production of sea salt there took place by solar evaporation in successive basins, and not by lixiviation. Again, I do not know of any other mediaeval report from outside of China describing the typical leaching and boiling process adopted in the majority of Chinese saltworks during the imperial period.

With regard to his reports on salt production in China, one may critizise Marco Polo for having not been complete by omitting the well-known salt lake of Xiezhou 解州 in Shanxi Province and by ignoring a famous Chinese invention related to salt production—namely the deep drilling of salt wells in Sichuan Province, which had its beginning already in the mid-eleventh century. As to Xiezhou I would simply argue that Marco Polo had not visited this place, because the identification of Caichu (Caiciu, Caycay, Thaigin, Caycui, Chaicui) with Xiezhou—as it is, e.g., assumed by Haw—is too speculative and thus not convincing to me.[4] If Marco Polo really had visited Xiezhou, the famous salt lake indeed would not have escaped his attention. However there is not mention of it in the Venetian's description of Caichu, which, in view of the great importance he attached to other Chinese salt production places, appears strange to me and thus lends additional support to the assumption that his Caichu was not Xiezhou. As to the second topic—his omission of the deep-drilled salt wells of Sichuan—we should note that even in Chinese sources no record of the technology of Sichuan deep drilling for brine can be found from the end of the twelfth to the end of the sixteenth century. It would, however, be completely fallacious to assume that simply because late Song, Yuan and early and mid Ming sources lack relevant reports that deep-drilled salt wells would not have existed during that period. Chinese sources provide indirect, but nonetheless clear, indications that deep-drilled salt wells continued to be operated also during the Mongol period. According to the economic chapters in the "History of the Yuan" (*Yuanshi*) salt was produced in twelve "saltworks" (*chang* 場) and ninety-five "wells" (*jing* 井) which were located in the Routes (*lu* 路) of Chengdu 成都, Kuifu 夔府,

[4] See notes to Table 7.

Chongqing 重慶, Xu'nan 敘南,[5] Jiading 嘉定, Shunqing 順慶, Tongchuan 潼川, and Shaoqing 紹慶.[6] "Salt work" (*chang*) was probably an administrative term and may have referred to salt springs. "Well" (*jing*) is also likely to have been an administrative term, as in most cases it very probably meant an area containing a number of wells rather than one individual well only. That at least towards the end of the Yuan dynasty more than ninety-five brine wells existed in Sichuan is revealed by an official investigation in 1372 shortly after the Ming conquest, when a total of 1,456 wells were counted, of which, however, only 380 had survived the war.[7] At any rate, the Routes mentioned were not only the locations of well-known shaft wells and salt springs, but included also all the places where during the Song period hundreds of deep-drilled wells had emerged and developed.

In this book it was also made clear that Marco Polo is surprisingly precise when describing administrative-geographic phenomana and structures of the Yuan empire. This concerns not only the accurateness of the circulation places or areas of different currencies, such as paper notes, cowries, salt monies, gold and silver, but also his identification of the most important production areas and administrative seats of the sea salt monopoly organisation. Other highlights in this respect are his correct indications on the general hierarchical structure of the regional and local civil organisation of the Yuan empire, its deployment of troops in garrisons, and the number of administrative and/or trading cities subordinated to selected urban centres like Hangzhou 杭州, Yangzhou 揚州, Ji'nan 濟南, Xiangyang 襄陽 and Suzhou 蘇州. His acute awareness of the spatial monetary, administrative, military and historical structures accords well with his similarly astute spatial observations in the religious realm.

Another surprising result of this investigation is the plausibility of Marco Polo's figures given for the salt monopoly income as well as for other revenue items of the Hangzhou region. As I was able to demonstrate by a number of specific approaches and, admittedly, complex conversions, the

---

[5] Probably Xuzhou 敘州 was meant, because throughout the history of Sichuan no salt sources or wells are mentioned for the region which constituted the Yuan administrative unit Xu'nan. Cf. the maps in Vogel (1990), pp. 67–87.

[6] *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 94, pp. 2389–2390; Schurmann (1956), pp. 181–182. For the geographical extensions of the administrative units mentioned here cf. Tan Qixiang (chief ed.) (1982), vol. 7, 19–20.

[7] *Ming shilu* 明實錄 (Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty), collected during the early seventeenth century, ed. of the Beiping National Library, repr. by [Taibei], Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, n.d., Taizu, chap. 72, p. 4a (vol. 1, p. 1331).

Venetian's figures given for both salt revenue and other taxes and levies are making perfect sense in the light of the data that are available from Chinese sources. At any rate, they are much more consistent and convincing than the very rare indications provided by other mediaeval authors, i.e. Wassaf (fl. 1299–1323) and Odorico da Pordenone (1286–1331), on Yuan salt tax income. Moreover, it could also be shown that Marco Polo did not exaggerate when stressing the importance of the Kinsay region for other sources of tax income as in this respect corroborating evidence is provided by Chinese sources. After all, it is not accidental that the Venetian placed so much stress on salt production and salt monopoly revenues in *Le devisament dou monde*. This was not only due to his being an offspring of a merchant family and thus his experience in the field of commerce, but also, and simply, because of his keen perception of the tremendous importance of the salt revenue for public revenue and thus the upkeep of Mongol power.

That Marco Polo's indications on the revenue of the Kinsay region are not overstated, finds some support also in Jean-Claude Faucon's observation stressing that the Venetian showed no interest in number mysticism, and that most of his quantitative data (for points or duration of time, age, distances, buildings of cities, geographical data and administrative units, people, armies, animals, ships, clothes, measures, values, etc.) proved to be quite reliable and acceptable in the light of present historical research. As a matter of fact, to Faucon, the use of so many figures in his work for giving expression to the real and for evoking surprise was one of the reasons for its success as an ethnographic testimony and as an appeal to the imagination.[8] Given the credibility of his revenue figures, we can conclude that Marco Polo must have had some insider knowledge of the revenue of the Kinsay region, either directly by having been involved in some administrative duties there or indirectly by learning about it from some other person with intimate familiarity with the revenue conditions in this region. And from this also follows that the sobriquet "il Milion" in the sense of having exaggerated the millions of income of the Great Khan is clearly lacking in justification.

Finally, it is obvious that the research presented in this book cannot be the cast iron proof that Marco Polo was in China. The most conclusive evidence naturally would be his being mentioned in a Yuan source. As we have stated in the introduction to this book, at least one contemporary

[8] See Faucon (2008), pp. 102, 109, 111.

Chinese Marco Polo researcher, Peng Hai, thinks that the "History of the Yuan" (*Yuanshi*) is not mute about the Venetian and indeed refers to him explicitly at least two times.[9] Even if one eventually does not agree with Peng Hai's view, one has to concede that his arguments are in many respects as plausible as those of scholars doubting Marco Polo's stay in China. Regardless of the question as to whether Peng Hai is right or not, it would after all be more surprising to find a record of Marco Polo than not, given the well-known fact that in most cases only people of high status were considered worthy of a biographical account in the official standard histories and that the thousands of medium and low-ranking officials, underlings, members of the imperial bodyguards and other historical actors only appear by chance in the highly elitist Chinese historiographical works. After all this book has shown that in comparison with all the information on monies, salts and revenue we have from other mediaeval Western, Arabic and Persian authors *Le devisament dou monde* is by far both the most detailed and most complete account. So far, no other text has been found that surpasses it in qualitative and quantitative respects in these and many other topics. Why then assume that it was just Marco Polo of all other mediaeval authors that was not in China? That some historians assume that Ibn Battuta (1304–1368/69) has never been there seems much more justified, given the fact that his depiction of the Middle Kingdom is vague and imprecise.[10] By contrast the quality of Marco Polo's account shines fully when we compare his description of the exchange of worn-out paper notes for a fee of 3 percent with that of Ibn Fadlallah al-'Umari (d. 1338) and Ibn Battuta. While the first mentioned a "slight loss" incurred by the exchange transaction (F 1), the second insisted that no fees were levied, because the people making these notes were paid by the emperor (I 1). When Ralf Elger writes that it is difficult to say whether Ibn Fadlallah al-'Umari or Ibn Battuta is right,[11] then he errs, as we know from Yuan sources that indeed a fee was levied—namely exactly the three percent indicated by Marco Polo.

---

[9] See Peng Hai (2010), pp. 71–96.

[10] Cf. Morris Rossabi, *The Mongols and Global History: A Norton Documents Reader*, New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2011, p. 84; Ralf Elger, *Ibn Battuta: Die Wunder des Morgenlandes—Reisen durch Afrika und Asien*, München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2010, pp. 220ff. See, however, de Rachewiltz (1997), p. 53, asserting that Ibn Battuta's presence in China was established beyond doubt by a Chinese inscription of 1350 which mention the same names for the leaders of the Muslim community in Quanzhou.

[11] Elger (2010), pp. 224–225.

To doubt Marco Polo's long stay in China is thus even more unjustified when taking into account that his reports about monies, salts and revenues are in almost perfect agreement with what modern historical research in Yuan history has brought to light through the analysis of written sources and historical relics. The fact that both Chinese written sources and historical relics on the one hand and *Le devisament dou monde* on the other are, independently from each other, in mutual agreement with regard to the matters dealt with in this book as well as many other subjects gives much credit to the belief that Marco Polo's report was based on personal observation or on information that he obtained in China on the spot. In the latter respect, we have also shown that it is perfectly possible that the Venetian had been appointed as commissioner and/or held some medium-ranked local or regional office for a certain period of time. Due to the consultative and participatory character of the Yuan government system on almost all levels it is much more likely that he obtained precise and confidential information through the daily official deliberation sessions than via some so-far unknown Persian or Arabic guidebooks. Thus, both the facts brought to light in this investigation as well as an overall appraisal of the pros and cons allow me to state with full confidence that Marco Polo *was* in China.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

COMPILATION OF PASSAGES ON THE PRODUCTION AND USE OF PAPER MONEY IN THE YUAN EMPIRE FROM SELECTED MANUSCRIPT AND PRINT VERSIONS OF MARCO POLO'S ACCOUNT

The order of the texts is chronological that is the texts that are assumed to be with the oldest coming first. For more details on the dating of the various Marco Polo versions see Appendix 7.

V 1) Franco-Italian Manuscript Version Paris B.N.F. fr. 1116 (F) *Le devisament dou monde*, Fourteenth Century

XCVII. Comant le grant kaan fait despendre chartre por monoie

Il est voir que en ceste ville de Canbalu[c] est la secque dou grant sire; et est establ[i]e en tel || mainere que l'en poet bien dir que le grant [kaan] ait l'a[r]quimie perfetement; et le vos mostrerai orendroit.

Or sachiés qu'il fait faire une tel monoie cum je vos [dirai]. Il fait prendre escorses d'arbres—ce est des morieres que les vermes que font la soie menuient lor frondes—et les bouces soutil qui est entre l'escorses et les fust de l'albre; et de celes sotil buces fait fer chartre come celle de papir; et sunt toutes noires. Et quant cestes chartre sunt faites, il le fait tri[n]chier en tel mainer. Car il en fait une petite que vaut une moitié de tornesel petit; et l'autre est de un tornesel encor petit; et l'autre est d'un mi gros d'arjent; et l'autre d'un gros d'arjent, que vaut un gros d'arjent de Venese; et l'autre est de II gros; et l'autre de V gros; et l'autre de X gros; et l'autre d'un beçant; et l'autre de III; et ensi vaut jusque en X beçant. Et toutes cestes cha[r]tre sunt seellés dou seel dou grant sire. Et en fait faire si grant quantité que tuit le tresor dou monde en paieroit. Et quant cestes chartre sunt fait en la mainiere que je vos ai contés, il en fait faire tous les paiemant et les fait despendre por toutes les provences et regnes et teres la ou il seignorie. Et nulz ne le ose refuser a poine de pardre sa vie. || Et si vos di que toutes les jens et jenerasion d'omes que sunt sout sa seignorie prennent voluntier cestes chartre en paiemant, por ce que laonques il vont en font tous lor paiemant et de mercandies et de perles et de pieres presiouses et d'or et d'arjent. Toutes chouses en puent achater; et font le paiement de le cartre que je vos ai dit. Et si vos di que la cartre que se met por X biçant ne poise

pas un. Et si vos di que, plusors foies l'an, vienent les mercaant, a plusors ensenbles, con perles et con pieres presieuses et con or et con arjent et con autres couses—ce sunt dras d'ors et de soie—et cesti mercant toutes de cestes chouses [font] present au grant sire. Et le grant sire fait apeller doçe sajes homes que sor celes chouses sunt exleu et que mout sunt sajes en ce fare; il lor comande qu'il regardent celes chouses que les mercaant ont aportés et qu'il les faicent paier de ce que lor senble que vaillent. Et celz doçe sajes homes regardent celes chouses et ce que lor semble qu'ele vaillent les font paier de celes charte que je vos ai contés. Et les mercaant le prennent mout voluntieres, por ce que il le metent puis en toutes les chouses qu'il achatent, por toutes les teres do grant sire. Et si vos di sanz nulle faille que, plosors foies l'an, les mercaant aportent tantes chouses que bien vaillent quatre cent miles biçant: et le || grant sire les fait toutes paier de celes charte.

Et encore vos di que, plusors foies l'an, vait comandemant por le vile que tuit celz que ont pieres et perles et or et argent le doient porter a la secque dou grant sire. Et il le font; et hi n'aportent en si grant abundance que ce est sanz nonbre. Et tuit sunt paiés de charte. Et en ceste mainere a le grant sire tout l'or et l'arjent et les perles et les pieres presieuses de toutes sez teres.

Et encore vos di une autre couse que bien fait a dire. Car quant l'en a tenue ceste carte tant qu'ele s'en ronpent et que se gastent, et il le porte a la secque et il sunt cangié a noves et fresches, si voiremant qu'il en lase trois por C. Et encore vos dirai une bielle raison que bie[n] fait a conter en notre livre. Car se une home vuelt acater or ou arjent por fare son vaicelament ou sez centures et sez autres evres, il s'en vait a la secque dou grant sire, et porte de celles charte, et les done por paiemant de l'or et de l'arjent qu'il achate dou seignor de la secque.

Or vos ai contés la mainere et la raison por coi le grant sire doit avoir et ha plus tresor que nuls homes de ceste monde. Et si vos dirai une greignor chouse: que tuit les seignor de[u] seicle ne ont si grant richese come le grant sire a solemant.

Or vos ai contés et devisé toit le fait comant le grant sire || [fait] faire monoie de charte. Or vos deviserai de les grant seignorie que de ceste cité de Canbalu[c] oissent por le grant sire.[1]

* * *

[1] See Luigi Foscolo Benedetto, *Marco Polo, Il Milione*, Firenze: L. S. Olschki (Comitato geografico nazionale italiano; 3), 1928, pp. 91–93. For the basically identical rendering in more recent editions of the Franco-Italian manuscript see Gabriella Ronchi, *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde: Il Milione nelle redazioni toscana e franco-italiana*, with a preface of Cesare Segre, 2nd ed. Milano: Mondadori (I meridiani), 1988,

V 2) French Manuscript Version in the British Library, London, Royal 19 D 1 (B1), about 1330–1340

95. Ci dit li .IIII.^{XX} et .XV. chapitre comment le Grant Caan fait prendre pour monnoie escorches d'arbres qui sont communement par tout son païs.

Il est voir que en ceste cité de Cambaluc est la seique[2] du Grant Sire et est establie en telle maniere que l'en puet bien dire que le Grant Sire ait l'a[r]quenne[3] parfaitement [et est par bonne] raison comment il fait faire unne telle monnoie, comme je vous diray.

Car il fait prendre escorches d'arbres, c'est assavoir de morier dont les vers qui font la soie mangueent les fueilles, car il en y a tant que les contrees en sont toutes chargiees et plainnes des arbres dessus dit. Et prennent une escorche soutille, qui est entre le fust de l'arbre et la grosse escorche qui est dehors et est blanche, et de ces escorches soutilz comme paupier les font toutes noires.

Et quant ces chartres sont faites, cil les font trenchier en tel maniere: la mendre vault demi tonsel et l'autre greigneur un poy vault tonesel; l'autre un poy greigneur vault demi gros venicien d'argent et l'autre un venicien gros d'argent; et l'autre vault .II. gros, et l'autre .V. gros, et l'autre .X. gros, et l'autre un besant d'or, et l'autre .II. besans d'or, et l'autre .III. besans d'or, et l'autre .IIII. besans d'or et l'autre .V. besans d'or. Et ainsi vont jusques a .X. besans d'or, et toutes ces chartres sont seellees du seel leur seigneur. Et si en fait faire cascun an grant quantité qui rienz ne li coustent, qui paieroient tout le trezor du monde.

Et quant ces chartres que je vous ay dit sont faites, si en fait faire tous ses paiemens et fait deffendre par toutes ses prouvinces et par toutes ses citez et par tout ou il a seignourie que nul si chier comme il a sa vie ne les refuse, car il seroit maintenant mis a mort.

---

pp. 439–441, and now especially Mario Eusebi, *Il manoscritto della Bibliothèque Nationale de France Fr. 1116; I, Il testo*, Roma and Padova: Editrice Antenore (Biblioteca Veneta; Poliana: Documenti per l'edizione integrale del libro di Marco Polo; 1), 2010, pp. 99–101.

[2] *Seique* is an italianism, a word of Venetian origin, i.e. *zecca*, meaning "mint" or "money," which itself goes back to the Arabic *sikkah*, "money." Cf. Jean-Claude Faucon, Danielle Quéruel and Monique Santucci, *L'empereur Khoubilai Khan*, in Philippe Ménard (ed.), *Marco Polo: Le devisement du monde*, Genève: Librairie Droz S. A. (Textes littéraires français), 2004, vol. 3, p. 137n94, 60.

[3] In B1 and B2 it is written *aquenne*, in B3, B4 and B5 *arquenne*. Other French manuscripts transcribe it as *a la quellune* (A1, A4) or *a l'aquest* (A2), because the word was unknown to the editors. This is probably a hapax, i.e. a notation of *arcane*, derived from *arcanum* and meaning "secrets," and not a notation of the word *alchimie*, as suggested by the Tuscan (TA) manuscript (*archimia*) or by Ramusio (*alchimia*). See Faucon et al. (2004), vol. 3, p. 137n95, 4.

Si vous di que chascun les prent volentiers por ce que par tout ou il vont est la terre du Grant Caan. Et ainsi les prennent et en font leurs paiemens des marcheandises qu'il achatent et vendent aussi bien comme se il fussent de fin or. Et encore qu'il sont si legieres que ce qui vault .X. besans d'or ne [poise] pas un.

Et encore sachiez que tous les marchanz qui viennent d'Inde ou d'autre païs, qui aportent or et argent, ne pelles ne pierres ne lessent vendre a autrui que au Seingneur. Et il a esleu .XII. sages hommes congnoissans a ce faire si que ceulz les prisent. Et le Seignor les fait paier bien et largement de ses chartres, et ils les prennent moult volentiers pour ce qu'il sceivent moult bien que il n'en avroient pas tant de nullui, et l'autre por ce que il sont paié maintenant, et pour ce aussi que il en treuvent a acheter tout ce que mestier leur est, et la et par tout.

Et s'est plus legiere a porter que nul autre par chemin, si que le Seigneur en a achaté tant chascun an que ce est sans fin et les paie de chose qui riens ne li couste, si comme vous avez entendu. Et encore plus que plusieurs fois en l'an va son ban par la cité que chascun qui avra or, argent ne pierres ne perles, que il les porte a la seique et il les fera bien paier et largement si que il les portent moult volentiers pour ce que il n'en trouveroient tant de nullui, et en portent tant que c'est merveille. Et qui ne les veult porter si demeure, si que par ceste maniere il a tout le tresor de sa terre. Et quant aucunes de ses chartres sont gastees, que'elles sont moult durables, si les couvient porter a la seique et prendre nueves.[4] Encore, se aucun baron ou autre personne, quelle qu'elle fust, eust besoing d'or ou d'argent ne de pierres ne de pelles pour faire vaisselemente ou autre chose, si va a la seique et en achate tant comme il veult et le paie de ces chartres.

Or vous ai ge conté la maniere et la raison pour quoy le Grant Caan a plus de grant tresor et doit avoir que tous ceulz du monde n'ont, et vous avez bien oÿ comment et en quelle maniere. Si vous deviseray ci aprez les grans seignours qui, de toutes les choses qui apartiennent au Grant Caan et qui li sont besoingnable, se mellent et comment tout est ordené par

[4] The manuscripts A and D are more precise here and state that those who bring the worn-out notes to the mint *en lessent .III. du .C. pour le change*. The same is said by the Franco-Italian (F) version (*il en lase trois por .C.*) as well as by Ramusio (*perdendo solamente tre per cento*). See Faucon et al. (2004), vol. 3, p. 139n95, 65.

eulz et par leur commandement ne nulz, quelz qu'il soient, ne les osent desdire ne faire contre leur volonté, si comme vous orrez ça avant.[5]

* * *

V 4) Latin Manuscript Version *De consuetudinibus et condicionibus orientalium regionum* of Francesco Pippino da Bologna, before 1317

De moneta magni Kaam et de inextimabili copia diuiciarium eius, Capitulum xxi.

Moneta regalis magni Kaam hoc modo fit: de tribus corticibus arboris mori accipiunt cortices medianos, qui conficiuntur et consolidantur ut folia de papiro. deinde per particulas magnas et paruas ad denariorum similitudinem inciduntur atque regali signo cuduntur et imprimuntur eis signa uaria iuxta que huiusmodi pecunia ualitura est Valet autem paruus denarius ad ualorem uel precium paruuli turonensis. Alius maior ad ualorem dimidii grossi, Tercius ascendit [51^{b1}] ad Venetos duos, Alius ad quinque, Alius uero ad decem.[6] De hac igitur pecunia facit fieri rex in copia maxima in Ciuitate Cambalu nullique sub pena mortis in omnibus fere regnis sue iurisdiccioni subditis monetam aliam facere aut expendere licitum est aut hanc recusare. Nullus eciam de aliis regnis intra terras magni Kaam monetam aliam potest expendere. Soli autem officiales regis monetam hanc faciunt de regis mandato. Sepissime vero negociatores de diuersis regionibus venientes Cambalu deferunt aurum et argentum, margaritas et lapides preciosos, que omnia rex per suos officiales emi facit et de moneta suo solucio fit.[7] Si negociatores [51^{a}] sunt de extraneis nacionibus, ubi hec moneta non currit, quandoque comutantur in alias mercaciones et ad vnas deferunt nationes et regiones, propter quod ipsa moneta a nullis negociatoribus recusatur. Insuper eciam sepe mandat rex in Ciuitate Cambalu, ut quicunque aurum argentum habent aut lapides preciosos, suis officialibus quam cicius exhibere studeant, et eis de moneta illa secundum extimacionem debitam prouidetur, quod absque dilacione et sine eorum detrimento fit. Sicque

---

[5] See Jean-Claude Faucon, Danielle Quéruel and Monique Santucci, *L'empereur Khoubilai Khan*, pp. 96–98. This early French text (B1) is more or less identical in content with another early French version, namely A1 as it was edited by Pauthier. Cf. Guillaume Pauthier, *Le livre de Marco Polo, citoyen de Venise, conseiller privé et commissaire impérial de Khoubilaï Khaân, rédigé en Français sous sa dictée en 1298 par Rusticien de Pise*, Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et C., Imprimeurs de l'Institut de France, 1865, pp. 319–327.

[6] **P^{1}** and **P^{2}**: + alius autem ascendit at valorem bissancii aurei aluin vero at valorem duorum aut trium aut quinque aut decem bissanciorum.

[7] **L**: solui fit.

eorum indempnitati caueretur et rex potest per hunc modum thesauros infinitos et admirabiles congregare. De hac pecunia suis exercitibus et officialibus stipendia tribuit et, quicquid pro curia necessarium est, emitur [51a1]. Immensem igitur pecuniam pro nichilo habet et in hunc modum manifeste apparet, quod magnus Kaam in expensis diuiciis et thesauris uniuersos mundi principes superare potest. Nam oportet omnes a curia eius monetam emere, que ita continue custoditur, ut indeficienter ad omnes, qui eam emere uolunt, habundantissime diffundat.[8]

* * *

V 6) Latin Manuscript Z *Marcus Paulus Venetus de diuersis hominum generibus, et diuersitatibus Regionum Mundanarum; ubi inuenies omnia magna, Mirabilia, et diuersitates Armenie Maioris, Persarum, Tartarorum, et Jndie, ac aliarum Prouinciarum circa Asiam, Mediam, et partem Europe; compilat. in Carceribus Janue Anno M.CC.XCVIII* of the Library of the Cathedral of Toledo

The strongly religiously oriented Z manuscript does not contain the chapter on paper money and also says little about the Great Khan, his palaces, festivities etc. For a convenient concordance of the chapters contained in the Franco-Italian manuscript, the Z version, the Tuscan rendering, and Santaella's translation into Spanish see the recent work of Angélica Valentinetti Mendi.[9] For an overview on the chapters suppressed by the Z version see Alvara Barbieri's edition.[10]

* * *

V 11) Italian Printed Version *I viaggi di Marco Polo, gentiluomo veneziano* of Giovanni Battista Ramusio of 1553

Della sorte della moneta di carta che fa fare il gran Can, qual corre per tutto il suo dominio. Cap. 18.
In questa città di Cambalú è la zecca del gran Can, il quale veramente ha l'alchimia, però che fa fare la moneta in questo modo: egli fa pigliar

---

[8] Justin V. Prášek, *Marka Pavlova z Benátek; Milion: Dle jediného rukopisu spolu s příslušným základem latinským*, Prag: Nákladem České Akademie Císaře Františka Josefa pro Vědy, Slovesnost a Umění, 1902, pp. 97–99.

[9] Angélica Valentinetti Mendi, *Marco Polo—Libro del Famoso Marco Polo; Libro de le Cose Mirabile*, Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2008, pp. XCIII–XCIX.

[10] Alvaro Barbieri, *Marco Polo, Milione: Redazione latina del manoscritto Z, versione italiana a fronte*, Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo / Ugo Guanda, 1998, pp. 611–686.

i scorzi degli arbori mori, le foglie de' quali mangiano i vermicelli che producono la seta, e tolgono quelle scorze sottili che sono tra la scorza grossa e il fusto dell'arbore, e le tritano e pestano, e poi con colla le riducono in forma di carta bambagina, e tutte sono nere; e quando son fatte le fa tagliare in parti grandi e picciole, e sono forme di moneta quadra, e piú longhe che larghe. Ne fa adunque fare una picciola che vale un denaro d'un picciolo tornese, e l'altra d'un grosso d'argento veneziano; un'altra è di valuta di due grossi, un'altra di cinque, di dieci, e altra d'un bisante, altra di due, altra di tre, e cosí si procede sin al numero di dieci bisanti. E tutte queste carte overo monete sono fatte con tant'auttorità e solennità come s'elle fossero d'oro o d'argento puro, perché in ciascuna moneta molti officiali che a questo sono deputati vi scrivono il loro nome, ponendovi ciascuno il suo segno; e quando del tutto è fatta com'ella dee essere, il capo di quelli per il signor deputato imbratta di cinaprio la bolla concessagli e l'impronta sopra la moneta, sí che la forma della bolla tinta nel cinaprio vi rimane impressa: e allora quella moneta è auttentica, e s'alcuno la falsificasse sarebbe punito dell'ultimo supplicio. E di queste carte overo monete ne fa far gran quantità, e le fa spendere per tutte le provincie e regni suoi, né alcuno le può rifiutare, sotto pena della vita; e tutti quelli che sono sottoposti al suo imperio le tolgono molto volentieri in pagamento, perché dovunque vanno con quelle fanno i loro pagamenti di qualunque mercanzia di perle, pietre preciose, oro e argento, e tutte queste cose possono trovare col pagamento di quelle. E piú volte l'anno vengono insieme molti mercanti con perle e pietre preciose, con oro e argento e con panni d'oro e di seta, e il tutto presentano al gran signore, qual fa chiamare dodici savii, eletti sopra di queste cose e molto discreti ad esercitar quest'officio, e li comanda che debbano tansar molto diligentemente le cose che hanno portato li mercanti, e per la valuta le debbano far pagare. Essi, stimate che l'hanno secondo la lor conscienzia, immediate con vantaggio le fanno pagare con quelle carte, e li mercanti le tolgono volentieri, perché con quelle (come s'è detto) fanno ciascun pagamento; e se sono di qualche regione ove queste carte non si spendono, l'investono in altre mercanzie buone per le lor terre. E ogni volta ch'alcuno averà di queste carte che si guastino per la troppa vechiezza, le portano alla zecca, e gliene son date altretante nuove, perdendo solamete tre per cento. Item, s'alcuno vuol avere oro o argento per far vasi o cinture o altri lavori, va alla zecca del signore, e in pagamento dell'oro e dell'argento li porta queste carte; e tutti li suoi eserciti vengono pagati con questa sorte di moneta, della qual loro si vagliono come s'ella fosse d'oro o d'argento:

e per questa causa si può certamente affermare che il gran Can ha piú tesoro ch'alcun altro signor del mondo.[11]

* * *

V 21) English Translation of Henry Yule, 1903

CHAP. XXIV: HOW THE GREAT KAAN CAUSETH THE BARK OF TREES, MADE INTO SOMETHING LIKE PAPER, TO PASS FOR MONEY OVER ALL HIS COUNTRY.

Now that I have told you in detail of the splendour of this City of the Emperor's, I shall proceed to tell you of the Mint which he hath in the same city, in the which he hath his money coined and struck, as I shall relate to you. And in doing so I shall make manifest to you how it is that the Great Lord may well be able to accomplish even much more than I have told you, or am going to tell you, in this Book. For, tell it how I might, you never would be satisfied that I was keeping within truth and reason! The Emperor's Mint then is in this same City of Cambaluc, and the way it is wrought is such that you might say he hath the Secret of Alchemy in perfection, and you would be right! For he makes his money after this fashion.

He makes them take of the bark of a certain tree, in fact of the Mulberry Tree, the leaves of which are the food of the silkworms, these trees being so numerous that whole districts are full of them. What they take is a certain fine white bast or skin which lies between the wood of the tree and the thick outer bark, and this they make into something resembling sheets of paper, but black.

When these sheets have been prepared they are cut up into pieces of different sizes. The smallest of these sizes is worth a half tornesel; the next, a little larger, one tornesel; one, a little larger still, is worth half a silver groat of Venice; another a whole groat; others yet two groats, five groats, and ten groats. There is also a kind worth one Bezant of gold, and others of three Bezants, and so up to ten. All these pieces of paper are [issued with as much solemnity and authority as if they were of pure gold or silver; and on every piece a variety of officials, whose duty it is, have to write their names, and to put their seals. And when all is prepared duly, the chief officer deputed by the Kaan smears the Seal entrusted to him

[11] Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, ed. by Marica Milanesi, Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1980, vol. 3, pp. 182–182.

with vermilion, and impresses it on the paper, so that the form of the Seal remains printed upon it in red; the Money is then authentic. Any one forging it would be punished with death.] And the Kaan causes every year to be made such a vast quantity of this money, which costs him nothing, that it must equal in amount all the treasure in the world.

With these pieces of paper, made as I have described, he causes all payments on his own account to be made; and he makes them to pass current universally over all his kingdoms and provinces and territories, and whithersoever his power and sovereignty extends. And nobody, however important he may think himself, dares to refuse them on pain of death.

And indeed everybody takes them readily, for wheresoever a person may go throughout the Great Kaan's dominions he shall find these pieces of paper current, and shall be able to transact all sales and purchases of goods by means of them just as well as if they were coins of pure gold. And all the while they are so light that ten bezants' worth does not weigh one golden bezant.

Furthermore all merchants arriving from India or other countries, and bringing with them gold or silver or gems and pearls, are prohibited from selling to any one but the Emperor. He has twelve experts chosen for this business, men of shrewdness and experience in such affairs; these appraise the articles, and the Emperor then pays a liberal price for them in those pieces of paper. The merchants accept his price readily, for in the first place they would not get so good an one from anybody else, and secondly they are paid without any delay. And with this paper-money they can buy what they like anywhere over the Empire, whilst it is also vastly lighter to carry about on their journeys. And it is a truth that the merchants will several times in the year bring wares to the amount of 400,000 bezants, and the Grand Sire pays for all in that paper. So he buys such a quantity of those precious things every year that his treasure is endless, whilst all the time the money he pays away costs him nothing at all. Moreover, several times in the year proclamation is made through the city that any one who may have gold or silver or gems or pearls, by taking them to the Mint shall get a handsome price for them. And the owners are glad to do this, because they would find no other purchaser give so large a price. Thus the quantity they bring in is marvellous, though these who do not choose to do so may let it alone. Still, in this way, nearly all the valuables in the country come into the Kaan's possession.

When any of those pieces of paper are spoilt—not that they are so very flimsy neither—the owner carries them to the Mint, and by paying three per cent. on the value he gets new pieces in exchange. And if any Baron,

or any one else soever, hath need of gold or silver or gems or pearls, in order to make plate, or girdles, or the like, he goes to the Mint and buys as much as he list, paying in this paper-money.

Now you have heard the ways and means whereby the Great Kaan may have, and in fact *has*, more treasure than all the Kings in the World; and you know all about it and the reason why. And now I will tell you of the great Dignitaries which act in this city on behalf of the Emperor.[12]

[12] Henry Yule, *The Travels of Marco Polo: The Complete Yule-Cordier Edition*, 1903, repr. New York: Dover Publications, 1993, vol. 1, pp. 423–426.

APPENDIX 2

COMPILATION OF PASSAGES ON THE PRODUCTION AND USE OF CHINESE PAPER MONEY AND SALT REVENUE IN THE ACCOUNTS OF OTHER WESTERN, PERSIAN AND ARABIC AUTHORS

The order in this appendix is as chronological as possible by taking the first known version as benchmark. Later editions or versions are then subordinated to the earliest transmitted text.

R 1) English Translation of the Passage on Yuan Paper Money in Willem van Rubroek's *Journey to the Eastern Parts of the World*, 1253–1255

See Peter Jackson, with David Morgan, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1990.

[The Journey to the Eastern Parts of the World of Friar William of Rubruck of the Order of Minor Friars in the Year of Grace MCCLIII]

[. . .] The everyday currency of Cataia is of paper [*carta de wambasio*], the breadth and length of a palm, on which lines are stamped as on Mangu's seal. [. . .][1]
[p. 203]

* * *

W 1) English Translation of the Passage on the Salt Revenue of Kinsay in Wassaf's (fl. 1299–1323) *Tarikh-i Wassaf* (History of Wassaf) of about 1300

See Abdulhamid Ayati, *Tahrir-i Tarikh-i Wassaf*, Tehran: 'Ilmi, 1959 [=1346 h.s.], as quoted and translated by Laurence Bergreen, *Marco Polo: From Venice to Xanadu*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008, p. 210.

---

[1] *Carta de wambasio* is the same as the *cartas bombicis* in Odoric's report, namely, a regular designation for paper, as opposed to papyrus. See Jackson (1990), p. 203n5. Rockhill wrongly translated it as "cotton." See William Woodville Rockhill, *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World 1253–55, as Narrated by Himself, with Two Accounts of the Earlier Journey of John of Pian de Carpine*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1900, p. 201.

[…] The revenue from the salt tax amounts daily to 700 *balichs* of *tchao* [paper money]. […]

W 2) Extracts from Hammer-Purgstall's German Translation of Wassaf's Report on the Introduction of Paper Money in Persia in 1294

Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Ilchane, das ist der Mongolen in Persien*, Darmstadt: Carl Wilhelm Leske, 1842, pp. 423–434.[2]

Erläuterung der Ursachen, welche die Einführung und Vernichtung des Papiergeldes (Dschaw) herbeigeführt.

[…] Da befand sich Aseddin Mosaffir Ben Mohammed Amid, dessen hässliche Gestalt, dessen geschminktes Gesicht, dessen gebrechliche Constitution und schändliches Naturel ein Muster seiner Sitten und Eigenschaften war, im Lager an der Seite der Majestät und des Grosswesirs, als dessen Berather und leitender Vater. Er war's, der die Mühle des Betruges in den Gang gebracht, der mit Hoffnung und Furcht denselben kirr gemacht. Aus Eingebung schlechter Seele, welche, allen Geschäften des Menschen feind, als das Gegentheil des ursprünglichen Guten erscheint, wollte er seinen schlechten Namen bei den Weltbewohnern einfassen in einen ewigen Rahmen, damit er auf der Erde bis zu dem Tage der Auferstehung das Ziel der Pfeile des Fluches und des Spottes aller Menschen werde. Er stellte vor: „Es fehlen zur hinlänglichen Aufbringung der Gelder die Quellen; sei es im Schlimmen, sei es im Guten, bedarf der Schatz Gold für seinen Bedarf. Die Ueberschüsse der Einkünfte sind Heu und Spreu, und Anlehen zu machen, gehört künftighin zu den schwierigsten Sachen. Wenn es sich darum handelte, schnell das Heer zu rüsten und beritten zu machen, würde es schwer halten in allen Sachen, und das tändelnde und schändende Gerede der grollenden Feinde, die schnell und hart daherfahrende Fehde daimonischer Männer, von denen jetzt keine Rede, würde sich breit machen; die Bemühungen und Bestrebungen, welche dermalen gäng und gäbe, um die Spalten des Reiches zu verdämmen und um durch rechtliche und wohlthätige Gesinnung alles Unrecht zu hemmen, würde ein Ende nehmen, und wollte man (was jedoch nicht unmöglich anzunehmen) öffentlich die reinen Wasser mit Steuern belegen, oder neue

[2] I would like to thank Alexander Jost for having brought Hammer-Purgstall's translation to my attention. It needs to be noted that this translation seems to be rather free and literary. However, this treatment is taken so far that entire passages were apparently added by the translator. Because of this, only those passages are quoted which actually have an equivalent in the Persian original.

Vergantungen und schwere Strafgelder den Unterthanen zumuthen und auflegen, so würde dieses die Gemüther erbittern und das Land würde verwittern. Eine Maassregel, welche, vor allem Angriff vor Verschwärzern geschützt, schnell zur Herstellung alles Verfalles nützt und mannigfaltigen Nutzen umfasst und besitzt, ist mir so in den Sinn gekommen, dass man, wie in den Ländern des Kaan, auch in denen des Ilchan das Scheingeld, statt Silbers und Goldes, in Umlauf setze, damit dadurch die Thore des Verkehres geöffnet würden, damit das Geld ganz in den Schatz einlaufe und Schaden und Verlust keinen Menschen treffe auf Erden."

Nach diesen vorausgeschickten eingebildeten Gründen trugen der Herr des Diwans und *Bulad Dschinksanek* [Boluo *chengxiang* 孛羅丞相 = Bolad Akha], der Gesandte des Kaans, das Wort vor. Da diese Maassregel dem Aeussern nach den Reichthum vermehrte, die Magazine der Kaufleute leerte, den Armen und Elenden Beruhigung gewährte, so schien dieselbe Anfangs denen, die darüber nachdachten, erspriesslich und gut. Der Ilchan erliess ein Diplom, befehlend, absolut und entscheidend, kurz und gut, dass man auch in den übrigen Ländern nicht mehr mit baarem Gelde Handel und Wandel treibe, sondern dass man überall die Webung goldener Kleider abschaffe und nur soviel davon gestatte, als für das Kleid des Padischah und seiner nächsten Umgebungen erforderlich sei, dass man sich nicht mit Verfertigung goldener und silberner Geschirre und mit keiner Kunst, welche Vergeudung des Goldes und Silbers mit sich führe, befasse, dass man die Goldschmiedekunst und die Silberarbeiterei der Gesichtsfarbe und dem thränenden Auge der Verliebten überlasse; kurz, durch die Einflüsterung und Verführung, Verlockung und Versuchung dieses Unholdes und gespenstischen Koboldes, der seinen Herrn auf diese Weise schändete, geschah es, dass er in alle Länder, in's arabische und persische Irak, nach Diarbekr, Rebiaa, Mossul und Miafarakein, nach Chorasan und Kerman und Schiras einen grossen mit diesem Geschäfte beauftragten Emir sandte, und dass überall eine Fabrik solchen Scheingeldes errichtet, dass Verwalter, Schreiber, Schatzmeister und andere Beamte dabei verwendet und überall grosse Summen zur Verfertigung des Scheingeldes gespendet wurden.

Die Gestalt und Form des Scheingeldes *Dschaw* war diese: Ein länglichtes, viereckiges Blatt Papier mit einigen chinesischen Worten beschrieben, in denen immer Fehler geblieben;[3] ober diesen chinesischen Worten stand auf beiden Seiten: "*Es ist kein Gott als Gott, und Mohammed ist sein*

[3] Wortspiel zwischen *Chata*, das nördliche China, und *Chata*, Fehler [annotation by Hammer-Purgstall].

Prophet!" Dieses war das Gepräge dieses Silberblattes, der Juwelenknoten dieses Perlenstates, das Tughra dieser Befehle und das Amulet dieser Kehle; unter demselben war geschrieben: *Iritschi Turitschi*, auf Chinesisch (uighurisch), d. i. Sobald es angekommen, sei es für bleibend angenommen! In der Mitte war ein Kreis beschrieben, der aber ausser dem Mittelpunkt ruhiger Ansicht liegen geblieben; dabei war der Werth des Papieres von einem *halben Dirhem* bis *zehn Goldstücke*, und dann in Schrift das, was folget, geschrieben: "*Der Padischah der Welt hat im Jahre 693 [. . .] eingesetzt dieses gebenedeite Papiergeld; es soll cursiren in Ländern allen; wer es verfälscht oder verändert, sei mit Weib und Kind der Todesstrafe und sein Gut dem Fiscus verfallen.*" Nach Schiras war ein Patent dieses Papiergeldes, das, sehr ausführlich und lang, eingebildete Fragen aufwarf und die Antworten darauf aufdrang, gekommen. Ein Exemplar desselben ist noch in den Händen und es wäre unnütz, darüber noch mehrere Worte zu verschwenden. Das Wesentlichste seines Inhaltes ist: "*dass, sobald das gebenedeite Papiergeld Goldes statt, wie die Thränen der Verbannten Lauf gefunden hat; so wird Armuth und Dürftigkeit und Schaden und Elendigkeit verschwunden sein unter den Söhnen der Zeit, Korn und Getreide wird zu haben sein in Wohlfeilheit, und Arme oder Reiche sind dann einander gleich.*"

Die Dichter und Trefflichen der Zeit haben zum Lobe des Papiergeldes nach der Eingebung ihres Genius dem Padischah und dem Herrn des Diwans lobend die Resultate ihrer Gedanken geweiht; als eine Probe von diesem Lobe ist das folgende Distichon aus einem Bruchstücke eines der Trefflichen hier eingereiht:

Geht Papiergeld in der Welt, Sein Entgelt[4] *sie frisch erhält.*

Es erging der Befehl, dass alle Künstler und Handwerker, welche Gold und Silber in ihren Arbeiten verarbeiten, dasselbe aus dem Hause, wo das gebenedeite Papiergeld ausgetheilt ward, erhalten, dass Alle, welche als Befehlshaber Länder verwalten, nach ihren Verdiensten ihre Besoldungen und Bezahlungen dort beziehen sollen, dass das alte abgenützte Papier dorthin gelangen, und der Bringer für den Gehalt von zehn Dinaren alten Papiergeldes neun Dinare neues empfangen soll, dass die Kaufleute des persischen Meeres, welche in fremde Länder handeln und wandeln aus dem Schatze Gold erheben und dafür ihr Papiergeld abgeben sollen, vorausgesetzt, dass dabei der Weg der Behutsamkeit beobachtet und ihre

[4] Das Wortspiel ist im Persischen zwischen *Tschaw*, dem Namen des Papiergeldes, und *Dschawidan*, ewig [annotation by Hammer-Purgstall].

Erlaubniss und Befugniss von Nowaben und Aufsehern des Diwans gehörig betrachtet und erachtet worden sei. Verfügungen dergestalten waren in diesem Patente enthalten. […]

Im Silkide d. J. 693 […] kam das Papiergeld zu Tebris in Lauf und vermöge der Herzensknoten und den Maassregeln von der Vernunft geboten, begann man sogleich, um seine Seele zu schützen und um etwas zu besitzen, mit Speisen und Waaren niedrigen Handel und Wandel. Binnen drei Tagen war Tebris, welches das kleine Kairo hiess, wie der Beutel der Geduld der Sehnsüchtigen leer; im Lande war kein Glanz und keine Freude mehr, und die Brust der Sicherheit und Rechtlichkeit hatte nicht Fett noch Schmeer. Die Laden und Gassen waren wie öde Häuser verlassen und geleert, die Thore des Handels und Wandels waren versperrt. Verkaufte man den Man Brotes um einen Dukaten, so glaubten die Käufer, dass sie gewonnen, und die Verkäufer, dass sie verloren hatten. […]

Der Lärmen und das Getöse, der Saus und Braus der Nationen stieg bis an den Gürtel der Constellationen; die Befehlshaber und das Heer hatten keine Geduld mehr, das gemeine Volk flehte am Freitag in der Moschee mit klagendem Gebete; es verlauteten die Klagen über die Ungerechtigkeit, womit sie geschlagen. Sie verfluchten den Aseddin Mosaffir mit allen denen, welche zu dieser Neuerung und Theuerung das Gleiche beigetragen: Sie wollten ihn mit seinen Einverstandenen erschlagen. Sie flohen aus dem Kreise und nahmen mit ihrer Seele bösen Namen mit auf die Reise. […]

Da ergingen wirksame Befehle, dass man das Papiergeld abstelle. Gesandte gingen nach allen Seiten, um die Abschneidung des Bösen und Einkleidung dieser Maassregel einzuleiten. So ward durch Gottes, des Allmächt'gen, Gnade dieses ungeheure Unglück […] abgekehrt und den Gemüthern aller Völker Freude gewährt. […]

See the original text in Abdulhamid Ayati, *Tahrir-i Tarikh-i Wassaf* (History of Wassaf), Tehran: 'Ilmi, 1959 [= 1346 h.s.], pp. 196ff.:

شرح اسبابی که صادر شد در وضع چاو و ابطال آن

[. . .] پس عزالدین مظفر بن محمد بن عمید که مردی زشت صورت و بدسیرت و مدتی در اردو ملازمت صحبدیوان را داشت و اکنون وزیر و مشیر او شده بود تقریر کرد که: اکنون خزانه خالی است و نیاز به مال جهت پرداخت حواله ها و شایر مخارج بسیار است و وام کردن هم بعد از این دشوار شود و اگر بناگاه الزم شود که سپاهی آماده کنیم از عهده برنیائم از سوی دیگار پیش از این نمیتوان از رعایا خراج گرفت چه سبب

تنفر خاطر آنان و تخریب بلاد میشود بهتر آن است که مانند ممالک قاآن بجای زر و سیم، «چاو» را معمول سازیم تا ابواب معاملات مفتوح شود و مال به خزانه بازگردد. صاحبدیوان صدرجهان بدین مقامت فریفته شد و به اتفاق پولاد جنگسانگ سفیر چین این پیشنهاد را به عرض ایلخان رسانید. ایلخان نیز حکم داد که در تمام ممالک به زر و سیم معامله نکنند و پارچه های زر بفت جز آنچه مخصوص پادشاه و خواص امر است نبافند و از ساختن ظروف زر و سیم اجتناب کنند و بطور کلی هر حرفه ای که موجب از بین رفتن زر و سیم است تعطیل گردد. خلاصه به ترغیب و اغواء آن نسناس صفت ناسپاس به اطراف ممالک عراق عرب و عجم و دیاربکر و ربیعه و موصل میّافارقین و آذربایجان و خراسان و کرمان و شیراز امیری بزرگ فرستاده شد تا در هرملکی «چاوخانه» بنیادکردند و برای آن متصرفان و دبیران و خازنان و سایر کار گزاران تعیین کردند و در هر جا مبالغی مال صرف ساختن چاو شد.
چاو کاغذی بود مربع مستطیل که پیر امون آن را چند کلمه به خط ختائی و بر بالای آن از دو طرف لااله الاالله، محمد رسول الله و فر و تر آن ایرنجین تورجی لقب مغولی کیخاتو خان نوشته شده بود و در وسط، دایره ای بود که در آن از نیم درهم تا ده دینار رقم زده و بر روی آن این عبارت مستور بود: «پادشاه جهان در تاریخ سنهٔ ۶۹۶ این چاو مبارک را در ممالک روانه گردانید تغییر و تبدیل کنده را با زن و فرزند به یاسا رسانیده مال او جهت دیوان بردارند».
چاونامه به شیراز آوردند بسیار مفصل بود خلاصه آنکه چون چاو مبارک در عرض زر رواج یاند فقر و بینوائی از میان مردم برود و غلات و حبوب ارزان گردد و غنی و فقیر با هم برابر شوند شعرا و افاضل هم برای ارضاء خاطر پادشاه و صاحبدیوان در فوائد چاو چیزها گفتند از جمله یکی از افازل گوید:

چاو اگر در جهان روان کردد رونق ملک جاودان گرد

و چون حکم شده بود کسانی که در کارهای خود زر و نقره بکار می برند شغل خود را ترک گویند، فرمان شد که آنان را از چاوخانهٔ مبارکه جبران کنند و حکام ملک بر حسب استحقاق برای آنان وظیفه و مستمری ترتیب گردانند. و نیز هر گاه که چاو کهنه و پاره شد پز آن را به چاوخانه برند و هر ده دینار را با نه دینار چاو نو معاوضه کنند و تجار دریای فارس را که از بلاد بیگانه می آیند از خزانه زر بدهند و چاو ایشان بستانند. اگر این شروط فاسد نمی گشت و تریّر اراده ها و تبدیل دولت ها موجب دگرگون شدن این احکام نمی شد و مردم بدون شک و تردید آن را بکار می داشتند ممکن بود نتیجه ای عاید مملکت گردد اما مردم به زر دلبستگی بیشتری داشتند و برای آن اعتبار دیگاری قائل بودند.

در ذیقعدهٔ سال ۳۹۶ چاو در تبریز روان شد. بعد از سه روز تبریز تهی شد و دکان ها خالی گشت و معاملات مسدود گردید؛ بطوریکه اگر یک من نان به یک دینار میفروختند آنکه می یافت و می خرید بسی شادمان می شد.
دوستی برای من حکایت کرد که در آن روزگار در بازار است فروشان تبریز بودم اسبی را که پانزده دینار نمی ارزید صد و پنجاه دینار چاو می دادند و صحب آن نمی فروخت.
فریاد و شکایت مردم برخاست و حکام و لشکریان را دردسر عجیبی پیداشد. روز جمعه در مزجد تضرع و زاری کردند و آشکار اشکایت آغز نهادند و عزالدین مظفر با جمعی که این بدعت نهاده بود لعنت کردند پس قصد کردند تا او را با موافقان بقتل آورند آنان گریختند و جان بسلامت بردند. [...]
بدین سبب ایلخان فرمان نوشت تا چاو را ابطال کنند و رسولان این فرمان را به اطرف بردند و مردم خوشدل شدند.

* * *

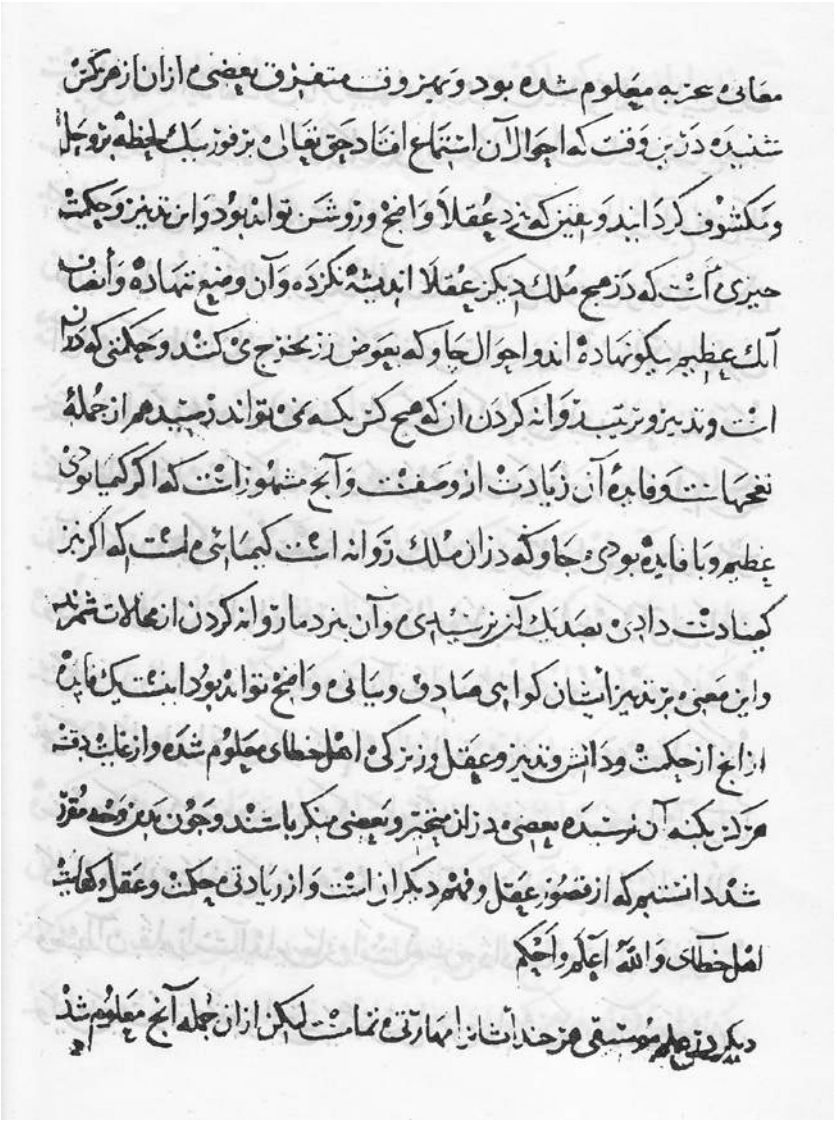
Ra 1) English Translation of the Passage on Yuan Paper Money in Rashid al-Din's *Tanksuqnama-i ilkhan dar funun-i 'ulum-i khita'i* (The Precious Work of the Ilkhan on the Various Branches of Khitay Learning), about 1295–1304

See Karl Jahn, "Rashīd al-Dīn and Chinese Culture," *Central Asiatic Journal*, 14: 146 (1970a). The last sentence alludes to the disastrous attempt to introduce paper money in late 1294 under Gaykhatu-Khan (r. 1291–1295).

[...] Its usefulness is beyond words to describe; the *ch'ao* in circulation in that Empire [i.e. China] is a kind of 'philosopher's stone'; if one were to find it [the philosopher's stone], then it would not be worth one-hundreth of it [i.e. the *ch'ao*]. It is deemed impossible to bring *ch'ao* into circulation in our country [Persia]. [...]

For the original text see Husain Nasr [ed.], *Tanksuq-nama ya tibb-i ahl-i Khata* (Treasure Book on the Medicine of the People of China), Tehran: Capkhana-i Sazman-i Intisharat wa Chap-i Danishgah-i Tihran, 1972 [1350 h.s.], p. 48, as depicted below.

Facsimile copy of the manuscript identified by Karl Jahn as Rashid al-Din's *Tanksuqnama-i ilkhan dar funun-i 'ulum-i Khita'i*, Istanbul, Ayasofya Kütüphanesi, MS No. 3596, fol. 19 *verso*



* * *

Ha 1) Henry Yule's English Translation of 1915 of the Passage on Yuan Paper Money in the History of Hayton the Armenian, 1307

See Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, New Edition, Revised throughout in the Light of Recent Discoveries by Henri Cordier, *Vol. I: Preliminary Essay on the Intercourse between China and the Western Nations Previous to the Discovery of the Cape Route*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1913, p. 259.

The money which is current in those parts is made of paper in a square form, and sealed with the king's seal; and according to the marks which it bears this paper has a greater or less value. And if perchance it begins to wear from long usage the owner thereof shall carry it to a royal office, and they give him new paper in exchange. They do not use gold and other metals except for plate and other purposes of show.

* * *

O 1 and 2) The Latin and German Manuscript Versions of Odorico da Pordenone's Account on Yuan Paper Money and the Yangzhou Salt Revenue, 1330

See Gilbert Strasmann, *Konrad Steckels deutsche Übertragung der Reise nach China des Odorico de Pordenone*, Gießen: Erich Schmidt Verlag (Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit; 20), 1968.

The Latin text is based on the critical edition of Anastasius van den Wyngaert in his *Sinica Franciscana*. Odorico da Pordenone recited his travel report to Gulielmo de Solagna (Guillaume de Solagne) in Padua in May 1330. The original is lost, but several early copies have survived.

De civitate Casaie cuius muri circuunt C milliaribus, ubi sunt XII milia pontium; ubi etiam quidam pascebat quedam animalia pusilla, dicans ea esse animas. CAP. XXIII.	**Consaye**
1. Hinc ergo recedens, veni ad unam civitatem nomine Camsay, quod idem est quod civitas celi. […] [p. 88]	Darnach chom ich zu einer statt, haist Cansaye, daß ist dasselb gesprochn: dew statt dez himelß oder dez himelß statt. […] [p. 89]
[…] Per dominum etiam unum mandatum habetur: nam quilibet ignis	

Table (*cont.*)

solvit unum balis, id est quinque cartas bombicis, que unum cum dimidio florenum valent. [...] [p. 88]	
	[...] Der selbn statt fúrst hat von der statt grossn gelt vnd ist ein gar grosser vnd reicher her vnd ein grosser fúrist. [...] [p. 91]
De civitate Çançay, ubi sunt hospitia deputata ad faciendum covivia. CAP. XXV. [...] [p. 94]	**Jamlay** [...] [p. 95]
[...] Unde dominus istius civitatis [Jamçai] solum de sale bene habet de reditu L tuman balissi. Balissus autem valet unum florenum cum dimidio, et ita bene unum tuman constituit XV millia florenorum. Verumtamen unam gratiam huic populo fecit iste dominus, nam sibi dimittebat CC[5] tuman ut caritudinem non haberent. [...] [p. 94]	[...]. Der herr von der statt mag einen grossn Schacz allew jar gehabn newr von dem salcz, daz da ist. [...] [pp. 95–96]
De cifo qui per aerem vadit ad ora sedentium in convivo, qui plenus est vino. CAP. XXX. [...] [p. 114]	**Chambalech** [...] [p. 99]
2. Dicere autem et referre magnitudinem istius domini et illa qui in curia sua sunt, esset incredibile quoddam nisi ista oculis viderentur. De hoc tamen quod multas expensas facit, nemo mirari debet cum nichil aliud pro moneta expendatur in toto suo regno quam quedam carte quas pro moneta habent ibi, et infinitus thesaurus ad manus suas recurrit. [p. 114]	[...] Jch chan nicht wol gesagn vnd volsagn seinen reichtúm vnd grosse vnd wunderlichew frewd chúrczweil, <di> da ist. Ez ist vngelawplich den, die sémlichß nicht habnt gesehn. Er hatt auch vnmazzn grósß schécz vnd hórt, wann allez daß gold vnd silber, daz in sein lant ch[v́]mpt, daz gevelt zehant in sein chamer, wann ez gett chain múnzz in seinen landn dann von charrten vnd von hewttn alß pírmeít. Da slecht man sein zaichn auff. Also beleibt jm der hórt. [...] [p. 115]

[5] 500? See Strasmann (1968), p. 201n2.

O 3) The Latin Manuscript Version *Descriptio Fratris Oderici de Ordine Minorum de Partibus Infidelium* on Yuan Paper Money and the Yangzhou Salt Revenue

Lucio Monaco and Giulio Cesare Testa, *Odorico da Pordenone: Relazione del viaggio in Oriente e in Cina (1314?–1330)*, Pordenone: Camera di Commercio, Industria, Artigianato e Agricoltura, 1982.

This is a critical edition based an a number of manuscripts preserved in the library of Assisi, the Marciana, the collection of the Count Giacomo di Concina in San Daniele in Friuli, the Utinese, the Bollandisti, and the British Museum, as well as the editions of Yule and Venni.

CAPUT XLVIII. AHAMSANAE
Hinc recedens, veni ad quamdam civitatem nomine Ahamsane,[6] quae dicitur civitas coeli. […] Statutum pro lege ab Imperatore est, quod quilibet ignis solvit unum ballis, idest quinque cartas bombicis, qui florenum cum dimidio valet. […]
[p. 101]

CAPUT LI. IANCY
[…] Ibi dominus istius civitatis solum de sale habet in centum quinquaginta thuman balis. Balis autem valit unum florenum cum dimidio. Unum vero thuman computatur pro quindecim millibus florenorum.[7] […]
[p. 104]

CAPUT LXIII. DE FESTIS EIUS
[…] Narrare autem laudem magnificentiae huius curiae, cunctis incredibile videretur esse, nisi qui hoc propriis oculis inspexisset. De expensis tamen multis nemo miretur, cum nihil aliud in toto pro moneta expendantur, quam cartae confectae ex corticibus moraticorum, quae ibi pro pecunia computantur. (Et duae cartae constituunt unum ballis, qui pro uno floreno cum dimidio reputantur.)[8] Et sic infiniti thesauri per istum

[6] Cansaie, YULE; Casai, CONC.; Chansanae, FARS.; Kasania, MUS.; Chamsana, BOLL.; Campsay, VENNI; Cansay, ASSIS.
[7] Unam tamen gratiam fecit huic populo dominus iste; dimittebat enim eis duocentum thuman, ut non haberent caristiam. VENNI.
[8] This sentence is missing in many codices.

dominum reconduntur. (Cum autem moritur iste Chan, ipsum pro Deo omnes Tartari venerantur.)[9] […]
[p. 112]

O 4) The Italian Manuscript Version of Odorico da Pordenone's *Libro delle nuove e strane e meravigliose cose* on Yuan Paper Money and the Yangzhou Salt Revenue, mid-fourteenth century

Alvise Andreose, *Libro delle nuove e strane e meravigliose cose; volgarizzamento italiano del secolo XIV dell'Itinerarium di Odorico da Pordenone*, Padova: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2000.

The following passages come from a manuscript stored in the Bibliotheca Nazionale Centrale of Florence, Conventi Soppressi C.7.1170, ex S. Maria Nueva. In his comprehensive text-critical and linguistic study Alvise Andreose dates this Italian vulgarisation of Odorico's account into the second half of the fourteenth century. In his view, this is not only one of the oldest vulgarized versions written in fourteenth-century Tuscan (probably Eastern Tuscan), but also represents a text which remained true to its original Latin archetype, the *Itinerarium*, as it was written down by Gulielmo de Solagna.[10]

CAPITOLO XXXII.
DELLA GRANDE E MERAVIGLIOSA CITTÀ CHIAMATA CUNSAI, CIOÈ 'CITTÀ DI CIELO,' OVE SONO XII[M] PONTI E MOLTE NOVITADI.
Di questa contrada mi parti' e venni a una grande e meravigliosa città chiamata Cunsai,[11] che vuole dire in nostra lingua 'Città di cielo'. […] [12]Ed è usanza per lo signore[12] che chateuna casa paga uno *bastise*,[13] cioè V carte bambagine che vagliono fiorino uno e mezo. […]
[pp. 163–164]

---

[9] This sentence is not in VENNI and ASSIS.
[10] See the *stemma codicum* in Andreose (2000), p. 103, as well as his remarks on pp. 45 and 102.
[11] Relatio XXIII.1 *Camsay*, in app. B *Cansay*, C *Casaie*, Y *Cansaie*.
[12] Relatio XXIII.2 *Per dominum etiam unum mandatum habetur*.
[13] Relatio XXIII.2 'balisso.'

CAPITOLO XXXIV.
DELLA CITTÀ JANNI,[14] NELLA QUALE ÀE CCCCLXXXᴹ DI FUOCHI E D'ALTRE CITADI OVE SONO MOLTE NOVITADI.
[…] [4]Lo signore di questa città àe solamente di rendita di sale cinquanta tuman balissi.[15] [5]Il balisso vale fiorini uno e mezo e così costituisce uno tuman XVᴹ fiorini d'oro. [6]Onde comandò il signore di questa città[16] che lassava al popolo di quella terra CC tuman aciò che no avessero caro.[17]
[p. 165]

CAPITOLO XLII.
DELLE QUATRO GRAN FESTE CHE IL GRANDE CANE FA OGN'ANNO E DELLE NUOVE E STRANE COSE CHE SI FANNO IN QUELLE FESTE NELLE SUA CORTE.
[…] [35]A dire la grandezza e lla signoria di questo signore e le gra‹n›di cose che sono nella sua corte serebbe a molti cosa incredibile se no·lle vedessero. [36]Neuno si meravigli s'elli fae grandi spese, però che nel suo regno no ssi spende altra moneta se no di carte[18] che no·lli gosta neiente. [37]E nelle suoi mani viene tutto il tesoro.[19]
[p. 172]

O 5) The Italian Manuscript Version *Viaggo del beato Odorico del Friuli* on Yuan Paper Money and the Yangzhou Salt Revenue, about mid-fifteenth century

Lucio Monaco and Giulio Cesare Testa, *Odorico da Pordenone: Relazione del viaggio in Oriente e in Cina (1314?-1330)*, Pordenone: Camera di Commercio, Industria, Artigianato e Agricoltura, 1982.

This is a critical edition based on the Codex of Marciana, clas. VI, n. 102, by taking into account other codices (Magliabechiana, Marciana (clas. XI, n. 32), and Palatina de Firenze), as well as the versions edited by Ramusio. This vulgarisation into Italian dates from about the mid-fifteenth century.[20]

---

[14] Relatio XXV.1 *Jamçai*, in app. B *Ianzai*, C *Iançay*, Y *Iamsai*.
[15] Relatio XXV.1 *L tuman balissi*.
[16] Relatio XXV.1 *Verumtamen unam gratiam huic populo fecit iste dominus*.
[17] Relatio XXV.1 *caritudinem*, in app. B *caristiam*.
[18] Relatio XXX.2 [*nihil aliud*] *quam quedam carte quas pro moneta habent ibi*.
[19] Relatio XXX.2 *et infinitus thesaurus ad manus suas recurrit*.
[20] For the dating of the text see Andreose (2000), pp. 79 and 103.

CAPO XLVIII. CANSAVE
Partendomi quindi, venni a una città che si chiama (Cansave).[21] cioè città del cielo. [...] Per lo Signore etiando hanno comandamento, che ciascuno fuoco paga uno (ballis),[22] cioè cinque carte da bambaxio, le quali vagliono uno fiorino e mezzo. [...]
[pp. 46–47]

CAPO LI. IAMZAI
[...] Onde el Signore di questa città, (solamente di sale)[23] ae di rendita cinquanta mani di thuman balis: el balisso vale uno fiorino et mezzo, et così uno thuman costa quindicimila fiorini. Ma questo Signore fece una gratia a questo popolo, ch'egli gli lasciava duecento thuman, acciò che non avessono carestia. [...]
[pp. 49–50]

CAPO LXIII. DELLE FESTE
[...] A voler dire la grandezza di questo Signore, et quello che si fae nella sua corte, è una cosa incredibile, s'elle non fossero vedute con gli occhi. Non si maravigli neuno s'egli fae così grande spese, che per tutto lo suo regno non spende per moneta altro che cotale carte, che sono reputate ivi per moneta. Et l'infinito tesoro viene a le sue mani. Un' altra grande maraviglia si può dire, non che io la vedesse, ma udillo dire a persone degne di fe.
[p. 62]

O 6) The First Italian Printed Version *Odorichus de rebus incognitos* of 1513

Lucio Monaco and Giulio Cesare Testa, *Odorichus de rebus incognitis: Odorico da Pordenone nella Prima Edizione a Stampa del 1513*, Pordenone: Camera di Commercio, Industria, Artigianato e Agricoltura, 1986.

This appears to be a substantially shortened version as it does not contain the passages on the Yangzhou salt revenue and the wealth of the Great Kan, nor does it mention the head tax is to be paid in paper money.

---

[21] Cansare, MAGL.; Guinzai, Vers. min. del RAM.; Canzay, Vers. mag. del RAM.; Chonsai, MARC.
[22] Bastagne, Vers. min. del RAM.; Balassi, Vers. mag. del RAM.; Balisse, MARC.
[23] Manca nelle Vers. del RAM.

<12>
Facto alcuni giorni, partemmosi de questa terra. Noi arivammo ad una città maravigliosa che è chiamata Gussanza, che in nostra lengua vene a dire città de C<e>lo. [. . .] et fomme dicto che ciascuna casa paga l'anno al signore un bastage, che vale un ducato et mezzo; [. . .]
[pp. 65–68]

O 7) The Passages on Yuan Paper Money and the Yangzhou Salt Revenue in the Manuscript *Les Merveilles de la Terre d'Outremer* of about 1331–1333, a French Translation of Odorico da Pordenone's Account

David A. Trotter, *Jean de Vignay: Les Merveilles de la Terre d'Outremer—Traduction du XIV^e^ siècle du récit de voyage d'Odoric de Pordenone*. Exeter: Exeter University Publications, 1990.

Les Merveilles de la Terre d'Outremer is based on a translation into French made by Jean de Vignay (1282/1285–?) in the early 1330s. The original is lost, but somewhat later manuscript copies are held by the British Library and the Bibliotèque Nationale de France. Vignay's French translation is based on the edition of Guillaume de Solagne, to whom Odorico recited his travel experiences.

[CHAPITRE XXIII]
Comment il vint en Cansaye
Je me departi de la, et ving a une cité qui a non Cansaye, qui vaut autant a dire comme "cité de ciel." [. . .] Et il ont .i. commandement de par le seigneur, quar chascun feu paie chascun an .i. balis, c'est .i. denier de la terre, a ce Grant Chien, et qui valent autant comme florin et demi, et sont fais en la maniere d'un ver qui fait la saie, et d'escorche de morier.[24] Et certes il ont ceste maniere. [. . .]
[pp. 55–56]

[CHAPITRE XXV]
Et si comme je m'en aloie par cestui flueve de Thalay, je trespassai par mout de citez, et en ving a une qui est apelee Camcyn. [. . .] Et le seigneur de ceste cité a bien seulement de sel .v^c^. mille cuvains de basili.

[24] As noted by Trotter (1990), pp. 117–118, this passage differs considerably from the Latin manuscripts: "quilibet ignis solvit unum balis, id est quinque cartas bombicis, que unum cum dimido florenum valent."

Donc .i. basile vaut .i. florin et demi. Et ainssi .i. cuvain si vaut bien .xv. mille florins. Et toutefois cestui seigneur a fait a cest pueple des pymeiens une grant grace, car il leur delesse .cc. cuvains, si que il n'aient cause de chierté. […]
[pp. 59–60]

[CHAPITRE XXX]
[…] Et certes dire et raconter la hautesce et la grant noblesce de cestui seigneur et les choses qui en sa court son[t] faites, si est aus crestiens aussi comme chose qui n'est pas a croire, se l'en ne les veoit aus iex. Et de ce toutefois que il fait moult grans despens, nul ne se doit merveiller, quar nule autre chose ne se despent pour monnoie en tout son regne, fors que une maniere de meriaus qui sont fais d'esorche de mourier qui est ilec reputee pour monnoie.[25] Et tres grant tresor sanz fin vient en ses mains.
[p. 74]

O 8) The Passages on Yuan Paper Money and the Yangzhou Salt Revenue in Jean le Long's *Iteneraire de la Peregrinacion et du voyaige*, a French Translation of 1351 of Odorico da Pordenone's Account

See Alvise Andreose and Philippe Ménard, *Le voyage en Asie d'Odoric de Pordenone, traduit par Jean Le Long, OSB, Itineraire de la peregrinacion et du voyaige (1351)*, Genève: Librairie Droz (Textes littéraires français), 2010.

[XXIII] De la cité de Casaye, autrement dicte Cancusay, qui est la plus grant du monde.
Je m'en vins a une cité qui a nom Cancusaie. Ce sonne en nostre françoiz "cite de chiel." […]

Et si est toute subjecte a un seigneur, le Grant Caan, qui en lieve si grant avoir que merveille, car chascun feu lui paie tous les ans .V. carques de coton, qui bien valent la un florin et demi, mais tant y a que .X. ou .XII. mainaigez ne font que un feu a paier. […]
[p. 41]

---

[25] As Trotter (1990), p. 123n209, remarks, not all Latin texts are as detailed as this French one. The Latin manuscript of Venice, Marciana XIV, 43, says "cartae confectae corticibus morariorum, quae pro moneta reputantur ibi" (YC, p. 326n1), others, however, write only "quedam carte quas pro moneta habent (BCY: que pro moneta reputantur)" (SF, p. 482).

[XXVI] De la cité de Iamathay, alias Iansu, et de l'ordenance des gens.
[…] Li sires de la cité en reçoyt bien chascun an .L. tumans de balisses, dont .I. balisse vault [un][26] florin et demi, sicques .I. tuman vault .XV^{M}. flourins. Et nompourquant leur sires leur fait grace chascun an de .II^{C}. tumans, affin que en la ville ne soit trop grant cherté.
[p. 45]

[XXVII] De la cité de Lancerni, de Caito et aucunes autres.
[…] Pluiseurs autres choses font it devant leur Seigneur que nulz n'oseroit croire qui ne l'eust veu. Mais je le vy tout a mes yeulx, et pour ce le puis bien dire. De si grans despens que celui Sires fait nulz ne se doit esmerveiller, car pour monnoie ne despant on rien en tout son royaume fors une mennere de briefvés, qui la vont par le païs en lieu de monoie.
[p. 55]

O 9) The Passages on Yuan Paper Money and the Yangzhou Salt Revenue in Henry Yule's English Translation of 1913 Called *The Travels of Friar Odoric*

See Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, New Edition, Revised throughout in the Light of Recent Discoveries by Henri Cordier, *Vol. II: Odoric of Pordenone*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1913.

32. Concerning the city of Cansay, which is the greatest city on earth.
Departing thence, I came unto the city of Cansay, a name which signifieth "*the City of Heaven*." […]

And they have an edict from their Lord that every fire shall pay to the great Khan annually a tax of one *balis*, i.e. of five pieces of a paper like silk, a sum equal to one florin and a half. […]
[pp. 192–196]

35. Concerning the cities of Iamzai and of Menzu.
[…] And the lord of this city hath from salt alone a revenue of five hundred tumans of *balis*; and a *balis* being worth a florin and a half, thus a tuman maketh fifteen thousand florins. But as a grace to this people the

[26] This word is omitted in the A (Besançon, B. M., 667) an B (Paris, BNF, fr. 12202) manuscripts. The correction is according to the C (Paris, BNF, fr. 1380), E (Paris, BNF, fr. 2810), and F (Bern, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 125) versions.

said lord made a remission to them of two hundred tumans, lest distress should be created.
[pp. 209–211]

41. Concerning the Khan's great hunting matches.
[…] And any account that one can give of the magnificence of that lord, and of the things that are done in his court must seem incredible to those who have not witnessed it.

But no one need wonder at his being able to maintain such an expenditure; for there is nothing spent as money in his whole kingdom but certain pieces of paper which are there current as money, whilst an infinite amount of treasures comes into his hands.
[p. 240]

* * *

S 1) The Passage on Yuan Paper Money in Yule's 1914 Translation of *The Book of the Estate of the Great Caan*, Set forth by the Archbishop of Soltania, ca. 1330

See Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices on China*, New Edition, Revised throughout in the Light of Recent Discoveries by Henri Cordier, *Vol. III: Missionary Friars—Rashíduddín—Pegolotti—Marignolli*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1914.

The Archbishop of Soltania is supposed to be the John de Cora of the Dominican Order. His account on paper money is so similar to the passages in Marco Polo's book that I assume that it is basically a paraphrased version of the Venetian's report.

[…]
Then the emperor refuseth justice to no man, but thanks be to God Almighty, he delivereth the prisoners, and bestoweth his mercies and acts of compassion on all manner of people, who have need thereof, and require a favour at his hand. Only there be three manner of folk to whom he rendereth never mercy: to wit, such an one as hath laid violent and reprobate hands upon his father or his mother; such as hath forged the king's money, which is of paper; and such as hath done any one to death by giving him poison to drink. To these three rendereth he never mercy.
[…]
[p. 90][27]

[27] I would like to thank Alexander Jost for having pointed out this passage to me.

5. Concerning the money which is current in the said realm.
The Grand Caan there maketh money of paper. And this hath a red token right in the middle, and round about there be letters in black. And this money is of greater or of less value according to the token that is thereon; one is worth a groat[28] and another is worth a denier; and so some are worth more and some less. And they fix the value of their money of gold and silver with reference to their paper money.[29]

You find in this country a greater variety of merchandise than in the territories of Rome or of Paris. They have great store of gold and silver and of precious stones. For when any merchants from foreign parts come thither to trade, they leave there their gold and silver and precious stones, and they carry away the products of the country; spices, silk, cloths of silk and cloths of gold, of which they find great quantities for sale here.

The emperor above mentioned hath very great treasuries; indeed it is a marvel to see them; and these are for this paper money. And when the said paper money is too old and worn, so that it cannot be well handled, it is carried to the king's chamber, where there be moneyers appointed to this duty. And if the token or the king's name is at all to be discerned thereon, then the moneyer giveth new paper for the old, deducting three in every hundred for this renewal. All their royal grants are also made on paper.
[pp. 97–98]

* * *

J 1) The Passage on Yuan Paper Money in Jordan Catala de Sévérac's *Mirabilia Descripta*, ca. 1330

See Christine Gadrat, *Une image de l'Orient au XIV^e^ siecle: Les* Mirabilia Descripta *de Jordan Catala de Sévérac; Édition, traduction et commentaire*, Paris: École des Chartes (Mémoires et documents de l'École des Chartes; 78), 2005, p. 261.

Sequitor de magno Tartaro
126. In dominio istius, 'currit pro moneta papirus signata cum incausto nigro,' cum qua habetur aurum, argentum, sericum, lapides preciosi, et simpliciter omnia que vult homo'.

---

[28] "*Maille*."

[29] "The phrase," Yule explains, "is *avaluent leur monnoie dor et dargent à leur monnoie de pappier*, which Jacquet explains as in the text. The explanation does not seem very satisfactory, and the statement certainly is not true."

J 2) The Passage on Yuan Paper Money in Yule's 1863 English Translation of Jordan of Severac's *Mirabilia Descripta*, ca. 1330

See Henry Yule, *Mirabilia Descripta—The Wonders of the East by Friar Jordanus, of the Order of Preachers and Bishop of Columbum in India the Greater, (circa 1330); Translated from the Latin Original, as Published at Paris in 1839, in the Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires, of the Society of Geography, with the Addition of a Commentary*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1863.

VIII.
Here Followeth Concerning the Great Tartar
[...] 2. In his dominion is current, in place of money, paper stamped with black ink, with which can be procured gold, silver, silk, gems, and in short all that man can desire.
[p. 46]

* * *

F 1) The Passage on Chinese Paper Money in Ibn Fadlallah al-'Umari's (d. 1338) *Masalik al-absar fi mamalik alamsar* مسالك الابصار فى ممالك الامصار (Glances of the Eyes throughout the Districts of the Lands) in the German translation of Klaus Lech

See Klaus Lech, *Das mongolische Weltreich: Al-'Umarī's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masālik al-abṣār fi mamālik al-amṣār; mit Paraphrase und Kommentar*, Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz (Asiatische Forschungen; 22), 1968, pp. 109ff.

Der Geschäftsverkehr erfolgt mit einem Papiergeld, das aus dem Bast des Maulbeerbaumes besteht und den Namen des Großkhans im Aufdruck trägt. Sind die im Umlauf befindlichen Noten abgenutzt, tauscht man sie bei Beamten des Khans gegen geringen Verlust um—ähnlich wie an der [ägyptischen] Münze, wo [ein gewisser Prozentsatz] von Gold und Silber einbehalten wird, das man zum Prägen bringt. [...]

Der Handel wird mit einem aus der Rinde des weichen Maulbeerbaumes hergestellten [Papier]geld abgewickelt, das in größeren und kleineren [Noten] im Umlauf ist und im Geschäftsverkehr einen Wert von einem, zwei, fünf und so weiter bis dreißig, vierzig und hundert Dirham hat. Mit diesem Geld aus dem Bast des weichen Maulbeerbaumes gefertigt und mit dem Namen des Großkhans gestempelt, spielt sich der Handel ab.

Alte und abgenutzte Scheine bringt man zu einer öffentlichen Kasse und erhält sie gegen geringen Verlust ersetzt.[30]

For the original text see ibd., pp. ٦٢ff.

ومعاملتهم بقروش من الحاء شجر التوت مطبوعا باسمه، فإذا عتق ذلك المتعاطى به حمله إلى نوّاب هذا القان، وأخذ عوضه مع خسارة لطيفة يؤخذ فى دار الضرب على ما يؤخذ اليها من الذهب والفضّة ليضرب بها. [...]
ومعاملتهم بورق التوت ومنها كبار ومنها صغار، فمنها ما يقوم فى المعاملة مقام الدرهم الواحد، ومنها ما يقوم مقام درهمين، فمنها ما يقوم مقام خمسة درهم، وأكثر إلى ثلاثين وأربعين وخمسين وماءة، وهو يؤخذ من الحاء شجر التوت الليّن، ويختم باسم القان، وتجرى به المعملات، فإذا عتق واضمحلّ حمل إلى الخزانة وأعطى عوضه غرم قليل.

* * *

P 1) The Passages on Yuan Paper Money in Francesco Balducci Pegolotti's *La Pratica della Mercatura* of ca. 1340

See Allan Evans, *Francesco Balducci Pegolotti: La Pratica della Mercatura*, Cambridge (Mass.): The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936.

---

[30] For Etienne M. Quatremère's much older French translation of this passage based on the Arabic manuscript no. 583 of the Royal Library see Institut Royal de France (ed.), *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi et autres bibliothèques*, vol 13, Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1838, p. 223: "Il parle de la monnaie de papier [Fol. 43v], qu'il décrit en ces termes: 'On emploie en guise de monnaie des bandes قشور formées de filaments de mûrier, sur lesquelles est imprimé le nom de l'empereur. Lorsqu'une de ces pièces est usée, on la porte aux officiers du prince, et l'on reçoit une autre pièce en échange, moyennant une perte légère, ainsi que la chose a lieu dans nos hôtels des monnaies, relativement aux matières d'or et d'argent que l'on y porte, et qui doivent être converties en pièces monnayées.' Plus loin [Fol. 46r], l'auteur, s'appuyant sur l'autorité du schérif Hasan-Samarkandi, s'exprime en ces termes: 'La monnaie des Chinois est formée de feuilles de mûrier. Il y en a de grandes et de petites. Quelques-unes ont la valeur d'un dirhem, d'autres de deux, d'autres de cinq; d'autres valent trente, quarante, cinquante, et même cent dirhems.'" These are the same passages quoted by Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran, with Special Reference to the History of Cultivated Plants and Products*, Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History (Field Museum of Natural History Publications 201; Anthropological Series Vol. XV. No. 3), 1919, pp. 561–562, referring to the translation of Ch. Schefer, "Notice sur les relations des peuples Musulmans avec les Chinois: L'extension de l'islamisme jusqu'à la fin du XV^{e} siecle," Paris: Centenaire de l'École de Langues Orientales Vivantes, 1895, p. 17. Schefer's translation is, however, more precise: "La monnaie des Chinois est faite de billets fabriqué avec l'écorce du mûrier. Il y en a de grands et de petits. [...] On les fabrique avec des filaments tendres du mûrier et, après y avoir apposé un sceau au nom de l'empereur, on les met en circulation."

AVISAMENTO DEL VIAGGIO DEL GATTAIO
per lo cammino della Tana ad andare e tornare con mercatantia
Primieramente, dalla Tana in Gintarcan si à 25 giornate di carro di buoi, e con carro di cavallo pure da 10 in 12 giornate. [. . .]

E di Oltrarre in Armalecco si à 45 giornate di some d'asino, e ogni dìe truovi moccoli. E d'Armalecco insino in Camesu si à 70 giornate d'asino, e di Camesu insino che vieni a una fiumana che si chiama [. . .] si à 45 giornate di cavallo. E dalla fiumana te ne puoi andare in Cassai e là vendere i sommi dell'argento che avessi, però che làe è spacciativa terra di mercantia. E di Cassai si va colla muneta che si trae de' sommi dell'argento venduti in Cassai, ch'è moneta di carta che s'apella la detta moneta balisci, che gli quattro di * quella moneta vagliono uno sommo d'ariento per le contrade del Gattaio. E di Cassai a Gamalecco, che è la mastra città del paese del Gattaio, si va 30 giornate.
[p. 21]

Cose bisognevoli a mercatanti che vogliono fare il sopradetto viaggio del Gattaio
[. . .] Tutto l'argento che' mercatanti portano e che va al Gattaio, il signore del Gattaio lo fa pigliare per sé e mettelo in suo tesoro, e' mercatanti che 'l vi portano ne dà loro moneta di pappiero, cioè di carta gialla coniata della bolla del detto signore, la quale moneta s'appella balisci; della qual moneta * puoi e truovi da comperare seta e ogn'altra mercatantia e cose che comperare volessi. E tutti quelli del paese sono tenuti di prenderla, e già però non si sopracompera la mercatantia perché sia moneta di papiero; e della detta moneta di pappiero ne sono di tre ragione, che l'una si mette per più che l'altra secondo che sono ordinate a valuta per lo signore. [. . .]
[p. 23]

P 2) The Passages on Yuan Paper Money in Francesco Balducci Pegolotti's *La Pratica della Mercatura* of ca. 1340 in Yule's English Translation of 1914

See Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices on China*, New Edition, Revised throughout in the Light of Recent Discoveries by Henri Cordier, *Vol. III: Missionary Friars—Rashíduddín—Pegolotti—Marignolli*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1914.

CHAPTER I.

Information regarding the journey to Cathay, for such as will go by Tana and come back with goods.

In the first place from Tana to Gintarchan [Astrakhan] may be twenty-five days with an ox-waggon, and from ten to twelve days with a horse-waggon. [...] From Oltrarre [Otrár] to Armalec is forty-five days' journey with pack-asses, and every day you find Moccols. And from Armalec to Camexu [Ganzhou in Gansu] is seventy days with asses, and from Camexu until you come to a river called [...] is forty-five days on horseback; and then you can go down the river to Cassai [Xingzai, Kinsay, Cansai = Hangzhou], and there you can dispose of the *sommi*[31] of silver that you have with you, for that is a most active place of business. After getting to Cassai you carry on with the money which you get for the *sommi* of silver which you sell there; and this money is made of paper, and is called *balishi.*[32] And four pieces of this money are worth one *sommo* of silver in the province of Cathay. And from Cassai to Gamalec [Cambalec], which is the capital city of the country of Cathay, is thirty days' journey.

[pp. 146–149]

CHAPTER II.

Things needful for merchants who desire to make the journey to Cathay above described.

[...] Whatever silver the merchants may carry with them as far as Cathay the lord of Cathay will take from them and put into his treasury. And to merchants who thus bring silver they give that paper money of theirs in exchange. This is of yellow paper, stamped with the seal of the lord aforesaid. And this money is called *balishi*; and with this money you can readily buy silk and all other merchandise that you have a desire to buy. And all the people of the country are bound to receive it. And yet you shall not pay a higher price for your goods because your money is of paper. And of the said paper money there are three kinds, one being worth more than

---

[31] Yule (1914), p. 148n4, indicates that the *sommo* was a silver ingot weighing eight and a half Genoese ounces. Ibn Battuta mentions these as current among the Tartars under the name of *saum*, sing. *saumah*.

[32] Already Heyd (1879), vol. 2, p. 251, remarked that this statement is wrong, because *balish* is not the name of the paper money, but a monetary unit-of-account (namely the Chinese *ding*).

another, according to the value which has been established for each by that lord.
[…]
[pp. 154–155]

* * *

I 1) The Passage on Yuan Paper Money in Ibn Battuta's Travels in Bengal and China, ca. 1347, in Yule's English Translation of 1916

See Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices on China*, New Edition, Revised throughout in the Light of Recent Discoveries by Henri Cordier, *Vol. IV: Ibn Batuta—Benedict Goës—Index*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1916.

[…] The Chinese taste is entirely for the accumulation of gold and silver plate. […] They have a custom among them for every merchant to cast into ingots all the gold and silver that he possesses, each of these ingots weighing a hundredweight, more or less, and these he places over the gate of his house. The man who has accumulated five such ingots puts a ring on his finger; he who has ten puts two rings; he who has fifteen is called *Satí*,[33] which amounts to the same thing as *Káramí* in Egypt. An ingot is in China called *Barkálah*[34].[35]

The people of China do not use either gold or silver coin in their commercial dealings. The whole amount of those metals that reaches the country is cast into ingots as I have just said. Their buying and selling is carried on by means of pieces of paper about as big as the palm of the hand, carrying the mark or seal of the Emperor. Twenty-five of these bills are called *bálisht*,[36] which is as much as to say with us "*a dínár*." When anyone finds that notes of this kind in his possession are worn or torn he

---

[33] Yule: ["He who possesses fifteen such, is named El Sashi; and the piece itself they call a Rakala" (Lee, p. 209).]

[34] Yule: *Pers.* Pargálah, *frustrum, segmentum* (Meninski). *Satí*, again is probably the Indian word *Set* or *Cheti* as it is called by some old travellers. The *Káramí* merchants were a sort of guild or corporation in Egypt, who appear to have been chiefly occupied in the spice trade. . . . It is a common story in India, of rich Hindu bankers and the like, that they build gold bricks into the walls of their houses. . . . And in Russia, Ibn Fozlan says, when a man possessed 10,000 dirhems, his wife wore one gold chain, two gold chains for 20,000 dirhems, and so on.

[35] Yule: ["Are termed a shat." Lee, p. 209.]

[36] Yule: ["In historical works, such as the *Jahán Kushái*, the *Jami-ut Tawárikh*, and others, a *bálish* is thus described: 'A *bálish* is 500 *mitkhál* [of silver] made into long brick with a depression in the middle.'" *Tarikh-i-Rashidí*, p. 256 . . .]

takes them to a certain public office analogous to the Mint of our country, and there he gets new notes for his old ones. He incurs no expense whatever in doing this, for the people who have the making of these notes are paid by the emperor. The direction of the said public office is entrusted to one of the first *amírs* in China. If a person goes to the market to buy anything with a piece of silver, or even a piece of gold, they won't take it; nor will they pay any attention to him whatever until he has changed his money for *bálisht*;[37] and then he can buy whatever he likes.
[…]
[pp. 111–113]

For the original text see Charles François Defremery, *Voyages d'Ibn Battûta: Texte arabe accompagné d'une traduction par C. Defremery et le Dr. B. R. Sanguinetti*, vol. 4, 2nd ed. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1874–1879, repr. Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1979, pp. 111–113:

وجميع اهل الصين انما يحتفلون فى اوانى الذهب والفضة […] وعادتهم أن يسبك التاجر ما يكون عنده من […] الذهبوالفضة قطعًا تكون القطعة منها من قنطار فما فوقه وما دونه ويجعل ذلك على باب داره. ومن كان له خمس قطع منها جعل في إصبعه خاتمًا ومن كانت له عشر جعل خاتمين ومن كان له خمس عشرة سموه الستي بفتح السين المهمل وكسر التاء المعلوة وهو بمعنى الكاري بمصر. ويسمون القطعة الواحدة منها بركالة بفتح الباء الموحدة وسكون الراء وفتح الكاف واللام. […] وأهل الصين لا يتبايعون بدينار ولا درهم. وجميع ما يتحصل ببلادهم من ذلك يسبكونه قطعًا كما ذكرناه وإنما بيعهم وشراؤهم بقطع كاغد كل قطعة منها بقدر الكف مطبوعة بطابع السلطان وتسمى الخمس والعشرون قطعة منها بالشت بباء موحدة والف ولام مكسور وسين معجم مسكن وتاء معلوة وهو بمعنى الدينار عندنا وإذا تمزقت تلك الكواغد في يد إنسان حملها إلى دار كدار السكة عندنا فأخذ عوضها جددًا ودفع تلك ولا يعطى على ذلك أجرة ولا سواها لأن الذين يتولون عملها لهم الأرزاق الجارية من قبل السلطان وقد وكل بتلك الدار أمير من كبار الأمراء وإذا مضى الإنسان إلى السوق بدرهم فضة أو دينار يريد شراء شيء لم يؤخذ منه ولا يلتفت عليه حتى يصرفه بالبالشت ويشتري به ما أراد. […]

* * *

[37] Yule thinks that *bálish* or *bálisht* is a corruption of the Latin *follis*, i.e. bellows, leather money-bag. See his lengthy footnote in Yule (1916), p. 112n2.

M 1) Passages on Yuan Paper Money in the Paris Text (BN, Nouv. Acq. Franç. 4515) of *Le liure de Mandeuille, chaualier, le quel parle de lestat de la terre sainte et des merueilles que il a veues*, compiled in 1365 and written in 1371

See Malcolm Letts, *Mandeville's Travels: Texts and Translations*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1953, vol. 2. Cf. also the similar "version insulaire" of about 1356, critically edited by Christiane Deluze, *Jean de Mandeville; Le livre des merveilles du monde*, Paris: CNRS Editions (Sources d'histoire médievale, publiées par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes; 31), 2000, pp. 396–397.

This is the earliest known manuscript of Mandeville's *Travels* and shows that the book was originally written in French.

[Chapter 25]
Du gouuernement du Grant Cham
[...] Cilz empereur puet despendre tant comme il veult senz nulle estimacion, car il ne despent ne or ne argent, ne ne fait monnaie fors de cuirs emprinteis ou de rondelles de papier signez.[38] Et si a monnoie de plus grant[39] pris lune que lautre selon la deuise du signet qui [f. 72 r] est enz. Et quant celle monnoie a tant couru que lemprainte est gastee, on la reporte adont au tresorier de lempereur, et il leur baille de la nouuelle monnoie pour la vieille. Et ceste monnoie va par tout son pays et par toutes les prouinces dont il est chief, et en fait on toutes les pourueances pour la despense de son hostel.[40] Et par de la il ne faut monnoie ne dor ne dargent, et pour ce puet il assez despendre. Et de lor et de largent que on porte en son pays il en fait tousdit ouurer en son palais et faire diuerses choses et faire changier et muer, selon ce que il lui plaist. Et a en sa chambre, en vn des pillers dor qui y sont, i. rubis[41] en maniere dun escharboucle dun pie de lonc, qui par nuit enlumine toute la chambre; [...]
[p. 364]

[38] Warner's French text has the following: "... ne ne fait point de moneye, fors de cuyr emprentes ou de paper."
[39] Warner's text: "... et de plus petit solonc la diuersete de seinal qi y est."
[40] Warner's text omits: "dont ... hostel."
[41] Warner's text: "... pilers dor vn rubiez charboncle [...]."

M 2) Passages on Yuan Paper Money in the Egerton Version of *The Book of John* Mandeville, about 1410 to 1420

See Malcolm Letts, *Mandeville's Travels: Texts and Translations*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1953, vol. 1.

Chapter XXV
[Of the Governance of the Great Chan's Court, and when He Maketh Solemn Feasts; of His Philosophers; and of His Array when He Rideth by the Country]

[…]
This emperor may dispend als mickle as him list spend, for he makes no money but out of leather, or of paper, or of barks of trees.[42] And when this money is waxed old, and the print thereof defaced because of using, it is brought to the king's treasury, and his treasurer gives new for old. This money is printed on both sides, as money is of other countries, and it goes through all the Great Caan's lands. For they make no money there of gold ne silver, when it is brought thither from other lands by divers nations, but the emperor gers enorn his palace therewith, and gers make thereof other necessaries at his own list. In his chamber on a pillar of gold is a ruby and a carbuncle, either of a foot long; and this carbuncle lightens all the chamber on the night. […]
[pp. 165–166]

M 3) Passages on Yuan Paper Money in the Middle Dutch Version of *De Reis van Jan van Mandeville*, s' Gravenhage, 1462

See N. A. Cramer, *De Reis van Jan de Mandeville, naar de middelnederlandsche Handschriften en Incunabelen, vanwege de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden*, Leiden: Brill, 1908, p. 203.

Hoe die keyser sijn munt van leder is ende verteren mach also veel al hy wil.
[122d] Die keyser mach also vele ver*t*eren al hi wel zond*er* ghetal, want hi en ver*d*oet noch gout noch suluer, noch hi en maect en ghene mu*n*te and*ers* dan van ghepre*n*ten leder ofte van papiere. En*de* dan dier mu*n*te is die een waerder dan die and*er*, na die*n* dat teken is dat daer op staet. En*de*

[42] "Barks of trees" not in the Cotton or in the French text.

alse *dese* mu*n*te also langhe ghelope*n* heeft en*de* ghegae*n*, dat die printe al beghint de ve*r*gaen, dan draghet me*n*se tot des keysers tresorerie en*de* hi gheeft hem nuwe mu*n*te om die oude. Ende *dese* mu*n*te gaet door al sijn lant en*de* in al sijn prouincien, want daer en maken si gheen mu*n*te van goude of van siluer. En*de* da*er* om mach hij [123a] ghenoech ve*r*teren. *Ende* vande*n* goude en*de* van den suluere, datme*n* in sijn *lant* brinct, doet hi altoos zij*n* pallaes maken en*de* al ander dinghen, die hem ghenoeghen. En*de* in een vanden pylaerne*n* van sijnre cameren, die van goude is, staet een robijn carbo*n*kel, die een voet lanc is, die des nachts alle die camere ve*r*licht [. . .]

M 4) Passages on Yuan Paper Money in the German Translation of Mandeville's Travel Account

See Eric John Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung in deutscher Übersetzung von Michael Velser: Nach der Stuttgarter Papierhandschrift Cod. HB V 86*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1974, p. 141.

Hie seit er von dem grossen hoff und adel den der Cham under im hät. [. . .] Der kayser mag verzeren wie vil er wil das es im *[42ra]* nit schatt. *Wann er bedarf weder gold noch silver verzeren*, wann da gät kain múnß wann von leder oder von pappir da ist des kaysers zaichen uff, und gilt ains me den das ander darnäch gezaichnet ist. Und wenn die alt werdent und wo^{e}llend verderben, so tragend sie das in das kaysers thesary, so git man in wider di da gu^{o}t sind umb die alten. Und das gät als wit sin land ist. Und da von alles gold und silber wirt dem kayser. Und da von wa^{e}r es nit ain wunder ob sie von luterm gold búrg machtend, wann sin do^{e}rt me ist wann hie. Item in siner kamer stät ain guldin sul, die ist gar wunderlich gemacht; in der sul ist ain rubin, der ist wol ains fu^{o}ß lang, der erlúchtet die *gantzen* kamer, [. . .]

* * *

PM) Passage on Yuan Paper Money in Philippe de Mézières' (about 1327–1405) *Le song du vieil pèlerin*, 1389

George William Coopland, *Le songe du vieil pèlerin*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969, vol. 1, pp. 229, quoted in Folker Reichert, "Chinas Beitrag zum Weltbild der Europäer: Zur Rezeption der Fernostkenntnisse im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, 6 (1989a), p. 45n65.

In his search for good coins and just government, Philipe de Mézières' *Reine Verité* and her retinue also reached Cathay. Although they found there justice, peace and compassion, the paper money there was not good coin, but only consisted of paper and, supposedly leather.[43]

"[…] il fu trouve que la monnoye du Grant Caan, laquelle estoit de cuir et de fort papier n'estoit pas de bon aloy."[44]

* * *

H 1) Mention of Ming Paper Money in Hafiz-i Abru's *Zubdatu't Tawarikh* (Cream of Chronicles) of the 1420s, in K. M. Maitra's English Translation of 1970[45]

See K. M. Maitra, *A Persian Embassy to China, Being an Extract from Zubdatu't Tawarikh of Hafiz Abru*, with a new introduction by L. Carrington Goodrich, New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1970, pp. 111–112.

This is a record related to an embassy sent from Herat by the Sultan Shahrukh Bahadur, son of the renowned Timur, to China, to the court of the Yongle emperor (r. 1403–1424) of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). This mission took place during the years 1419–1421. This account is contained in Hafiz-i Abru's universal history written in the late 1420s.

An Account of the Return of the Envoys who Had Gone to Cathay and Chinese Stories and Customs

[…]

The contents of Shadi Khwaja's tray [of presents] were,—ten bags of silver coins,[46] thirty pieces of satin as well as seventy other stuffs consisting of under-vests, red silks, Lousha,[47] Kapki,[48] together with five thousands

---

[43] See Reichert (1989a), pp. 44–45.

[44] "Uncoined money" (*moneta… senza conio*) is mentioned, moreover, in Giovanni Boccaccios (1313–1375) *Decamerone* (1349–1353), where in one of the novels Frate Cipolla reports from his travels beyond the Hellespont, of *Buffia* and *Truffia*, and of the Land of Lies (*terra di Menzogna*). "Uncoined money" seems to be an allusion to Chinese conditions. See Reichert (1989a), p. 51.

[45] I am grateful to Alexander Jost, Abteilung für Sinologie und Koreanistik, University of Tübingen, for having pointed out this report to me.

[46] "*Balish* of silver" are no doubt meant.

[47] Maitra: Lousha seems to be a kind of brocade, i.e. that which the Europeans termed Lucca.

[48] Maitra: Kapki is a kind of velvet.

bank-notes[49] while his wife received no bank-note or bags of silver, but only one third of the apparels.

Sultan Ahmad, and Kukja and Arghdaq severally received eight bags of silver, sixteen pieces of satin and remainder of stuffs being made up of undervests, red silk, and Lousha in all ninety-four pieces, including their wives as well, with one thousand bank-notes each.

Ghiyasu'd Din, Ardwan and Taju'd Din Badakhshi severally received seven bags of silver, sixteen pieces of satin, red silk, Lousha and Kapki, seventy seven pieces in all, as well as two thousand bank-notes each. […]

* * *

A 1) Mentioning of Ming Paper Money in 'Abd ar-Razzaq as-Samarqandi's *Matla' as-sa'dain wa majma al-bahrain* مطلع السعدين ومجمع البحرين (The Rising of the Two Auspicious Circumstances and the Mingling of the Two Oceans; Manuscrit persan de la Bibliothèque de roi, n° 106; manuscrit persan de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, n° 24), in Etienne M. Quatremère's French Translation of 1843

See Institut Royal de France (ed.), *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi et autres bibliothèques*, vol. 14, Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1843. pp. 416–417.

This is a much later record of the embassy of Sultan Shahrukh Bahadur, a more detailed account of which we can find in Hafiz-i Abru's universal history (see H 1). As a matter of fact, 'Abd ar-Razzaq as-Samarqandi based his account on Hafiz-i Abru's work.

Matla-assaadeïn ou-madjma-albahreïn

[…] Le huitième jour de rebi-awal, le monarque, ayant mandé Ahmed-schah et Bakhschi-melik, leur fit ce que l'on appelle *senkisch*, c'est-à-dire un présent. Il donna à Sultan-schah huit *balisch* d'argent, trente vêtements d'une magnificence royale, avec une mule, vingt-quatre pièces de *kaleï*, deux chevaux, dont un était sellé, cent flèches formées de roseau, cinq *kaïbar* à trois côtés, à la mode du Khata, et cinq mille *tchao*. Bakhschi-melik fut gratifié d'un pareil présent; seulement, il eut une *balisch* de

[49] "Banknote" is certainly misleading, as this, no doubt, refers to the Chinese *tchao* (*chao*).

moins. Les femmes des ambassadeurs ne reçurent pas d'argent, mais on leur donna des étoffes. [...][50]

* * *

B 1) Mention of Chinese Paper Money around 1450 in Josaphat Barbaro, *Viaggio alla Persia*, p. 44, as quoted in Pauthier in 1865

See Guillaume Pauthier, *Le livre de Marco Polo, citoyen de Venise, conseiller privé et commissaire impérial de Khoubilaï Khaân, rédigé en Français sous sa dictée en 1298 par Rusticien de Pise*, Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et C., Imprimeurs de l'Institut de France, 1865, p. 327n7.

Being in Asof around 1450 Barbaro is said to have heard the following account from a Tartar who had been on an envoy in China:

[...] in quel luogo [i.e. China] si spende *moneta di carte*; la quale ogni anno è mutata con nueva stampa, e la moneta vecchia in capo dell'anno si porta alla zecca, ove à chi la porta è data altrettanta della nueva e bella; pagando tutta via *due per cento* di moneta d'argento buona, e la moneta vecchia si butta nel fuoco. [...]

* * *

KI) Mention of the Monetary Conditions and the Use of Paper Money in the Early Ming Period in 'Ali Akbar Khita'i's *Khitaynama* (The Book on China) of 1516

See the original text in Iraj Afshar, *Khitaynama: sharh-i mushahidat-i Saiyid 'Ali Akbar Khita'i*, Tehran: Markaz-i Aznad-i Farhangi Asya, 1978 [= 1378 h.s.].[51]

---

[50] Annotations by Quatremère, p. 503: "On lit dans le *Tarikhi-Wassâf* (fol. 17 v.): [...] 'sept cents *balisch* de *tchao*,' et (fol. 18 r.): [...] 'le *tchao* qui dans l'empire de la Chine, servait pour les transactions commerciales;' et enfin (fol. 395 r.): [...] 'mille *balisch-tchao*.' Dans l'Histoire de l'Inde de Firischtah, on lit (t. I, p. 239): [...] 'ainsi que dans l'empire de la Chine, l'or *tchao* a cours,' et (ibid.): [...] 'Le mot *tchao* désignait un morceau de papier sur lequel on gravait les noms et les surnoms des empereurs de la Chine, et qui, chez les habitants de ce royaume, avait cours, au lieu de la monnaie d'or et d'argent.'"

[51] Again, I would like to thank Alexander Jost, not only for having pointed out this work to me, but also for the translation of the relevant chapter below. His translation was, moreover, revised and proofread by Abolghasem Zamankhan.

در بیان زر نقره وپول به جای پول خرج کردن

چنان است که در شهری که پول را نیک نگیرند حکم از پادشاهی برآید که به این چنین مهر کنید و به جای پول بگیرید. که را زهره بود که بگیرد وآن کاغذ مهر کرده را میگیرد و خرج میکند. چون پاره شود نگیرند. چون خلق عجز آیند راضی شوند با آنکه پول را نگیرند و پول روان شود. وزار ونقره خالص را سکه زنند وآچه نبرند. مثل قلعی به گاز ببرند وبه درم خرج میکنند. ادنی زردار ایشان صد هزار سیر و دویست هزار سیر میگویند، وهر سیری ده درم نقره است. صد هزار سیر آنجا مثل صد هزار آچه اینجا وزن دارد. ومرد ایشان همه صرف ومبصر، و ده نوع نقره میگیرد. همه را بداند وبشناسد و مراتب قیمت او بداند.

Explaining gold, silver, coins and the spending of paper instead of coins

It is such that in a city where people did not accept coins, a decree had been issued by the emperor (*padishah*) [before] that they should stamp [the paper] in this and that way and accept it in place of money. Who would thereafter have the courage not to accept it? Thus they spend and take those stamped papers. [Only] if one is torn or destroyed, however, do they not accept it. Because people have no alternative to having to come to terms with this type of money, they accept it and it comes into circulation.

Pure gold and pure silver they do not strike into coins, nor do they produce coins (*aqcha*).[52] [Only inferior metals] like tin are made into coins and spent like *dirham*. The wealthy ones among them have at least 100,000 or 200,000 *sir*[53] of silver, one *sir* being ten *dirham* of silver. 100,000 *sir* there have a similar weight to 100,000 *aqcha* here.

Every one of them is also a money-changer and an expert who accepts ten[54] types of silver. He knows them all and is informed about their grades of value.[55]

---

[52] The word is of Mongol origin and denotes Ilkhanid and Ottoman gold or silver coin.

[53] Persian weight unit: 1 *sir* = ca. 74.24 g.

[54] This word can also be understood as "dozens."

[55] For a short mentioning of this chapter cf. also Fuat Sezgin and Eckhard Neubauer (eds.), *The Book on China, Khitāynāma, by 'Alī Akbar Khitā'ī (d. after 1516 A.D.)*, Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University (Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, Series C, Facsimile Editions; 56), 1994, p. XI: "Chapter 18: On their gold, silver and money, and their spending paper instead of money; that men and women can become money-changers, and that every citizen [is used to that]. On the treasury, on the fact that they do not mint [noble metals into] token coins (*aqcha*), and that fireworks are in common use." A complete translation of the whole *Khitaynama* by Ralph Kauz is under way.

APPENDIX 3

COINS OF VENICE

The first town in Italy to mint silver coins of a stable quantity and purity was Venice, which on the eve of the Fourth Crusade, under Doge Enrico Dandolo (1105 ?–1205; r. as Doge of Venice 1192–1205) began to strike *denari grossi* with a silver content of .985 and an ideal weight of 2.18 grams. They differed from other silver coins of the same age by being a pure silver rather than a gold-silver alloy coin and by its beaded ring lined up with the edge of the flan. Thus clipping of the coins was prevented and it could thus be transacted by count rather than having to be weighed. The old penny which shortly thereafter assumed the name of "small" penny or *piccolo* stood to the *grosso* most plausibly in a relationship of 1: 24. The *grosso* was used in large-scale commerce and credit, while the *piccolo* served the needs of local trade in towns and countryside and in the payment of wages. While the *grosso* remained unchanged for almost 200 years, the relation of the *piccolo* to the *grosso* started to deteriorate. Exchange rates of 1231, 1259, and 1265 amount to 25, 26 2/3, and 27 *piccoli* per *grosso*. In February 1267 the official exchange rate was set at 26.11, in December of the same year at 28, and in May 1282 at 32 *piccoli* per *grosso*.[1]

The first truly successful gold coin was the celebrated florin, which was struck by the Florentines in 1252. It was a pure gold coin of an intended weight of 3.545 grams.[2] Many references list Giovanni Dandolo (r. 1280–1289) as the creator of the Venetian ducat in 1284, but it is claimed by one author that this gold coin actually originated years before, in 1274, when the Doge Lorenzo Tiepolo (r. 1268–1275) began minting a gold coin

---

[1] See Alan M. Stahl, *Zecca: The Mint of Venice in the Middle Ages*, Baltimore, London and New York: The Johns Hopkins University Press and the American Numismatic Society, 2000, pp. 16–27. Cf. also Gino Luzzatto, *An Economic History of Italy: From the Fall of the Roman Empire to the Beginning of the 16th Century*, transl. by Philip Jones, London: Routledge, 2005, p. 127. For more and partly somewhat different rates between *grosso* and *piccolo* cf. also Louise Buenger Robbert, "Il sistema monetario," in Giorgio Cracco and Gherardo Ortalli (eds.), *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*; II: *L'età del Comune*, Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana fondata da Giovanni Treccani, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1995, p. 427.

[2] Stahl (2000), pp. 28–33; Luzzatto (2005), p. 128.

Table 32. Average weight of a Venician groat (*grosso*), 1205–1311

Doge	Weight
Enrico Dandolo (r. 1192–1205)	2.18g**
Pietro Ziani (r. 1205–1229)	2.22g
	2.09g*
Jacopo Tiepolo (r. 1229–1249)	2.16g
Marino Morosini (r. 1249–1253)	2.13g
Ranieri Zeno (r. 1253–1268)	2.14g
	2.11g*
Lorenzo Tiepolo (r. 1268–1275)	2.16g
	2.01g*
Jacopo Contarini (r. 1275–1280)	2.14g
	2.14g*
Giovanni Dandolo (r. 1280–1289)	2.04g
	2.18g*
Pietro Gradenigo (r. 1289–1311)	2.14g
Average weight	2.13g

Sources:
If not otherwise indicated, the weights of the coins were taken from A. H. Baldwin & Sons LTD., "Coins of Venice," August 2005, pp. 1–4, http://www.baldwin.sh/coinlists/venice.pdf (accessed August 4, 2009).

Notes:
* "French and English Royal and Medieval Coins" → "Coins of Italy" → "Venice," http://home.eckerd.edu/~oberhot/venice.htm (accessed August 4, 2009).
** Frederic C. Lane and Reinhold C. Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*; vol. 1: *Coins and Moneys of Account*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985, p. 117.

weighing 3.5 grams and struck in .986 gold.[3] The gold ducat remained virtually unchanged under the succeeding 73 doges.[4]

According to the Venetian *zecca*'s thirteenth-century mint regulations, a tolerance of 0.3% was theoretically permitted in the minting of the *grosso*, which would have resulted in weights ranging from 2.178 to 2.185 g per coin.[5] However, as we can see from Table 32 listing surviving specimens of Venetian *grossi*, the weight of this coin during Marco Polo's time could range from **2.01 g** to **2.22 g**, with an average of **2.13 g**. Marica Milanesi in her edition of the Ramusio version of Marco Polo's book gives a weight for the Venetian *grosso* of 1.962 g.[6] In view of the numismatic

[3] See http://www.omnicoin.com/news/Default.aspx?tabid=52 (accessed August 4, 2009).
[4] See "French and English Royal and Medieval Coins" → "Coins of Italy" → "Venice," http://home.eckerd.edu/~oberhot/venice.htm (accessed August 4, 2009).
[5] Cf. Stahl (2000), pp. 362–363.
[6] See Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, ed. by Marica Milanesi, Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1980, p. 915.

remains and historical information, this seems to be too light for the time of Marco Polo.

The same holds true for the Venetian *ducato* for which Marica Milanesi gives a weight of 2.174 g.[7] In view of numismatic remains and historical information, this is clearly too light for Marco Polo's time, for which an average weight of ca. 3.52 g appears more appropriate (see Table 33).

Table 33. Average weight of a Venetian ducat (*ducato*), 1343–1400

Doge	Weight
Giovanni Dandolo (r. 1280–1289)	3.54 g
Andrea Dandolo (r. 1343–1354)	3.51 g
Giovanni Dolfin (r. 1356–1361)	3.52 g
Marco Corner (r. 1365–1368)	3.50 g
Andrea Contarini (r. 1368–1382)	3.52 g
Antonio Venier (r. 1382–1400)	3.52 g
Average weight	3.52 g

Source: The weights of the coins are taken from A. H. Baldwin & Sons LTD., "Coins of Venice," August 2005, pp. 4–7, http://www.baldwin.sh/coinlists/venice.pdf (accessed August 4, 2009), with the exception of Giovanni Dandolo's coin which is taken from Lane and Mueller (1988), p. 282.

Figure 36a

Figure 36b

Figure 36c

Source: Stahl (2000), pp. 25, 29.

Figure 36. Venetian *grosso, piccolo* and *ducato* of the thirteenth century.
a) *Grosso* of the reign of Lorenzo Tiepolo (r. 1268–1275)
b) Debased *piccolo* of the reign of Lorenzo Tiepolo (r. 1268–1275)
c) *Ducato* of the reign of Giovanni Dandolo (1280–1289)

[7] See id., p. 915.

APPENDIX 4

THE WEIGHT MEASURES *LIBBRA* AND *SAGGIO* OF VENICE

Like many other major Italian cities in the Middle Ages and early modern period, Venice had two *libbra*. The *libbra sottile* was used in weighing gold, silver, gems, silk, pharmaceutics, dyestuffs, butter, rice, sugar, coffee and tea. Everything else was weighed with the *libbra grossa*. There were different divisions for both *libbras*:

libbra grossa = 2 *marcs* = 12 *oncia* = 72 *saggi* = 2304 *carati* = 9216 *grani*
libbra sottile = 12 *oncia* = 72 *saggi* = 1728 *carati* = 6912 *grani*

Thus, there existed heavy and light versions of the *oncia* and *saggi*, but not of *carati* and *grani*.[1]

The word *saggio* or, in Venetian, *sazio*, originates from the late Latin *exagium*, *sazium*. See Delclos et Roussel (2006), p. 161n152, 7.

The weights that are given for the Venetian *libbras* and *saggi* vary, as is shown by the table below. For our calculations we will follow the indications of source 2 as will be elucidated in appendix 5.

Table 34. Weights of Venetian weight measures according to various sources

	Source 1	Source 2	Milanesi	Blanchard/ Quereuil	Lane/ Mueller
libbra grossa	**499.00 g**	**477.49 g**	**477.00 g**		
saggio grosso	6.93 g	6.63 g	6.23 g		
libbra sottile	333.00 g	302.03 g	301.00 g		
saggio sottile	**4.63 g**	**4.19 g**	**4.18 g**	**4.72 g**	**4.97 g**

Sources:
Source 1: http://xoomer.virgilio.it/vannigor/Lombardo_Veneto.htm (accessed August 6, 2009).
Source 2: http://www.culturabarocca.com/GOVERNO2.htm (accessed August 6, 2009).
Milanesi: Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, ed. by Marica Milanesi, p. 915.
Blanchard/Quereuil: Blanchard and Quereuil (2005), p. 118n116, 55.
Lane/Mueller: Lane and Mueller (1988), p. 526.

[1] See http://www.sizes.com/units/libbra.htm (accessed August 6, 2009).

APPENDIX 5

THE WEIGHT OF THE *MISKAL*

John Masson Smith, in dealing with the silver currency of Mongol Persia, gives the following account of the silver pieces struck by the Ilkhan Ghazan (1271–1304; r. 1295–1304): The authoritative statements of Rashid al-Din (1247–1318), the chief minister of Ghazan Khan, the first reforming Ilkhan, make clear that Ghazan and his advisers concluded that the currency should be made uniform in style, purity and, in the case of silver, weight, so as to prevent abuses by counterfeiters and clippers and to reduce the profit in, and disruption of, commerce by speculation in coins of differing assay and weight. Moreover, the volume of currency in circulation should be increased, so as to simplify, expedite and encourage orderly economic activity. A silver *dinar* equalled three *miskals* of silver or six *dirhams* (silver half-*miskals*). One table listing silver *dinars* shows that the *dirham* standard of this coin during the Ghazan and Ūljāytū periods through to 712/1312–1313 ("Ghazan—Ūljāytū I") could not have been less than 2.13–2.17 g., thus indicating a weight of the *miskal* ranging from **4.26** to **4.35** g.[1]

In another article discussing gold money in Persia during the Ilkhanid period John Masson Smith and Frances Plunkett conclude the following about the weight of the *miskal*: The *miskal* weight has varied with time and usage. While in classical Islam the *miskal-dinar* weight was 4.25 g., it became heavier under the Mongols. Coin frequency tables indicate that Ghazan's *dirham* and double *dirham* (silver half *miskal* and *miskal*) were struck at between 2.15 and 2.2 g, and **4.3** and **4.35 g**, suggesting an intended *miskal* standard of **4.32 g**. The authors conclude that from at least Seljuk times down through the Ilkhanid period silver was the only full money in the Islamic Middle East, while gold was essentially a commodity and was traded by weight.[2]

A heavier weight for the *miskal* is, however, suggested by German A. Fedorov-Davydov for the standard weights of the Golden Horde coins.

---

[1] John Masson Smith, Jr., "The Silver Currency of Mongol Iran," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 12.1 (1969): 17–19.

[2] John Masson Smith, Jr., and Frances Plunkett, "Gold Money in Mongol Iran," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 11.3 (1968): 285–288.

The *dannik* weighed 0.78 g. Based on an anonymous fourteenth-century report on the Khwārazm monetary system along with the actual weights of Khwārazm coins it can be established that 6 *dannik* were equal to 1 *miskal* with a weight of **4.68 g**. Weights of ten and hundred *miskal* have been found in a number of the Golden Horde towns.[3]

From the investigations of the above mentioned historians we can conclude that the *miskal* had a weight range from **4.26** to **4.68** g.[4] As we will see, however, in Appendix 6, the Persian *miskal* weights appear to be more appropriate than those of the Golden Horde for Marco Polo's reference of their relationship to Venetian groats.

[3] German A. Fedorov-Davydov, "The Monetary System of The Golden Horde," translated by L. I. Smirnova, http://www.paleog.com/im/fd/summary.pdf, p. 347 (accessed August 4, 2009).

[4] This agrees quite well with the findings of Judith G. Kolbas. In her PhD dissertation, to which I came across during the revision of this book manuscript, she gives the following gram weights for different *miskals*: Byzantine 4.478 g; Sasanian 4.302 g; Mongol 4.238 g; Pre-Mongol 4.125. See Judith G. Kolbas, "Mongol Money: The Role of Tabriz from Chingiz Khan to Uljaytu 616 to 709 AH/1220 to 1309 AD," PhD diss., New York University, 1992, p. 9.

APPENDIX 6

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PERSIAN SYSTEM OF *BALISH, SUM* AND *MISKAL*, THE CHINESE SYSTEM OF *DING, LIANG* AND *QIAN*, AND MARCO POLO'S *SAGGI* AND *GROSSI*

Thomas T. Allsen in his book on Mongol imperialism in the 1250s stresses that the Mongols used a unified system of imperial monetary units everywhere in the financial administration of the empire in order to cope with the regional and local variations in currency. The system was applied in Persia, Central Asia, Mongolia, Rus and in China and operated with the following units, regardless whether silver or paper money was applied:

Table 35. System of imperial monetary units-of-account in the Mongol empire

Unit	Persian	Uighur	Mongolian	Russian	Chinese
1 ingot	*balish*	*yastuq*	*süke*	*slitok*	*ding*
1/10 ingot	*sum*				
1/50 ingot			*baqir*		*liang*
1/500 ingot	*miskal*	*satir*			*qian*

Source: Allsen (1987), pp. 180–181.

This system allowed that any particular currency could be equated to these units for purposes of conversion. In China and Uighuristan the terms *ding* and *yastuq* were also used for counting paper money, for instance in expressing it in such terms as "five hundred *ding* worth of paper money (*chao*)."[1]

In his article on Mongolian tributary practices of the thirteenth century H. F. Schurmann writes that the Chinese system of 1 *ding* being equal of 50 *liang* silver was probably not of Chinese origin, but came from Central Asia where the silver ingots *yastuq* and *balish* were calculated at 500 *miskal* (Khwārazm), etc. In a footnote, however, he also mentions that the Chinese ingot and the ingot of the steppes may have differed in

[1] Thomas T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands, 1251–1259*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1987, pp. 180–181.

weight: "The Chinese sources indicate that the weight of the tael (*liang*) remained essentially the same since the time of the Sui; that would be about 37.6 grams. Zeki VELIDI, however, states that the *yastuq* was based on the Khwarazm *misqâl* which weighed 4.548 grams. The *yastuq*, which equalled 500 *misqâl*, thus weighed 2.274 kilograms. The Chinese ingot, however, would only have weighed about 1.88 kilograms. The ratio between the two thus is approximately 1.2 : 1. . . ."[2] A similar ratio between the *saggio* or *miskal* is assumed in Yule (1903), where it is stated that eight *saggi* or *miskals* would be 592 grains troy [38.36 g], approximating as near as possible to the 580 [37.58 g] grains troy of the tael (*liang*).[3]

Recent research in the Chinese history of metrology suggests a much more complex situation in the field of weights and measures. Based on these considerations, but also in the light of archaeological research and on the study of metrological remains of the Yuan period, I would like to raise the following *caveats* and considerations:

1. Although the units-of-account within the Mongol empire were based on a rather unified system of relationships between, for instance in the Chinese case, 1 *ding* = 50 *liang* = 500 *qian*, it cannot be assumed *a priori* that, e.g., the silver unit *qian* had the same weight than the Persian *miskal* or the Central Asian *satir*. Certainly we have to reckon with local and regional variations that existed in the markets, but it also may have well been the case that slightly different weight units were adopted in the various systems of different central government fiscal administrations in Persia, Central Asia, Russia, Mongolia and China.
2. Archaeological research and the study of metrological and monetary remains indicate that in China, as is to be expected of a civilisation operating under pre-modern conditions, metrological usages varied substantially in local and regional terms, in trades and industries as well as in governmental agencies and private circles. This is made clear when examining the weight of Yuan period bronze weights and silver ingots which have been excavated and stored in Chinese museums since the 1950s. This allows us to obtain a more precise impression of the weight of a *jin*, *liang* and *qian* (1 *jin* = 16 *liang* = 160 *qian*) as they were used for weighing both goods and precious metals. Let us start

[2] Herbert Franz Schurmann, "Mongolian Tributary Practices of the Thirteenth Century," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 19.3/4 (1956): 373.

[3] Yule (1903), vol. 2, p. 217.

with Table 36 which lists the weights of weight measures known from the Yuan period. It has to be remarked here that these were weight measures not for balances, but exclusively for steelyards. So far no balance weight measures with weight indications inscribed on them have been found from the Yuan period.

Table 36. Weights of weight measures of the Yuan period, 1295–1306

Number / year / reign period	*jin*	*liang*	*qian*	Notes
W 1 1295 Zhenyuan 1	622.0 g	38.88 g	3.89 g	Bronze weight of 1.5 *jin* for a 35 *jin* steelyard of the Yuan weighing 933 g, dated 1295 and issued in Dadulu 大都路 (modern Daxingxian 大兴县 near Beijing). Stored in the Department for the Administration of Cultural Relics of Beijing City.
W 2 1295 Zhenyuan 1	585.6 g	36.60 g	3.66 g	Bronze weight of 1.5 *jin* for a 35 *jin* steelyard of the Yuan period weighing 878.4 g, dated 1295 and issued in Dadulu. Excavated in 1957 in Weijiacun 魏家村, Wumengxinghexian 乌盟兴和县, Inner Mongolia.
W 3 1303 Dade 7	775.0 g	48.43 g	4.83 g	Bronze weight of 1 *jin* for a 25 *jin* steelyard of the Yuan period weighing 775 g, dated 1303 and issued in Dadulu. Excavated in Wuqing District 武清县 of Tianjin City 天津市 in 1976.
W 4 1303 Dade 7	588.7 g	36.79 g	3.68 g	Bronze weight of 1.5 *jin* for a 35 *jin* steelyard of the Yuan period weighing 883 g, dated 1303 and issued in Dadulu. Stored in the Committee for the Administration of Cultural Relics of Tianjin City.
W 5 1304 Dade 8	600.0 g	37.50 g	3.75 g	Bronze weight of 1.5 *jin* for a 35 *jin* steelyard of the Yuan period weighing 900 g, dated 1304 and issued in Dadulu. Stored in the Department for the Administration of Cultural Relics of Beijing City.

Table 36 (*cont.*)

Number / year / reign period	*jin*	*liang*	*qian*	Notes
W 6 1304 Dade 8	637.5 g	39.84 g	3.98 g	Bronze weight of 2 *jin* for a 55 *jin* steelyard of the Yuan period weighing 1275 g, dated 1304 and issued in Dadulu. Stored in the National Museum of China in Beijing.
W 7 1306 Dade 10	616.0 g	38.5 g	3.85 g	Bronze weight of 1 *jin* for a 16 *jin* steelyard of the Yuan period weighing 616 g, dated 1306 and issued in Dadulu. Stored in the Department for the Administration of Cultural Relics of Beijing City.
W 8	609.0 g	38.06 g	3.81 g	Bronze weight of 1 *jin* for a 25 *jin* steelyard of the Yuan period weighing 609 g, of unknown date and place. Stored in the Committee for the Administration of Cultural Relics of Tianjin City.

Source: Qiu Guangming 丘光明, *Zhongguo wulixueshi daxi: jiliangshi* 中国物理学史大系：计量史 (A Series of Books on the History of Physics in China: A History of Metrology), Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002, p. 489.

With the exception of W 3 issued in 1303, which shows an exceptionally heavy weight, all the other remains suggest that a *jin* weight unit, as it was used for goods in a certain defined spatial, temporal, social, economic and political context, could be as light as **585.6 g** (W 2) or as heavy as **637.5 g** (W 6). For the subunit *liang* the respective values lie between **36.60 g** and **39.84 g**, for the *qian* between **3.66 g** and **3.98 g**.

Although it is problematic to strike an average between different weight systems used in various private, official and regional contexts, I nonetheless will do this in order to arrive at units with which procedures of calculation can be carried out in a more convenient way. On average (and with the exclusion of W 3), the weight of a *jin, liang* and *qian* weight measure amounted to **608.46 g**, **38.03 g**, and **3.80 g** respectively.

From the Yuan period the weights of at least 22 silver ingots are known, as they are listed in the Table 37 below:

Figure 37a

Figure 37b

Source: Qiu Long 邱隆, Qiu Guangming 丘光明, Gu Maosen 顾楙森, Liu Dongrui 刘东瑞, and Wu Hong 巫鸿, *Zhongguo gudai duliangheng tuji* 中国古代度量衡图集 (Collected Illustrations of Ancient Weights and Measures in China), Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981, ill. 229, p. 155, and explanations p. 35.

Note: Like most of the Yuan weights discovered so far, this is a sliding weight which was used for a steelyard. The Chinese inscriptions on this typical Yuan weight read: "In the eighth year of the Dade reign-period made in Dadu Route" (*Dade banian Dadulu zao* 大德八年大都路造) and "55-*jin*-steelyard" (*wushiwu jin cheng* 五十五斤秤). The script in Phags-pa states "2-*jin* sliding weight." The latter two small texts are also inscribed in Mongolian (Huigumeng 回鹘蒙) and Persian. They weight has a weight of 1,275 g, or, per *jin*, 637.5 g.

Figure 37. A Yuan sliding weight of 2 *jin* for a 55-*jin*-steelyard, 1304.

Table 37. Weights of silver ingots of the Yuan period

Number / year or period / reign period	*jin*	*liang*	*qian*	Notes
S 1 Yuan ?	624.0 g	39.00 g	3.90 g	A 50.2 *liang* silver ingot weighing 1,959 g excavated in 1952 in Qingyang District 庆阳县, Gansu.
S 2 Yuan ?	638.0 g	39.87 g	3.88 g	A 50.03 *liang* silver ingot weighing 1,995 g excavated in 1966 in the Yanzhangzi Brigade 颜仗子大队 in Pingquan District 平泉县, Hebei.

Table 37 (*cont.*)

Number / year or period / reign period	*jin*	*liang*	*qian*	Notes
S 3 Yuan ?	645.3 g	40.33 g	4.03 g	A 49.09 *liang* silver ingot weighing 1,980 g excavated in 1966 in Guzi Tomb 姑子坟 at Xiaonan Gate 小南门 in Huailai District 怀来县, Hebei.
S 4 Yuan ?	627.0 g	39.19 g	3.92 g	A 1.5 *liang* silver ingot weighing 58.8 g stored in the Museum of Heilongjiang Province.
S 5 Yuan ?	642.0 g	40.13 g	4.01 g	A 50.0 *liang* silver ingot weighing 2,005 g excavated in 1969 in the Shuangshu Commune 双树公社 of Wuqing District 武清县, Tianjin City. The average weight of 1 *jin* of the five silver ingots excavated there amounts to 642 g.
S 6 Yuan ?	632.0 g	39.50 g	3.95 g	A 50.0 *liang* silver ingot weighing 1,974 g excavated in 1969 in the Shuangshu Commune of Wuqing District, Tianjin City.
S 7 Yuan ?	643.0 g	40.19 g	4.02 g	A 49.7 *liang* silver ingot weighing 1,997 g excavated in 1969 in the Shuangshu Commune of Wuqing District, Tianjin City.
S 8 Yuan ?	643.0 g	40.19 g	4.02 g	A 49.9 *liang* silver ingot weighing 2,008 g excavated in 1969 in the Shuangshu Commune of Wuqing District, Tianjin City.
S 9 Yuan ?	650.0 g	40.63 g	4.06 g	A 49.3 *liang* silver ingot weighing 2,002 g excavated in 1969 in the Shuangshu Commune of Wuqing District, Tianjin City.
S 10 Yuan ?	632.0 g	39.50 g	3.95 g	A 50.0 *liang* silver ingot weighing 1,974 g issued in Pingyanglu 平陽路 and excavated in 1969 in the Maquan Commune 马圈公社 of Wuqing District, Tianjin City.

Table 37 (*cont.*)

Number / year or period / reign period	*jin*	*liang*	*qian*	Notes
S 11 Yuan ?	632.3 g	39.52 g	3.95 g	Probably a 50.0 *liang* silver ingot weighing 1,976 g issued in Taiyuanlu 太原路 and now stored in the Shanxi Branch of the People's Bank of China.
S 12 Yuan ?	627.2 g	39.20 g	3.92 g	A 50.0 *liang* silver ingot weighing 1,960 g issued in Dongpinglu 東平路, excavated in the Shanghai region and now stored in the Shanghai Museum.
S 13 Yuan	628.8 g	39.30 g	3.93 g	A 50.0 *liang* silver ingot weighing 1,965 g issued in Dingzhenlu 定真路, excavated in the Shanghai region and now stored in the Shanghai Museum.
S 14 1277 Zhiyuan 14	607.0 g	37.94 g	3.79 g	A 50.0 *liang* silver ingot weighing 1,896 g issued in 1277 and excavated in 1956 in Jurong District 句容县, Jiangsu.
S 15 1277 Zhiyuan 14	608.0 g	38.00 g	3.80 g	A 50.0 *liang* silver ingot weighing 1,899 g issued in 1277 and excavated in 1956 in Jurong District, Jiangsu
S 16 1277 Zhiyuan 14	607.0 g	37.94 g	3.79 g	A 50.0 *liang* silver ingot weighing 1,896 g issued in 1277 and excavated in 1957 in Jurong District, Jiangsu.[a]
S 17 1277 Zhiyuan 14	607.0 g	37.94 g	3.79 g	A 50.0 *liang* silver ingot weighing 1,896 g issued in 1277 and excavated in 1957 in Jurong District, Jiangsu.[a]
S 18 1277 Zhiyuan 14	500.7 g	31.27 g	3.13 g	A 54.0 *liang* silver ingot weighing 1,690 g issued in 1277 in Yangzhou 揚州 and excavated in 1971 in Xilao Village 西涝村 of the Xidayingzi Commune 西大营子公社 in Chaoyang District 朝阳县, Liaoning.

Table 37 (*cont.*)

Number / year or period / reign period	*jin*	*liang*	*qian*	Notes
S 19 1277 Zhiyuan 14	589.76 g	36.86 g	3.69 g	A 50.0 *liang* silver ingot weighing 1,843 g issued in 1277 by the Branch Secretariat in Yangzhou and excavated in 1988 at the northern bank of the Great Victory Bridge (Shengli daqiao 胜利大桥) in Hanyu Village 寒圩村 of Ganxiang Community 干巷乡 of Jinshan District 金山县 (Shanghai City).
S 20 1277 Zhiyuan 14	608.0 g	38.00 g	3.80 g	A 50.0 *liang* silver ingot weighing 1,900 g issued in 1277 by the Branch Secretariat in Yangzhou and now stored in the Shanghai Museum.
S 21 1277 Zhiyuan 14	617.6 g	38.60 g	3.86 g	A 50.0 *liang* silver ingot weighing 1,930 g issued in 1277 by the Branch Secretariat in Yangzhou and depicted in *Zhongguo yinding* 中国银锭 (Chinese Silver Ingots).
S 22 1350 Zhizheng 10	609.3 g	38.08 g	3.81 g	A 50.0 *liang* silver ingot weighing 1,904 g issued in 1350 by Ruizhoulu 瑞州路 and excavated in 1977 in Guangshandian Village 广山店村 of the Sanbao People's Commune 三宝人民公社 in Nongan District 农安县, Jilin Province.

Sources:
S1, S4 etc.: Qiu Guangming 丘光明, *Zhongguo wulixueshi daxi: jiliangshi* 中国物理学史大系:计量史 (A Series of Books on the History of Physics in China: A History of Metrology), Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002, pp. 492–493.
S 2, S 3 etc.: Ye Shichang et al. (2009), pp. 115–125.

Notes: For an additional Yuan 10-*liang* weight of 356.25 g and thus a weight of about 3.56 g per *qian* listed in a Japanese numismatic catalog see Peng Xinwei/Kaplan (1994), vol. 2, p. 473, referring to Okudaira Masahiro, *Record of East Asian Coins*, vol. 11, p. 71. This weight was issued in Tianli 2/9 (Sept./Oct. 1329).
[a] A different total weight of 1,879.19 g is given in Ye Shichang et al. (2009), p. 120, for a silver ingot excavated at the Chishan Lake 赤山湖 of Jurong District in 1957.

If we leave out S 18 which appears to be excessively low, then the lowest and highest values for the *jin*, *liang* and *qian* range from **607.0 g** to **650.0 g**, from **37.94 g** to **40.19 g**, and from **3.79 g** to **4.06 g** respectively.

Source: Ye Shichang et al. (2009), p. 118; von Glahn (2009), p. 22.

Note: The inscription on the silver ingot identifies it as having been deposited in the treasury of the Imperial Secretariat in 1277. It was cast in Yangzhou 揚州, which had been captured by the Mongols in 1276. The reverse side bears the inscription *yuanbao* 元寶 (Primordial Treasure) in large characters.

Figure 38. Silver ingot of 1 *ding* or 50 *liang* from the Mongol era.

For more convenient calculation purposes, also here the average values for a *jin, liang*, and *qian* will be stricken, which in the case of Yuan silver ingots (with the exclusion of S 18) are **624.7 g**, **39.04 g**, and **3.90 g** respectively.

As a next step, let us now compare the data of the lowest and highest values of weight measures and silver ingots of the Yuan period with those of the preceding Song (960–1279) and Jin (1115–1234) dynasties:

Lowest, highest and average weight values of inscribed weight measures of the Yuan period

1 *jin*	from	**585.60 g**	to	**637.50 g**	average	**608.46 g**
1 *liang*	from	**36.60 g**	to	**39.84 g**	average	**38.03 g**
1 *qian*	from	**3.66 g**	to	**3.98 g**	average	**3.80 g**

Lowest, highest and average weight values of inscribed silver ingots of the Yuan period

1 *jin*	from	**607.00 g**	to	**650.00 g**	average	**624.69 g**
1 *liang*	from	**37.94 g**	to	**40.62 g**	average	**39.04 g**
1 *qian*	from	**3.79 g**	to	**4.06 g**	average	**3.90 g**

Let us now compare the information of the Yuan period with the data available from the Song and Jin eras. For the very limited number of weight measures that survived from the Song period, Guo Zhengzhong gives a possible range from 601 g to 640 g for 1 *jin*.[4] If we take the range of the weights of the more than thirty silver ingots that survived from the Song period, then the respective lowest and highest weights for the *jin*, *liang* and *qian* can be indicated as follows:

Lowest and highest weight values of inscribed silver ingots of the Song period

1 *jin*	from	566.40 g to	649.60 g
1 *liang*	from	35.40 g to	40.60 g
1 *qian*	from	3.54 g to	4.06 g[5]

The three weight measures that have been found from the Jin dynasty show a weight between *631 g* and *634 g* for 1 *jin*.[6] More revealing are the data with regard to the weights of silver ingots from that period. Qiu Guangming lists 32 silver ingots of Jurchen origin with the following ranges for the three weight units being of interest to us here in this context:

Lowest and highest weight values of inscribed silver ingots of the Jin period

1 *jin*	from	*624.00 g* to	*649.00 g*
1 *liang*	from	*39.00 g* to	*40.56 g*
1 *qian*	from	*3.90 g* to	*4.06 g*[7]

With almost no exception, all the weights of weight measures and silver ingots of the Mongol period lay well within the range of what we know about the weights of metrological remains of the Song and Jin eras. Therefore, in contrast to the Yuan length and volume measures, which were larger than those of the Song, the Mongols appear to have taken over almost unchanged the weight measures of their Chinese and Jurchen predecessors.[8]

---

[4] See Guo Zhengzhong 郭正忠, *San zhi shisi shiji Zhongguo de quanheng duliang* 三至十四世纪中国的权衡度量 (Weights and Measures in China from the Third to the Fourteenth Centuries), Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1993, p. 214. Guo's figures are based on three metrological remains only. See also Qiu Guangming (2002), pp. 459–460.

[5] See Qiu Guangming (2002), pp. 460–461, and, slightly different, Guo Zhengzhong (1993), p. 219.

[6] See Qiu Guangming (2002), pp. 484–485.

[7] Qiu Guangming (2002), pp. 490–491.

[8] Qiu Guangming (2002), p. 494.

3. The data presented above are, however, in need of explanation. First of all, it should be pointed out that weights as they were used for products and weights as they were employed for precious metals certainly differed in their degree of accuracy. This means that in the latter domain we may expect a higher degree of unification and precision than in the former. Moreover, judged from conditions as we know them from the Chinese late imperial period, it is clear that governmental institutions used a rather unified unit-of-account system for monetary silver for intra-governmental financial transactions or for financial or fiscals transactions between society and government. With regard to the different levels of markets, however, various units-of-account for monetary silver with different weight and silver content existed for different localities, regions, industries and trades.

   Under the empirically justified assumption that a rather unified weight system existed in certain levels of central, regional and local governments and based on the fact that the weight of many Song silver ingots dealing with fiscal matters tend to show a weight of 640 g, 40 g and 4 g for the *jin, liang* and *qian* weight units,[9] Chinese metrological historians have come to the conclusion that these values represented more or less the standard units-of-account as they were ideally prescribed in governmental and fiscal transactions. Consequently, weights and silver ingots with a substantially lower weight would thus belong to other regional, local, commercial and occupational metrological systems. Not only Guo Zhengzhong but in his wake also Qiu Guangming and others have pointed out that, besides an official metrological standard, quantitatively different metrological customs and usages existed in society and on markets.[10]

After this close study of historical metrological and monetary remains, let us return to the statements of Allsen, Schurmann and Yule cited or paraphrased in the beginning of this appendix. The data revealed by

[9] See the descriptions of the silver ingot inscriptions given by Guo Zhengzhong (1993), pp. 215–221.

[10] See Guo Zhengzhong (1993), pp. 221–222; Qiu Guangming (2002), p. 461. For a similar phenomenon, namely the great variety of different length measure units used for specific purposes during the Song period, see Hans Ulrich Vogel, "History of Length Measures during the Song Period (960–1279): Some Reflections on the State of the Field and Reasearch Prospects," in Harald Witthöft (ed.), *Acta Metrologiae Historicae V, 7. Internationaler Kongreß des Internationalen Komitees für Historische Metrologie (CIMH), 25.–27. September 1997 in Siegen*, St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercatura Verlag, 1999, pp. 153–172.

historical remains of the Yuan period show that though an identical system of monetary units existed within the Mongol empire, this numerical identity, as it was tabulated by Allsen, was not equivalent with quantitative sameness. It is highly improbable that the *miskal*—or the Venetian *saggio sottile* which was close to it—was identical, or near-identical, to the Chinese *qian* in quantitative terms of weight. While the *miskal* ranged from **4.26 g** to **4.68 g**, the Chinese *qian* current on the markets or used for governmental and fiscal transactions varied from **3.66 g** to **3.98 g** in the case of weight measures and from **3.79 g** to **4.06 g** in the case of silver ingots. Thus, not only did the ranges covered by the two weights differ, but it is also obvious that the highest value of the *qian* did not reach the lowest value of the *miskal*.

Both Schurmann and Yule assumed a weight of about 37.6 g for the *liang* or 3.76 g for the *qian*. Considered in the light of Chinese historical metrological remains there no doubt existed weight measures (especially W 5 and W 8) and silver ingots (especially S 14–17, S 20 and S 22) which came very near to this value. Most of the other weight measures and silver ingots, however, were conspicuously heavier. Moreover, as Chinese metrological historians have underlined, a difference has to be made between metrological systems as they were used in different regions, localities, professions and trades on the one hand and a kind of official standard weight system. With regard to the official standard weight system they came to the preliminary conclusion that the approximate weights for a standard *jin*, *liang* and *qian* amounted to **640 g**, **40 g** and **4 g** respectively not only during the Song and Jin dynasties, but also during the Yuan period.[11] Given the existence of many weight measures and silver ingots of more or less this weight and often bearing inscriptions testifying a governmental context, this seems to be an acceptable hypothesis.

Schurmann's statement—that the Chinese system of 1 *ding* being equal of 50 *liang* silver was probably not of Chinese origin—has to be revised in the view of the metrological remains of the Song period. Inscriptions on Song silver ingots show that ingots of 50 *liang* were quite common, though silver ingots were termed *ting* 錠 and not *ding* 釘.[12]

---

[11] See Guo Zhengzhong (1993), p. 221; Qiu Guangming (2002), pp. 463, 494.

[12] Cf. Guo Zhengzhong (1993), pp. 212–221. See also von Glahn (2009), p. 18, who states that under the Great Khan Ögödei (ca. 1186–1241) the Mongol empire adopted the standard Song-Jin silver ingot (*ding*) as the common money of account across its far-flung territories.

In my own calculations, I will proceed according to the following rules and conventions:

- Whenever required and possible, I will differentiate between the weight measures for goods and the weight measures for monies or precious metals.
- For purposes of convenience, I will operate mostly with average values of weight measures for goods, moneys and precious metals respectively. Even if this might not do justice to the varieties of metrological systems as they existed in different layers and sectors in state and society and will obliterate the complexities of metrological conditions to a certain extent, this procedure seems adequate for pointing out general tendencies.
- Besides operating with average values, in some selected cases I will also use the lowest and highest possible values of weights for weight measures, monies and precious metals respectively.

With regard to Marco Polo's statement that eighty porcelain shells pass for a single weight of silver or—as some of the early manuscripts say—for one *saggio* equivalent to two Venetian groats,[13] let us now consider the relationship between the *saggio* and *miskal* on the one hand and the Chinese *qian* on the other. Yule's assumption that a single weight of silver or *saggio* was more or less equivalent to a *miskal* appears to be appropriate. In Appendix 3 I have shown that the weight of a Venetian groat or *grosso* ranged from 2.01 to 2.22 g, with an average of 2.13 g, so that two groats could weigh from 4.02 g to 4.44 g, or **4.26 g** in the average. From Appendix 4 it can be seen that different figures are offered for the weight of a Venetian *saggio sottile*, as it was used for precious metals, among them also a weight of **4.19 g**, coming quite close to the average weight of two groats of **4.26 g**. If we follow the interpretation of John Masson Smith in Appendix 5, then an intended *miskal* standard in Mongol Persia was **4.32 g**. In the light of all these figures lying closely together and given the fact that remains of Venetian groats suggest a weight range from 4.02 g to 4.44 g, it seems not to be too far-fetched to assume for our calculation purposes a *saggio*, two-groat or *miskal* weight of **4.3 g** in Marco Polo's equation of cowries with single weight of silver or *saggio* or *miskal*.

[13] See chapter III.2.1.

Assuming that the weight of a single weight of silver, *saggio* or *miskal* amounted to **4.3 g** and with an average weight of a *liang* of silver of the Yuan period of **39.04 g**, the average relationship between *saggi* or *miskals* on the one hand and a Chinese *liang* of silver on the other is as follows:

– with a *saggio* or *miskal* of 4.3 g and a *liang* silver ingot of 39.04 g ≈ **9.0791** ***saggi*** = **1** ***liang***

However, for purposes of verification and control and for taking into account best-case and worst-case scenarios, let us also operate with the highest and lowest values for the weight of two groats (Appendix 3; **4.02 g**), one *saggio* or one *miskal* (Appendix 5; **4.68 g**) on the one hand and for the *liang* weight of Yuan weight measures (**36.6 g**, see above) and silver ingots (**40.62 g**, see above) on the other:

– with two groats of 4.02 g and a *liang* silver ingot of 40.62 g ≈ 10.1045 *saggi* = 1 *liang*
– with two groats of 4.02 g and a *liang* weight of 36.6 g ≈ 9.1045 *saggi* = 1 *liang*
– with a *miskal* of 4.68 g and a *liang* silver ingot of 40.62 g ≈ 8.6795 *saggi* = 1 *liang*
– with a *miskal* of 4.68 g and a *liang* weight of 36.6 g ≈ 7.8205 *saggi* = 1 *liang*

The lowest and highest values in the relationship between *saggio* or *miskal* on the one hand and the Chinese *liang* on the other will especially be adopted in the calculation of the salt revenues and the total revenue of the Mongol Yuan empire.

APPENDIX 7

COMPILATION OF PASSAGES ON CHINESE SALT MONEY, SALT PRODUCTION AND SALT REVENUE FROM THE MOST IMPORTANT MANUSCRIPT AND PRINT VERSIONS OF MARCO POLO'S ACCOUNT

V 1) Franco-Italian Manuscript Version Paris B.N.F. fr. 1116 (F) *Le devisament dou monde*, Fourteenth Century

Luigi Foscolo Benedetto, *Marco Polo, Il Milione*, Firenze: L. S. Olschki (Comitato geografico nazionale italiano; 3), 1928. For more recent transcriptions of the Franco-Italian version see Gabriella Ronchi, *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde: Il Milione nelle redazioni toscana e franco-italiana*, with a preface of Cesare Segre, 2nd ed. Milano: Mondadori (I meridiani), 1988, pp. 464, 467, 491, 520–521, and especially Mario Eusebi, *Il manoscritto della Bibliothèque Nationale de France Fr. 1116; I, Il testo*, Roma and Padova, Editrice Antenore (Biblioteca Veneta; Poliana: Documenti per l'edizione integrale del libro di Marco Polo; 1), 2010, pp. 118, 120–121, 137–138, 159, 160. The relevant passages in the Franco-Italian manuscript version under discussion here are basically identical with the early French texts (V 2, V 3) in matters of content.

Some researchers prefer to term this text "Franco-Venetian."[1] For Philippe Ménard as well as for many other Marco Polo researchers this is the version nearest to the archetype, followed by the early French texts and complemented by the Z manuscript and Ramusio's rendering.[2]

Text MP A, pp. 111–112:
CXVI. Ci dit de la provence de Tebet
[…] Et vos di tout voiremant que en celle contree a maintes bestes que faisent le mouscre et s'apellent en lor langajes gudderi. Et cesti mavesi homes ont maint buen chiens que en prenent en grant abundance et por ce ont dou moscre en grant quantité. Il ne ont monoie ne carte de cele dou grant kan, mes de sel font il monoie. Il vestent mout povremant; car

[1] Critchley (1992), p. 19.
[2] Philippe Ménard, "Le problème de la version originale du «Devisement du Monde» de Marco Polo," in François Livi (ed.), *De Marco Polo à Savinio: Écrivains italiens en langue française*, Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003, pp. 16, 17.

los vestimens sunt de pelles de bestes et de canevace et de bocoran. Et ont langajes ‖ por elz et s'apellent Tebet. […]

Text MP B, p. 114:
CXVIII. Ci devise de la provence de Gaindu
[…] Et vos di qu'il ont monoie en tel mainere com je vos dirai. Sachiés qu'il a or en verge, et le poisent a sajes et selonc que poise vaut. Mes ne ont monoie cugné cun estanpe. Et la petite monoie vos deviserai que est. Il prennent la sel e la font cuire, et puis la gitent en forme et est de le grant qu'il puet poiser entor de dimi livre: et les quatrevint de ceste tiel sel que je vos ai devisé vaut un sajes d'or fin, et ce est la peitit monoi qu'il despendent. […]

Text MP D, p. 129:
CXXXIII. Ci devise de la cité de Cianglu
Cianglu est encore ‖ une mout grant cité ver midi [et] est au grant kan et de la provence dou Catai. Lor monoie est de carte; ils sunt ydres et font ardoir les cors mors. Et sachiés que en ceste ville se fait la sal en grandisme quantité et vos dirai comant. Il est voir qu'il prenent une mainere de tere qui est molt saumastre; e de ceste terre font grant mons; e desus cest mont gitent aigues asez, tant que l'eive [vait desout; et puis prenent cele eive] et la metent en grant pot et en grant chaudere de fer e la font boir asez. Et adonc est le sal fait, mout biaus e blance et menu; et si vos di que de ceste sal se porte por maintes contrees environ et si en ont grant avoir. […]

Text MP E, pp. 152–153:
CLIV. Ci devise de la grant rende que le grant kaan a de Qui[n]say
Or vos vueil conter la grandisme rente que le grant kaan a de ceste cité de Qui[n]sai [que je vos di] desovre e de les teres qui sunt sout sa segnorie, qui est de IX part une de la provence dou Mangi. Or vos conterai primeremant de la sal, por ce que plus vaut a rente. Or sachiés tuit voiremant que le sal de ceste ville rente chascun an consuetudemant LXXX tomain d'or: e chascun tomain est LXX^{M} sajes d'or, que montent, les LXXX tomain, MMMMM^{M} e DC^{M} de sajes d'or; que chascun sajes vaut plus de un florin d'or o de un ducato d'or. E ce est bien un merveiose couse et grandismes enonbre de monoie. […]

Comment: 80 *tomans* à 70,000 *saggi* = 5,600,000 *saggi*.

Text MP F, p. 153:
CLIII. Ci devise de la grant rende que le grant kaan a de Qui[n]say
[...] si que jeo, Marc Pol, que plusor foies oi faire le conte de la rende de tous cestes couses [je vos di en verité que la rende de tous cestes couses] senz le sal, consuetudemant pour chascun an vaut CCX tomain d'or, que vailent XIV^{M} milia et DCC^{M}. Et ce est bien des plus desmesuré eno[n]bre de rente de monoie que se oist unque conter. E ce est de les IX part le une de la provence. [...]

Comment: 210 *tomans* [à 70,000 *saggi*] = 14,700,000 *saggi*.

* * *

2) French Manuscript Version in the British Library, London, Royal 19 D 1 (B1), (*Le devisement du monde*), about 1330–1340

Joël Blanchard and Michel Quereuil, *Voyages à travers la China*, and Jean-Claude Delclos et Claude Roussel, *A travers la Chine du Sud*, in Philippe Ménard (ed.), *Marco Polo: Le devisement du monde*, Genève: Librairie Droz S.A., 2006, vols. 4 and 5.

This modern edition is based on the early French manuscript version B1 preserved in the British Library, but taking into account all the other numerous French versions of Marco Polo's account as well as all the other important manuscripts, i.e. the Franco-Italian (F^{2}), Tuskan (TA), Venetian (VA), Pippino and Toledo (Z) versions.

With the exception of Text MP C the early French texts (including V 3), as well as the Franco-Italian version (V 1) all contain quite detailed information on salt money, salt production and salt revenue.[3]

[3] For another French edition see also *Le Livre de Marco Polo: Fac-simile d'un manuscrit du XIV^{e} siècle conservé a la Bibliothèque Royale de Stockholm*, Stockholm: photolithographie par l'Institut Lithographique de l'État Major; typographie par l'Imprimerie Centrale, 1882. The French King Charles V (r. 1363–1380) possessed 5 copies of the book of Marco Polo. This edition was once in the possession of the Royal Library of the Louvre and listed there as item 317 in 1411. In Blanchard and Quereuil (2005), p. 11, this is Ms. C1 of the French manuscripts. For a recent critical linguistic study of the Stockholm manuscript see Anja Overbeck, *Literarische Skripta in Ostfrankreich: Edition und sprachliche Analyse einer französischen Handschrift des Reiseberichts von Marco Polo (Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Cod. Holm. M 304)*, Trier: Kliomedia (Trierer Historische Forschungen; 51), 2003.

Text MP A, vol. 4, pp. 70–71:
114. Ci devise le .C. et XIIII. chapitre de la province de Tebet, comment les genz qui y demeurent sont vestuz de piaux des bestes sauvages, dont il y a grant plenté, et comment il les enchassent par feu.
[…] Et si vous di que en ceste contree ont moult grant plenté de bestes dont l'en fait le mugliac, et l'appellent en leur language «guderi». Et ont celle male gent moult de granz chienz et bons qui prennent moult de ces bestioles, si que pour ce il ont moult de ce mugliat en grant habondance. Il n'ont pas monnoie de chartre du seel du Grant Caan, mais ont monnoie que il font [de] sel. Il se vestent moult povrement et leurs vesteures sont de piaux de bestes et de chanevas et de bouguerans. Et ont langage par eulz et s'appellent Tebet. […]

Comment: In contrast to Pipino's text, the early French texts (V 2, V 3) and the Franco-Italian version (V 1) mention that the money the *Tebetans* used was made of salt.

Text MP B, vol. 4, p. 74:
116. Ci dit le .C. et .XVI. chapitre de la prouvince de Gaindu.
[…] Il ont monnoie en tel maniere: il ont or en verge et le poisent a pois; tant comme il [poise], si vaut. Mais nulle monnoie coingnie n'ont. Lor petite monnoie est telle: il prennent le sel et le font cuire, et puis le gietent en fourme, et est si grande chascune que bien puet peser demie livre, et les .IIII^{xx}. formes de tel sel vault un saje d'or fin, c'est un pois. Et ceste est la petite monnoie que il despendent. […]

Comment: In contrast to Pipino's text the early French texts (V 2, V 3) and the Franco-Italian version (V 1) mention the weight of a salt currency piece of "half a pound." Like Pipino's rendering, they do not provide the further details of Text MP C that we can only find in Ramusio's account.

Text MP D, vol. 4, pp. 100–101:
131. Ci dit li .Vi^{xx}. et .XI. chapitre de la province de Cyanglu.
Cyanglu est encore unne moult grant cité, qui est vers midi, la quelle est au Grant Caan, et de la prouvince du Catay. Leur monnoie est de chartres, et sont ydres et font ardoir leurs corps mors. Et sachiez que en ceste cité se fait le sel en grant quantité, et vous diray comment: il prennent unne maniere de terre qui est moult sumastre et en font moult grans mons, et dessus ces mons gietent tant d'yaue que elle va juques au fons du mont de terre; et puis prennent et [cueillent] ceste yaue [qui ist de celle terre] et la

meitent en granz chaudieres de fer et la font bien boulir, et puis la laissent refroidier et puis devient sel moult bel et moult blanc, mais il est menu; et porte l'en de ce sel par maintes province environ, dont il en traient grant avoir et grant pourfit. [...]

Text MP E, vol. V, pp. 121–122:
152. Ci dit li .VII^{xx}. et .XII. chapitre de la grant rente que le Grant Caan a chascun an de la cité de Quinsay et de ses appartenances, lequelle rente est livree et bailliee au seigneur du lieu et a ses sougiez.
Or vous conterons de la grant rente que le Grant Caan a chascun an en ceste cité de Quinsay et es appartenances. Si vous conteray premierement du sel pour ce que moult vault de rente.

Sachiez que le sel rent chascun an a somme .IIII^{XX}. commans d'or et chascun commant est .LXX^{M}. sages d'or, [se] volez pois, si que les .IIII^{XX}. commans d'or montent .V^{M}. milliers et .VI^{C}. milliers de pois d'or, dont chascun pois d'or vault plus de un flourin d'or, si que ce est unne grande somme de monnoie. [...]

Comment: 80 *tomans* à 70,000 *saggi* = 5,600,000 *saggi*.

Text MP F, vol. V, pp. 122–123:
152. Ci dit li .VII^{xx}. et .XII. chapitre de la grant rente que le Grant Caan a chascun an de la cité de Quinsay et de ses appartenances, lequelle rente est livree et bailliee au seigneur du lieu et a ses sougiez.
[...] Et pour ce que vous en sachiez le nombre, je vous di que messire Marc Pol, qui tout ce raconta, dit par verité que il y fu par plusieux fois pour veoir la raison de la rente de l'annee, de celle meisme partie si comme je vous ay dit, que [montoient] tous les drois et rentes que le Seingneur avoit, sanz les commans [du] sel, commans .CC.X. d'or, qui vallent .X[I] V^{M}. et .VII^{C}. milliers.[4] Et c'est bien .I. des desmesurez nombres de monnoie de droit qui onques feust oïs, et encore que il est sanz le droit du sel, qui est aussi en moult grant nombre. Si que vous pouez bien veoir que, quant le Seigneur a si grant rente de la monnoie de la nuevisme partie de la prouvince, ce que il doit avoir des autres .VIII. parties [monte grant nombre merveilleusement]; si que je vous di bien pour voir que moult en a le Grant Caan desmesureement grans rentes et granz pourfis de la grant

[4] Corrected in accordance with the value of the *commant* given in Text MP E. As is said by Delclos and Roussel (2006), p. 123n92, none of the manuscripts gives a correct result.

prouvince du Mangy, si que il la doit moult amer et sauver et bien garder, et il ainsi le fait, car il en a grant raison si comme vous avez oÿ. [...]

Comment: 210 *tomans* [à 70,000 *saggi*] = [14,700,000 *saggi*].

* * *

V 3) French Manuscript Version Paris B.N.F. fr. 5631 (A1), *Du devisement du monde*, Mid-Fourteenth or Second Half of the Fourteenth Century

Guillaume Pauthier, *Le livre de Marco Polo, citoyen de Venise, conseiller privé et commissaire impérial de Khoubilaï Khaân, rédigé en Français sous sa dictée en 1298 par Rusticien de Pise*, Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et C., Imprimeurs de l'Institut de France, 1865. Pauthier's version is mainly based on manuscript A1,[5] but also supplemented with information coming from the almost identical Ms. A2 (B.N.F. fr. 2810) of 1407, the much more deficient Ms. B4 (B.N.F. fr. 5649) of the second half of the fifteenth century, and the text of the Geographical Society.

Text MP A, pp. 375–377:
Chapitre CXIV
Ci dist de la province de Tebet.
[...] Si vous di encore que en ceste contrée, ont moult de bestes qui font le muguelias, et l'appellent en leur language *guduri*. Et ont, ces males gens, moult de grans chiens et de bons qui prennent moult de ces bestialles. Si que pour ce, il en ont, du muguelias, en grant habondance. Il n'ont pas monnoie de chartretes, de celle du grant Kaan; mais font monnoie de sel. Il sont vestus moult pourement, car il ne sont vestus que de peaus de bestes et de chanevoz et de bouguerans; et ont langage par euls, et s'appellent Tebet. [...]

Text MP B, pp. 385:
Chapitre CXVI
Ci dist de la province de Gaindu.
[...] Il ont monnoie en tel maniere. Il ont or en verge et le poisent a poys; et tant comme il poise il vaut. Mais nulle monnoie congniée il n'ont. Leur petite monnoie est si faite. Il prennent sel et le font cuire et puis le getent

[5] In the designation of the French manuscripts I follow Blanchard and Quereuil (2005), pp. 11–14.

en forme; et est si grant chascune que puet peser entour demie livre. Et les .lxxx. fourmes de ce sel vaut un sage d'or fin. C'est un pois, et ceste est la petite monnoie que ils despendent. [...]

Text MP D, pp. 437–438:
Ci dit de la cité de Cianglu.
Cianglu est encore une moult grant cité vers midi; et est au grant Kaan et de la province de Catay. Leur monnoie est de chartin; et sont idolastres et font ardoir les corps mors. Et sachiez que l'en fait sel en ceste cité en grant quantité; et vous dirai comment. Il prennent une maniere de terre qui est moult saumastre et en font grans mons. Et dessus cel mont getent yaue assez, tant qu'elle va jusques au fons; et puis prennent et cueillent cele yaue qui ist de celle terre, et la metent en grans chaudieres de fer, et la font bien boulir, et puis la laissent refroidier, et devient sel moult bel et blanc. Mais il est menu. Et porte l'en de ce sel par maintes provinces environ, de quoi il traient grant avoir, et grant proufit. [...]

Text MP E, pp. 509–510:
Ci devise de la grant rente que le grant Kaan a, chascun an, de laditte noble cité de Quinsay, et de ses appartenances.
Or vous conteray la grandisme rente que le grant Kaan a, chascun an, de ceste ditte cité de Quinsay, et de ses appartenances, qui est la .ix^{e}. partie de la contrée du Mangy. Et premierement, du sel; pour ce que moult vault de rente. Sachiez que le sel rent, chascun an, en somme .iiij. vingt tommans[6] d'or; et chascun tomman vault .lxx.M. saies d'or, si que les .iiij. vingts tommans montent, en somme: cinq mille et six cens pois d'or;[7] et chascun pois d'or vault plus d'un flourin d'or. Si que c'est une grant somme de monnoie. [...]

Comment: 80 *tomans* à 70,000 *saggi* = 5,600,000 *saggi*.

[6] The ms. A and B have *iiij. mille toumaux*; the ms. C has only *IIII\$^{xx}$ (80) tommans d'or*, instead of *quatre mille*. The two texts of the Geographical Society also have *quatre vingt tomain* or *tomay*.

[7] Mss. A and B. The ms. C has: *v.^{m}.* (cinq mille) *milliers et VI.^{c}* (six cens) *milliers de poiz d'or*.

Text MP F, pp. 513–518:
Ci devise de la grant rente que le grant Kaan a, chascun an, de laditte noble cité de Quinsay, et de ses appartenances.
[…] Et sachiez en verité que ledit Messire Marc Pol, qui tout ce raconte, fu pluseurs fois envoiés par le grant Kaan pour veoir le compte de ce que montent les drois et les rentes du Seigneur, de ceste .ix^{e}. partie qui montent, sans la somme du sel que nous vous avons devant dit, .ij.c. et x. tommans[8] d'or qui valent .xv. mille et .vij. cens mille et .viij. pois d'or,[9] un des plus desmesurez nombre de monnoie de rente qui oncques feust oïs. Si povez bien veoir que quant li Sires a si grant rente de la .ix^{e}. partie de la contrée, que moult puet valoir la rente des autres .viij. parties. Mais vraiement, ceste est la plus grant et la plus proufitable partie; et pour le grant prouffit que li grans Sires a de ceste contrée, l'aime il moult; et moult le fait soigneusement garder, et tenir ceulx qui y habitent en grant paix. […]

Comment: 210 *tomans* = 15,700,008 *saggi*?

* * *

V 4) Latin Manuscript Version *De consuetudinibus et condicionibus orientalium regionum* of Francesco Pippino da Bologna, before 1317

Justin V. Prášek, *Marka Pavlova z Benátek; Milion: Dle jediného rukopisu spolu s příslušným základem latinským*. Prag: Nákladem České Akademie Císaře Františka Josefa pro Vědy, Slovesnost a Umění, 1902. This transcription is not considered the best one. A new edition is, however, in preparation by Florian Schaffenrath und Hermann Niedermayr. See, however, also Juan Gil, *El libro de Marco Polo: Ejemplar anotado por Cristobal Colón y que se conserva en la Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina de Sevilla* (Edicion, traduccion y estudios de Juan Gil; presentacion de Francisco Morales Padron), Madrid: Testimonio, 1986. The latter contains also a transcription of *De consuetudinibus et condicionibus orientalium regionum, e uulgari in Latinum traductus per fratrem Franciscum de Pepuris de Bononia*. Another version of Pippino's edition is the *De consuetudinibus et conditionibus orientalium regionum*, which was published by the National Diet Library as a facsimile under the somewhat hidden title of "*Of the Marco*

[8] Ms. C. The mss. A and B have *deux cens toumaux d'or*.
[9] The ms. C has *quinze mil et .vij.c. (sept cents) milliers*. The text of the Geographical Society speaks of *deus cens dix tomain d'or* que vailent *quinze millemiaia et septs cens mille*.

Polo Itinerarum, Antverpiae 1485," Tokyo: Otsuka Kogeisha Ltd., 1949. Although this version, which is in the possession of the Toyo Bunko (Oriental Library) in Tokyo, is basically identical to the transcription given by Prášek, it contains some differences in the chapter dealing with the fiscal income of the Great Khan. The Tokyo manuscript appears to be identical to another manuscript called *De consuetudinibus et conditionibus orientalium regionum*, Gouda: Gerard Leeu, between 1483 and June 11, 1484. This version, which is kept by the British Library in London, is also available as a microfilm in the Tabularium of the Central Library of the Catholic University of Leuven.

Philippe Ménard dates the Pipino version to the years before 1317. For him, the Pipino edition is a reshuffling of Marco Polo's text containing many modifications and abbreviations.[10] Barbieri states that Pipino's rendering is based on the Venetian VA family.[11]

Text MP A, p. 113:
Secundus liber
De regione alia prouincie thebeth et de quadam turpi consuetudine eius, Capitulum xxxvij.
[...] In hac regione multa sunt animalia siluestria, que muscatum faciunt et dicuntur gudderi. Habent autem incole loci canes uenaticos multos, qui ipsa animalia capiunt, propter quod de muscato copiam habent. Induuntur corio et pellibus bestiarum aut buchirano uel canapino[12] rudi. Linguam propriam habent similiter et monetam et ad pronunciam thebeth pertinent et sunt [59a] affines magne pronuncie mangy. Hec enim pouincia thebeth latissima est et in octo regna diuitur. Multas habet Ciuitates et oppida, montuosa est ualde et lacus habet ac flumina in quibus inuenitur aurum, quod dicitur paglola.[13] ibi eciam corallum pro moneta habent, quod caro precio emitur, eo quod omnes femine regionis[14] corallum ad colla deferunt et omnibus ydolis suis similiter corallum appendunt ad colla. hoc enim ad magnam gloriam reputatur. [...]

[10] See Ménard, (2003), pp. 10–12; id., (2001), p. 15.
[11] Alvaro Barbieri, "Quale «Milione»?...," in his *Dal viaggo al libro: Studi sul* Milione, p. 73.
[12] **L** canapacio, **P²** canabio. If not otherwise mentioned, the following annotations to the Pippino version are those of Prášek.
[13] **L** paylol.
[14] **L** + illius.

Comment: Pipino's text does not say that the money the *Tebetans* used was made of salt, but goes on to mention the use of cowries as currency.

Text MP B, p. 116:
De prounicia Cayndu, xxxviij.
[…] Monetam vero in hunc modum habent. Virgulas [60^{a1}] aureas sub certo pondere faciunt, quas pro pecunia expendunt, et iuxta[15] pondus uirgule precium eius est et hec est moneta maior. Minor vero talis est: sal in caldario coquunt, quot postea in formella[16] proiciunt, ubi consolidatur, et talem monetam[17] expendunt. Octoginta enim de hiis paruulis denariis sagium[18] vnum aureum valent.[19] […]

Comment: Pipino's text does not mention the weight of the salt pieces. It also does not provide the further details of Text MP C that we can find in the Ramusio version.

Text MP D, p. 130:
De Ciuitatibus Cacansu,[20] ***Cyanglu et Cyangli, l.***
[…] Ab hac Ciuitate [Cacansu] itur ad meridiem diebus tribus et inuenitur Ciuitas Cyanglu grandis ualde, que eciam est de prouincia Cathay, ubi fit sal in copia maxima. Est enim ibi terra salsissima, de qua monticulos faciunt, super quos aquam proiciunt. postea colligunt aquam que erupit de subpede monticuli, quam in magnum ponentes caldarium ad ignem diu bulire faciunt. Postea congelatur in sal minutum[21] et album. […]

Text MP E, pp. 146–147:
De Prouentibus, quos recipit magnus Kaam de quinsay et de[22] ***prouincia magny, Ca. lxv.***
Nunc dicendum est de prouentibus et redditibus, quos recipit [77^{a}] magnus Kaam de Ciuitate quinsay et de tota prouincia mangy. Singulis annis recipit magnus Kaam de sale, quod fit in Ciuitate quinsay et

15 **V** iusta.
16 **P^{2}** formulas.
17 **P^{1}** + imminutam.
18 **L** signum.
19 **L** faciunt in valore.
20 **L** Cancasu.
21 **L** pulchrum.
22 **P^{2}** schází.

terminis[23] tomamos aureos lxxx, quilibet autem tomamus[24] ascendit ad lxxx milia sagiorum auri. Ascendunt igitur in summa lxxx tomami aurei ad sex[25] milia milium et xl[26] milia sagiorum auri.[27] quodlibet autem sagium auri plus habet[28] de pondere quam florenus. [...]

Comment: 80 *tomans* à 80,000 *saggi* = 6,400,000 *saggi*.

Text MP F, pp. 147:
De Prouentibus, quos recipit magnus Kaam de quinsay et de[29] prouincia magny, Ca. lxv.
[...] Ego marchus audiui computare summam reddituum, quos magnus Kaam recipit de regno quinsay, quod[30] ascendabant annuatim prouentus huiusmodi preter sal ad xv milia milium et [77[b]] sexcenta[31] milia sagiorum auri.[32]

Comment: 15,600,000 *saggi*.

* * *

V 5) Printed Latin Version *Marci Pavli Veneti de regionibus orientalibus* of Simon Grynäus, 1532

Marci Pavli Veneti de regionibus orientalibus, in Simon Grynäus (1493–1541), *Novvus orbi regionvm ac insvlarvm veteribvs incognitarvm,...*, Basileae: apvd Io. Hervagivum, 1532 (Database "Western Books on China," Staatsbibliothek Berlin). Dietmar Henze mentions that Joh. Huttich, "vir doctus et antiquitatis mire studiosus," was the real editor.[33] This version is somewhat different from the Pipino text. It was printed both in Basel and Paris at the same time. Two years later a German edition was published in Strassburg. Andreas Müller undertook a reprint in 1671 including

---

[23] According to the transcription of Gil (1986), p. 338, it should have *terris eius* instead of *terminis*. This is confirmed by the Tokyo manuscript. Remark by HUV.
[24] **L** romanos.
[25] **P**[1] a **P**[2] quinque.
[26] **P**[1] a **P**[2] sexaginta.
[27] This sentence is not in the Tokyo manuscript. HUV.
[28] **P**[1] + auri.
[29] **P**[2] schází.
[30] Cf. the transcription of Gil (1986), p. 338: "[...] quod est nona pars prouincie Mangy, et ascendebant [...]." This is stated in this way also in the Tokyo manuscript. HUV.
[31] **P**[2] sexaginta.
[32] The Tokyo manuscript has the following: "[...] ad xv. miliũ et .cccccc. milia sagiorũ auri." HUV.
[33] Henze (2000), vol. 4, p. 168.

modifications on the basis of the Pipino manuscript preserved in Berlin. For the Müller reworking see *Marci Pauli Veneti, Historici fidelisimi juxta ac praestantissimi, de regionibus orientalibus Libri III: Cum Codice Manuscripto Bibliothecae Electoralis Brandenburgicae collati, exq; eo adjectis Notis plurimùm tum suppleti tum illustrati. Accedit, propter cognationem materiae, haithoni armeni historia orientalis: quae & de tartaris inscribitur; Itemque Andreae Mulleri, Greissenhagii, de Chataja, cujus praedictorum Auctorum uterque mentionem facit, Disquisitio; inque ipsum Marcum Paulum Venetum praefatio, & locupletissimi indices*. Coloniae Brandenburgicae: Ex Officina Georgii Schulzii, Typogr. Elect. Anno M. DC. LXXI.[34]

Text MP A, p. 379:
Liber secundus
De regione alia Tebeth, & turpi ejus cõsuetudine. Cap. XXXVII.
[…] Inueniuntur etiam apud eos multa animantia, quae muschum producunt, quae Gadderi uocantur. Venantur incolae hujusmodi animalia canibus, abundantq; muscho. Linguam habent propia atq; peculiarem monetam, & pellibus induuntur bestiarum, aut canabeo rudi. Pertinet haec regio ad prouinciam Tebeth: nam est Tebeth latissima prouincia, diuiditurq; in octo regna, habens ciuitates & opida multa. Terra montuosa est, suntq; in ea loca quaedam, atq; quidam fluvij, in quibus aurum inuenitur. Vtuntur quoque ibi corallio pro moneta: nam est is lapis apud eos in magno pretio, & omnes feminae deferent eum ad collum, appenduntq; impsum quasi rem speciosam ad colla idolarũ. […]

Comment: In the Grynäus version the text is differently arranged than in Pipino, but both do not mention here that salt is used as money and both continue to make comments on the use of cowries.

Text MP B, p. 380:
De prouincia Caniclu. Cap. XXXVIII.
[…] Moneta eorũ sunt uirgulae quaedam aureae, certum habendes pondum, et iuxta pondus uirgulae est ualor monetae. Et haec quidem est moneta maior. Habent etiam minorem, quam hoc modo faciunt. Coquunt sal in caldario, & postea faciũt ex eo in formellis massulas paruas, quas consolidates pro moneta exponunt. […]

[34] See Carlos Sanz, *El libro de Marco Polo: Notas historicas y bibliograficas*, Madrid: Direccion General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1958, pp. 20–21.

Comment: The Grynäus version, in contrast to Pipino, does not mention the value relationship between the salt pieces and gold. Like Pipino it also does not indicate the weight of the salt pieces.

Text MP D, p. 387:
De ciuitatibus a Cacaufu, Canglu & Ciangli. Cap. L.
[…] Ab hac ciuitate [Cacaufu] tres numerantur dietae versus meridiem ad ciuitatem aliam magnam, Canglu nomine, quae sale abundat: nam est terra illa salsissima, & ex ea eliciunt sal hoc pacto. Congerunt terram in modum collis, & superfundentes aquam, quae salsuginem terrae attrahat, eam iterum sub congesto colle hauriunt, & tam diu iuxta ignem coquunt, donec in salis coaguleter densitatem. […]

Text MP E, p. 394:
De prouentibus, qui magno Cham in urbe Ruinsai, & prouincia Mangi penduntur. Cap. LXV.
Exigit Cham magnus singulis annis de sale quod paratur in urbe Quinsay & terminis eius myriades octoginta aureorum. […]

Comment: The Gynäus version is here much shorter than Pipino. It seems that 80 *tomans* are meant.

Text MP F, p. 395:
De prouentibus, qui magno Cham in urbe Ruinsai, & prouincia Mangi penduntur. Cap. LXV.
[…] Ego Marcus semel audivi computum fieri singulorum reddituũ, qui magno Cham penduntur annuatim in regno Quinsay, quod est nona pars prouincia Mangi: ascenditq; summa omnium, sale tamen excepto, ad quindecim milia milium aureorum, atq; sexcenta milia.

Comment: 15,600,000 *saggi*.

* * *

V 6) Latin Manuscript Z *Marcus Paulus Venetus de diuersis hominum generibus, et diuersitatibus Regionum Mundanarum; ubi inuenies omnia magna, Mirabilia, et diuersitates Armenie Maioris, Persarum, Tartarorum, et Jndie, ac aliarum Prouinciarum circa Asiam, Mediam, et partem Europe; compilat. in Carceribus Janue Anno M.CC.XCVIII* of the Library of the Cathedral of Toledo

Alvaro Barbieri, *Marco Polo, Milione: Redazione latina del manoscritto Z, versione italiana a fronte*, Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo / Ugo Guanda,

1998. Cf. also Arthur Christopher Moule and Paul Pelliot, *Marco Polo: The Description of the World*, London: George Routledge, 1938, vol. 2, pp. xxix, xxx, xxxvi–xxxvii, and xlix.

Text MP A, p. 130:
Capitolo 53
[. . .] Et sic quia multa huiusmodi animalia partibus illis sunt ideo in multis locis sperargunt quare redollet ex eo provincia tota et iste tales bestie vocantur in eorum lingua gudderi. Et homines illi quam plures habent bonos canes ad ipsas capiendas ydoneos. Ipsi vero non habent monetam, neque de cartis magni Can, sed de sale faciunt monetas. Vestes eorum sunt pelles bestiarum, canapum et bucheranum. Loquelam per se habent. Et nuncupatur Thebet.

Text MP B, p. 138:
Capitolo 55
[. . .] Monetam quidem habent talem. Quia habent virgas auri; et ponderant eas et, secundum quod pondus est, ita valent. Et non habent cum aliquo signo monetam. Habent etiam monetam [27v] de sale. [. . .]

Comment: The Latin edition of the Z manuscript is rather short in its description of the salt money. No details about its manufacture, form or even its value are given.

Text MP D, p. 164:
Capitolo 66
Cianglu est quedam magna civitas versus meridiem de provincia Cathay, subdita Magno Can; gentes cuius adorant ydolla et faciunt comburi funera. Monetam habent de cartis Magni Can. In ista civitate et districtu fit sal in maxima habundantia in hunc modum. Habent enim quamdam maneriem terre salse, de qua magnos congregantes montes, super eos aquam infundunt; quam quidem aquam infusam, ex virtute terre salsedine asumpta, ad inferiora discurentem colligunt per conductus, ipsam postmodum in patellis spatiosis et amplis multum facientes bulire. Qua bene bulita, fit inde sal pulcher et albus. De quo sale per multas portant contratas. Et de ipso gentes ille consequuntur pecuniam infinitam et Magnus Dominus inde percipit multum redditum et proventum. [. . .]

Text MP E, pp. 218, 220:
Capitolo 86
Ad presens dicere volumus et narare immensam quantitatem reddituum quos Magnus Dominus ab ista civitate percipit et ab aliis terris que civitati isti respondent, que sunt pars nona, sive regnum nonum, provincie Ma<n>çi. Et dicemus primo de sale, quia plus quantum ad reditum valet. Noveritis itaque quod sal reddit anis singulis octuaginta 'thoman' de auro; et quodlibet 'thoman' est septuaginta milia sadiorium auri, et quodlibet sadium valet pluri uno floreno aureo vel uno ducato aureo. Et ideo tantus est reditus salis in ista civitate quia est in confinibus iuxta mare, ubi multitudo fit salis; et ab ista civitate bene quinque regna Manci pro eorum usibus sale suplentur. Hoc quidem constat de sale, de aliis vero dicemus. […]

Comment: 80 *tomans* à 70,000 *saggi* = [5,600,000 *saggi*].

Text MP F, p. 220:
Capitolo 86
[…] Ita quod de istis omnibus dominus Marcus Paulo, qui pluries audivit fieri rationem introitus, absque sale, dicit quod valet continuo, anis singulis, .ccx. 'thoman' sadiorum aureorum. Et hec est nona pars provincie Manci. Sed tamen omnes istos reditus facit expendere Magnus Can in exercitibus custodientibus civitates et contratas, et in ipsarum civitatum indigentiam auferendam. […]

Comment: 210 *tomans*.

* * *

V 7) Venetian Manuscript Version (VA³) *Milione* of Padova

Alvaro Barbieri and Alvise Andreose, with the collaboration of Marina Mauro and a preface of Lorenzo Renzi, *Marco Polo, Il «Milione» veneto: ms. CM 211 della Biblioteca Civica di Padova*, Venezia: Marsilio, 1999.

In contrast to Barbara Wehr, Philippe Ménard considers the Venetian tradition neither as the authentique version of Marco Polo's text nor the basis of Pipinos rendering. Like the Tuscan manuscript (V 8) all the Venetian texts contain many abbreviations, errors and interpolations in comparison to the Franco-Italian manuscript (V 1) and therefore cannot be considered to be original.[35]

[35] See Ménard (2003), pp. 12–13, but especially Barbieri, "Quale «Milione»?…," in his *Dal viaggo al libro: Studi sul* Milione, pp. 72–73. Appart from VA³, Barbieri mentions the

Text MP A, p. 196:
Capitolo XCIII
Della provinzia de Teber, dove è le chane che fano grande schiopo quando l'ardeno.
[44v] [. . .][27]In quella chontrà è molte de quelle bestie cha fano el muschio, et sono apellati guderi. [28]La zente de quella contrà à molti chani che lle prendeno, sì che i àno molto muschio. [29]Et è grandisimi mastini grandi chome axeni, et sono boni per prender le bestie salvadege, e altri chani da chaza de piuxor vixe.

[30]E i àno moneta per si; e sì se ge spende choralli per moneta e molto chari, perché tute le femene porteno chorali al chollo, e àno questi per una gran zoia.

Comment: The passage on *Tebet* mixes up in some sense the accounts on salt money and cowry money.

Text MP B, p. 197:
Capitolo XCIV
Della provinzia de Guandi, là dove l'omo, quando l'à briga, se mete el capello al'uxio, et è signior de chaxa quanto el vuol.
[45r] [. . .] [10]In questa provinzia se fa moneda a questo muodo: i àno verge d'oro e sì le pexa a sazi, e sechondo ch'el pexano el valle; e questa si è la grosa moneta. [11]La pizolla moneta si è de tal maniera: i chuoxeno sal in una chaldiera e poi la zetano in formelle et deventa saldo e duro, e fano <denari> pizoli che pexa zercha uno tornexelo pizolo; li otanta de questi denari pizoli val un sazio d'oro: e questa è la pizolla moneta. [. . .]

Text MP D, p. 207:
Capitolo CVI
Della zità de Cinvanglu, ove se fa de terra sal.
[50r] [. . .] [4]Et da questa zità [Chanchasu] va l'omo versso mezodì tre zornade e truova la zità de Cinvanglu, la qual è (50v) molto grande et è della provinzia de Chatai. [5]In questa zità se fa sal in grande quantità. [6]El ge

---

following other Venetian renderings: the fragment V^1, MS 3999 of the Biblioteca Casanatense di Roma; the mutilated rendering V^2, MS 1924 of the Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze; the now lost V^4 of the private archive of Venturi Ginori Lisci; the inferior text V^5, MS 557of the Bürgerbibliothek of Bern. For two other VA^2 manuscripts, namely, one in the Municipal Library in Lucca, the other, a Sicilian rendering, in the Biblioteca Capitular of Sevilla, see Valentinetti Mendi (1992), *Una familia veneta del Libro de Marco Polo*.

n'è tera molto salmastra; de quela tera i fano uno monte e zetano tanta aqua ch'ella riesse de soto, e poi, tolto de quella aqua, i la fa boglir in gran chaldiere et deventa sal biancho e menuto. [...]

Text MP E, p. 217:
Capitolo CXVII
Della zità Quinsai, ch'è a dir 'la zità de ziello,' e la qual è lla maor zità che sia al mondo, ove è cotante zente e cotanti ponti e tante meraveie.
[55r] [...] [47]Mo've voio chontar della gran rendeda de Gran Chaan de questa zità de Quinsai et della provinzia. [48]E dirò-ve inprimamente del sale. [49]Lo Gran Chaan sì à zaschaduno ano rendita del sal, che sse fa in questa zità e in le suo' pertinenzie, ben otanta tomani d'oro: e zaschadun toman sì val otantamilia sazi d'oro, e monta otanta tomami sìe fiade mille milia siezento sazi d'oro—e zaschadun sazio val plui d'uno fiorino d'oro. [...]

Comment: 80 *tomans* à 80,000 *saggi* = [6,400,000 *saggi*]?

Text MP F, p. 217:
Capitolo CXVII
Della zità Quinsai, ch'è a dir 'la zità de ziello,' e la qual è lla maor zità che sia al mondo, ove è cotante zente e cotanti ponti e tante meraveie.
[55r] [54][...] sì che io, Marcho, aldì far gran conto in suma de questa rendita senza el sal, e aldì far raxion che pur in lo regniame de Quinsai, ch'è una delle nuove parte della pro[55v]vinzia de Mangi, monta zaschadun ano ben duxentomilia tomani d'oro. [55]E questa è ben chossa desmexurata.

Comment: 200 *tomans*.

* * *

V 8) Tuscan Manuscript Version *Milione* (TA^2), Early Fourteenth Century

Gabriella Ronchi, *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde: Il Milione nelle redazioni toscana e franco-italiana*, with a preface of Cesare Segre, 2nd ed. Milano: Mondadori (I meridiani), 1988. See these passages also in Valeria Bertolucci-Pizzorusso (ed.), *Marco Polo, Milione. Versione toscana del Trecento*, Milano: Adelphi Edizioni, 1975, and with some variations in Ruggero M. Ruggieri, *Marco Polo, Il Milione: Introduzione, edizione del testo toscano ("Ottimo"), note illustrative, esegetiche, linguistiche, repertori onomastici e lessicali*, Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore (Biblioteca dell'"Archivium Romanicum," Serie I—Storia—Letteratura—Paleografia; 200), 1986,

pp. 208–209, 211, 224, 239–240. A transcription of the Tuscan rendering is also available on the internet at http://it.wikisource.org/wiki/Milione.

Similar to the Venetian version, the Tuscan version is considered a heavily shortened account of Marco Polo's report. One third of the text is missing.[36]

Text MP A, p. 150:
<114>
De la provincia di Tebet
[…] E dicovi que in quella contrada àe molte bestie che fanno il moscado; e questa mala gente àe molti buoni cani, e prendonne assai. Egli non ànno né carte né monete di quelle de Grande Cane, ma fannole da-lloro.[37] Egli si vestono poveramente, ché-lloro vestire si è di canavacci e di pelle di bestie e di bucerain; e ànno loro linguaggio e chiamansi Tebet. […]

Comment: This Tuscan manuscript does not mention that the money used in *Tebet* was made out of salt. As is stated by the editor, *da-lloro* seems to be a translation error for 'di sale.'

Text MP B, pp. 154–155:
<116>
De la provincia di Gaindu
[…] Egli ànno muneta com'io vi dirò. Egli prendono la sel e fannola cuocere e gìttalla in forma, e pesa questa forma da una mezza libbra; e le quattro venti di questi tali sel ch'io v'ò detto, vagliono uno saggio d'oro fino, e questa è la picciola moneta ch'egli spendo. […]

Comment: Gabriella Ronchi has pointed out that in comparison with the Franco-Italian version the Tuscan rendering gives an incomplete and wrong impression. It suggests that salt was the only money in this province, because it drops the crucial information that gold is used as big money in contrast to the adoption of salt currency in small transactions. It also leaves out the important statement that the inhabitants of this province have no coined money. The garbling of the text is due to a *saut du même au même*, i.e. a jumps from the same to the same, in this case from *monoie* to *monoie* (or: from *vos* (*dirai*) to *vos* (*deviserai*)) in the

[36] See Ménard (2001), p. 14.
[37] *da-lloro*: translation error 'di sale,' *de sel* F, 23.

Franco-Italian text, by leaving out what is between these two same or identical expressions: "Et vos di qu'il ont *monoie* ~~en tel mainere com je vos dirai. Sachiés qu'il a or en verge, et le poisent a sajes et selonc que poise vaut. Mes ne ont monoie cugné cun estanpe. Et la petite~~ *monoie* vos deviserai que est. Il prennent la sel e la font cuire, [...]."[38] The type of abbreviating and garbling of the original text fostered by *homéotéleutic* constructions is common in the Tuscan version.[39]

Text MP D, p. 174:
<*128*>
Della città di Ciaglu
Ciaglu è una molto grande città de la provincia de Catai, ed è al Grande Kane; e' sono idoli. La moneta ànno di carte, e fan ardere lor corpi morti. E i<n> questa città si fa'l sale in grandissima quantità, e dirovi come. Qui à una terra molto salata, e fannone grandi monti gittano molt'acqua, tanto che l'acqua vae di sotto. Poscia quest'acqua fanno bollire in grandi caldaie di ferro assai, e quest'acqua è fatta sale, bianca e minuta. E di questo sale si porta per molte contrade. [...]

Text MP E, pp. 202–203:
<149>
La rèdita del sale
Or ve conterò de la rèdita ch'àe il Grande Kane di Quisai e delle terre che sono sotto di lei; e prima vi conterò del sale. Lo sale di questa contrada rende l'anno al Grande Kane .lxxx. tomain d'oro: ciascuno tomain è .lxxx^{m}. saggi d'oro,[40] che monta per tutto .vj^{m}.iiij^{c}. di saggi d'oro[41]—e ciascuno saggio d'oro vale piùe d'un fiorino d'oro—, e questo è maravigliosa cosa. [...][42]

Comment: 80 *tomans* à 80,000 *saggi* = 6,400,000 *saggi*.

---

[38] Gabriella Ronchi, "Traduzione e compendio nella versione toscana del *Milione*," in Cesare Segre et al. (eds.) (1983), p. 38.
[39] Ronchi (1983), pp. 28–29.
[40] *.lxxx^{m}. saggi*: F, 2 has *LXX^{M} sajes*, confirmed by Z.
[41] *.vj^{m}.iiij^{e}. di saggi*: F, 2 has *MMMMM^{M} e DC^{M}*.
[42] Only the Latin Z version also gives the reason for the huge production of salt: *Et ideo tantus est redditus salis in ista ciuitate quia est in confinibus iuxta mare ubi multitudo fit salis & ab ista ciuitate bene quinque regna manci pro eorum usibus sale suplentur.*

Text MP F, pp. 202–203:
<149>
La rèdita del sale
[…] Sì che io Marco Polo, ch'ò veduto e sono stato a fa-lla ragione, † la rendita sanza il sale vale ciascun anno .ccx^{m}. tomani d'oro; e quest'è il più smisurato novero del mondo di moneta, che monta .xv^{m}.dcc^{m}. E questo è de le nove parti l'una de la provincia. […]

Comment: 210 *tomans* = 15,700,000 *saggi*.
The version rendered by Ruggieri, p. 239, has: "E quest'è delle otto parti l'una della provincial."

* * *

V 9) Ventian Manuscript Version (MS 1296) *Delle cosse mirabile del mondo* of the Municipal Library in Lucca and the Sicilian Manuscript Version *Delle cosse mirabile del mondo* of the Biblioteca Capitular of the City of Sevilla

Angélica Valentinetti Mendi, *Una familia veneta del Libro de Marco Polo*, Madrid: Editorial de la Universidad Complutense, Facultad de Filología, Departamento de Filología Italiana, 1992.

These two manuscripts which belong to later versions (VA^{2}) of the Venetian VA strand give only short references to the salt production in Changlu (Text MP D) and to the fiscal income of Kinsay (Texts MP E and F). All the other references of Marco Polo to salt, i.e. Texts MP A, B and C are not included. The Sevilla manuscript is not written in Venetian, but in Sicilian with a Venetian patina.[43]

Text MP D, p. 357 (Lucca manuscript):
Capitolo .LXXXV. De la cità dita Cianglu.
Andande più oltra cinque zornate da questa cità [Cancassu] trovasse una citade chiamata Cianglu, nobile e grande, sita verso <el mezo>di, la qual cità é del destreto del Catalio. Qui se fa gran quantità de sale; […]

[43] Cf. Angélica Valentinetti Mendi, *Marco Polo—Libro del Famoso Marco Polo; Libro de le Cose Mirabile*, Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2008, pp. LIV and LXVI.

Text MP E and F, p. 383 (Lucca manuscript):
Capitolo .C°I. De la intrada che à el Gran Cane de la provintia de Gynsay.
Abiando dito de la cità de Ginsay, vogliove dir de la sua entrata.

El Gran Chane de tuta la provintia de Ginsai à pu[ro] de sale a l'anno nuovemillia tumani d'oro; e zascun tuman e sazi novemillia d'oro; e zascun sazo d'oro val più de sette fiorini. [...]

Text MP E and F, p. 383 (Lucca manuscript):
Capitolo .C°I. De la intrada che à el Gran Cane de la provintia de Gynsay.
[...] De l'altre intrate oltra el sale à de rendita a l'anno vintimillia tumani d'oro.

Text MP D, p. 357 (Sevilla manuscript):
Capitulo 84. Di la cità dita Cianglu.
Andando più oltra v. iornate de questa cità [Cancassu] trovasse un'altra cità chiamata Cianglu, nobili e grandi, situata verso elo mezodi, la quali cità he de lo destricto de lo Cathayo. Qui si fa gran quantità di sali; [...][44]

Text MP E and F, p. 383 (Sevilla manuscript):
Capitulo 100. De la intrata che ha lu Gran Canj de la provincia di Giunsay.
Havendovj dicto de la cità Guinsay, vogluvj dirj de la sua intrata.
Elu Gran Canj de tucta la provincia de Guinsay ha puru di salj ognj annu tumina d'oru .viiij°. milia; et ciascuno tumino he sazi .viiij°. milia; et ciascuno sazo d'oru vale più de .vij. fiorinj. [...]

Comment: 9,000 *tomans* à 9,000 *saggi* [= 81,000,000 *saggi*]? The revenue figures seem to be totally corrupted.

Text MP E and F, p. 383 (Sevilla manuscript):
Capitulo 100. De la intrata che ha lu Gran Canj de la provincia di Giunsay.
[...] De le altre intrate oltra elu salj ha de rendita l'anno .xx. milia tumina d'oro.

Comment: 2,000 tomans [à 9,000 *saggi* = 180,000,000 *saggi*]? The revenue figures seem to be totally corrupted.

* * *

[44] For the Sevilla version see now also Valentinetti Mendi (2008), *Marco Polo—Libro del Famoso Marco Polo; Libro de le Cose Mirabile*, pp. 102 and 114.

V 10) Sessa Printed Version of *Delle maravigliose cose del mondo* of 1496

Delle maravigliose cose del mondo, Venice: Johannes Baptista Sessa, 13 June 1496 (Copy held by the British Library, London, a microfilm of which is available in the Tabularium of the Central Library of the Catholic University of Leuven). Identical in content is the printed *Delle maravigliose cose del mondo*, Brescia: Baptista Farfengus, 20 December 1500 (Copy held by the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino; microfilm copy available in the Tabularium of the Central Library of the Catholic University of Leuven). See also María Luisa López-Vidriero, *Delle meravigliose cose del mondo: Estudio y traducción de la edición véneta de 1496*, Valencia and Madrid: Vicent Garcia and Patrimonio Nacional, 1997, pp. 123, 132, which is a Spanish translation of the Sessa edition.

Sanz rightfully calls the Sessa print an abbreviated version.[45] On the deficits of the Sessa edition see also Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, stating that at the beginning it is even contaminated with a passage originating from Odorico da Pordenone's account.[46]

In contrast to the Franco-Italian (V 1) and early French versions (V 2, V 3) it contains only short references to the Texts MP D, E and F, and none to Texts MP A and B.

Text MP D:
In chap. 98 on the city of Cancasú it is only mentioned that Cianglú produces much salt: "Questa terra sifa assai sal."

Text MP E:
Capitolo .cxii. Dito ueho dela cita de Guinsai dire ue uoglio delo rendedo del g.c.
De tutta la prouincia de Guinsai ello ha pur del sale tomani doro .ix. milia, eciaschuno toman e sazi .ix. milia doro: eciaschuno sazo doro ual piu de .vii. ducati doro: [. . .][47]

---

[45] See Sanz (1958), p. 20.
[46] Bertolucci Pizzorusso (2006), p. 203.
[47] The Spanish translation of López-Vidriero, p. 132, is as follows: "***Chap. 112: De la renta que el Gran Can saca de Guinsai.*** Toda la provincia de Guinsai obtiene de la sal ix mil tomanes de oro y cada tomán son ix mil sazos de oro y cada sazo de oro vale más de vii ducados de oro. [. . .]."

Comment: 9,000 *tomans* à 9,000 *saggi* [= 81,000,000 *saggi*]? The revenue figures seem to be totally corrupted.

Text MP F:
Capitolo .cxii.
[…] delaltre cose senza lo sal ello ha tomini .xx. milia doro.[48]

Comment: 20,000 tomans [à 9,000 *saggi* = 180,000,000 *saggi*]? The revenue figures seem to be totally corrupted.

* * *

V 11) Italian Printed Version *I viaggi di Marco Polo, gentiluomo veneziano* of Giovanni Battista Ramusio of 1553

Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, ed. by Marica Milanesi, Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1980, vol. 3.

Text MP A, p. 203:
Della gran provincia detta Thebeth. Cap. 37.
[…] E queste tal bestie si chiamano nella loro lingua gudderi, e se ne prendono molte con cani. Essi non hanno monete, né anche di quelle di carta del gran Can, ma spendono corallo, e vestono poveramente di cuoio e di pelle di bestie e di canevaccia. Hanno linguaggio da per sé e s'appartengono alla provincia di Thebeth, la qual confina con Mangi, […]

Comment: Ramusio's text does not mention salt money here, but cowries instead.

Texts MP B and MP C, p. 205:
Della provincia di Caindú. Cap. 37.
[…] La loro moneta è di tal maniera, che fanno verghe d'oro e le pesano, e secondo ch'è il peso della verghetta cosí vagliono: e questa è lo loro moneta maggiore, sopra la quale non v'è alcun segno. E la picciola veramente è di questo modo: hanno alcun'acque salse, con le quali fanno il sale facendole bollire in padelle, e poi ch'hanno bollito per un'ora si congelano a modo di pasta, e si fanno forme di quantità d'un pane di due denari, le quali sono piane dalla parte di sotto e di sopra sono rotonde; e quando sono fatte si

[48] López-Vidriero, p. 132: "[…] De las otras cosas que no son la sal obtienen xx mil tomanes de oro."

pongono sopra pietre cotte ben calde appresso al fuoco, e ivi si seccano e fansi dure, e sopra queste tal monete si pone la bolla del signore. Né le monete di questa sorte si possono far per altri che per quelli del signore, e ottanta di dette monete si danno per un saggio d'oro. Ma i mercanti vanno con queste monete a quelle genti ch'habitano fra i monti ne' luoghi salvatichi e inusitati, e truovano un saggio d'oro per sessanta, cinquanta e quaranta di quelle monete di sale, secondo que le genti sono in luogo piú salvatico e discosto dalle città e gente domestica, perché ogni volta que vogliono non possono vendere il lor oro e altre cose, sí come il muschio e altre cose, perché non hanno a cui venderle: e però fanno buon mercato, perché truovano l'oro ne' fiumi e laghi, come s'è detto. E vanno questi mercanti per monti e luoghi della provincia di Tebeth sopradetta, dove similmente si spaccia la moneta di sale, e fanno grandissimo guadagno e profitto, perché quelle genti usano di quel sale ne' cibi, e compransi anco delle cose necessarie. Ma nelle città usano quasi solamente i fragmenti di dette monete ne' cibi, e spendono le monete intiere. [. . .]

Text MP D, p. 220:
Della città di Cianglú. Cap. 50.
Cianglú è una gran città verso mezodí, della provincia del Cataio, subdita al gran Can, le cui genti adorano gl'idoli e fanno abbruciare i corpi morti; spendono le monete di carta del gran Can. In questa città e distretto fanno grandissima quantità di sale, in questo modo: hanno una sorte di terra salmastra, della quale ne fanno gran monti e gettanli sopra dell'acqua, la quale, ricevuta la salsedine per virtú della terra, discorre di sotto e raccolgonla per condotti, e dopo la mettono in padelle spaziose e larghe, non alte piú di quattro dita, facendola bollire molto bene; e poi ch'ell'ha bollito quanto li pare, congela in sale, ed è bello e bianco, e si porta fuori in molti paesi, e quelle genti ne fanno gran guadagno, e il gran Can ne riceve grand'entrata e utilità. [. . .]

Comment: Ramusio is the only text which mentions the depth of the salt pans.

Text MP E, pp. 243–244:
Dell'entrata del gran Can. Cap. 69.
Or parliamo alquanto dell'entrata che ha il gran Can della città di Quinsai e dell'altre a quella aderenti: il gran Can riceve da detta città e dall'altre che a quella rispondono, ch'è la nona parte overo il nono regno di Mangi; e prima del sale, che val piú quanto alla rendita. Di questo ne cava

ogn'anno ottanta toman d'oro, e ciascun toman è ottantamila saggi d'oro, e ciascun saggio vale piú d'un fiorin d'oro, que ascenderia alla somma di sei millioni e quattrocentomila ducati: e la causa è ch'essondo detta provincia appresso l'oceano, vi sono molte lagune, overo paludi, dove l'acqua del mare l'estate si congela, e vi cavano tanta quantità di sale che ne forniscono cinque altri regni della detta provincia. [...]

Comment: 80 *tomans* à 80,000 *saggi* = 6,400,000 *saggi*.

Text MP F, p. 244:
Dell'entrata del gran Can. Cap. 69.
[...] E fatt'il conto in presenza del detto messer Marco, fu trovato che l'entrata di questo signore, non computando l'entrata del sale detta di sopra, ascende ogn'anno alla somma di 210 tomani, e ogni toman, com'è detto di sopra, vale ottantamila saggi d'oro, che saria da sedici millioni d'oro e ottocentomila.

Comment: 210 *tomans* à 80,000 *saggi* = 16,800,000 *saggi*.

* * *

V 12) German Manuscript Version *Hi hebit sich an dy heydenische cronike von der manchvalt des begenknissis und sitin unde wyse vil provincien di herno geschrebin sten* of Admont of the Late Fourteenth Century

Nicole Steidl, *Marco Polos "Heydnische Chronik": Die mitteldeutsche Bearbeitung des "Divisament dou monde" nach der Admonter Handschrift Cod. 504*, Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2010, based on Horst von Tscharner, *Der mitteldeutsche Marco Polo nach der Admonter Handschrift*, Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1935.

According to von Tscharner's statement, this text is based on a second Tuscan Marco Polo version (TB) and its rendering into Latin (LA). The second Tuscan version itself is derived from the Venetian VA text family.

Texts MP B, p. 338 (p. 32):
[24^{rb}] ***L Von perln und von turchin und von manchirhande muncze und von neylikyn und von czuckir und von golde.***
In der provincien Gagdy [...]. [25^{va}] Dy muncze dy sy haldin vor dy groste, dy ist in deme gewichte eyns sagii, des pfenningis also genant von golde, und ist also gut sam eyn floren. Dy mynste muncze dy wirt von

gesotem salcze und das gegossin in formen, als man tut in Rusyn, der ist also gut als eyn sagi dy muncze also genant.[49] […]

Comment: The Admont manuscript indicates here that the *Tebet* salt currency is made in a similar way to salt money [?] in Russia.

Text MP D, pp. 344–345 (pp. 38–39):
[*30^{vb}*] ***LXI Von vil sidin und von guldin tuchirn und von salcze wundirlichin gemacht.***
[…] Von denne dry tage reyse do ist eyn andir groze stat Cyangula genant, do macht man vil salczes in der wys: Do ist erde, dy vurt man czu samen uf den andir, so gust man uf dy erde gar lutir vrisch wassir, und das wassir gesegin durch das ertriche das [*31ra*] nemen si unde sidin is, so gerynt is unde wirt gar gut salcz and wiz. […]

Text MP E, p. 353 (p. 47):
[*36^{rb}*] ***LXXII Von deme unczeligim czuckir.***
In der provincien Mangi ist me czuckirs wen in allir der werlt. Abir dy rente di do hot der groze chaam in der provincien Mangy, und ouch in der stat Quinsay hot der groze [*37va*] chaam czu rente alle jar alleyne von salcze lxxx tusint comanos von purem golde. eyn iclichir comanus ist also gut sam lxxx tusint sagi guldiner, abir eyn sagus der ist also gut als eyn floren und eyn wenic bessir. lxxx comani machin tusint tusint sagi und vj tusint me. […]

Comment: 80 *tomans* à 80,000 *saggi* = 1,006,000 *saggi*? This indication of 1,006,000 *saggi* does not make sense. Compare with the LA version which states the following: *quinque milia milia sagiorum et sex centum milia plus*, i.e. 5,600,000 *saggi*.

Text MP F, p. 47:
[*36^{rb}*] ***Von deme unczeligem czuckir.***
[*37va*] […] Ich Marcus Polo, eyn dichter disis buchis, han geseen rechin di rente des grozen chaam alleyne in deme riche Quinsay, das do ist das ix teil der provincien Mangi, ane di rente di gevellit von dem salcze. Dy rente [*37^{vb}*] di der groze chaam hot in deme eynigin riche Quinsay czu samene

[49] According to the Berberianian cod. Lat. 2687 (probably early fifteenth century) of the Vatican Library in Rome, the LA version runs as follows: *parva vero fit de sale cocto et trajectato in formis, de qua lxxx valent unum sagum*. In other words, the Admont version does not translate the number indication *lxxx*.

geslagin and gereyt ane das salcz, ist cc und x tusint comani goldis, di sint also gut als xv tusint sagi goldis und vj hundirt tusint; eyn sagus der gilt me wen eyn floren. [...]

Comment: 210,000 ? *tomans* = 15,600,000 *saggi*? This indication too is quite corrupt and unclear. The Latin LA versions have *xv milia miliaria [...]* or *quindecim milia [...]*.

* * *

V 13) German Printed Version *Hie hebt sich an das puch des edeln Ritters vnd landtfarers Marcho Polo* of 1477.

Hie hebt sich an das puch des edeln Ritters vnd landtfarers Marcho Polo, in dem er schreibt die grossen wunderlichen ding dieser welt, Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 1477 (Copy held by the British Library, London, a microfilm of which is available in the Tabularium of the Central Library of the Catholic University of Leuven).

Like the Admont manuscript (V 12), this print version is based on a second Tuscan Marco Polo version (TB) and its rendering into Latin (LA). The second Tuscan version is itself derived from the Venetian VA text family. This is the first printed version of Marco Polo's account in any language. It does not contain the text on the use of salt money in *Tebet* (Text MP A) nor the passage on the salt production in Changlu (Text MP E).

Texts MP B:
Wie das volck guldene muencz macht vnd auch muencz von salcz. Sie haben mangerley specerey vnd zucker.
In disem landt macht man also muencz, sie machen stuck von golde, grosse und kleyne. Vnd dar nach so wegen sie die stuck. Vnd sie gelten nach dem als das gold gut ist. Aber es ist swere vnd grosse muencze, sie machen auch eyn kleyne muencze. Also, sie nemen salcz, vnn das syeden sie in eynem kessel, dar nach gyessen das in eyn form, als wir die muencz, so wirt es alles hert, dar auß machen sie kleyne muencze vnn geringe, als die heller mit vns sein. Vnd achczig der selbigen heller gelten eyn sagio von gold. [...]

Comment: Interestingly, the salt money is compared here with the *Heller* which was a widespread type of small currency used in parts of Europe since the thirteenth century.

Text MP F:
Was guelt d' groß Chan von dem landt Mangi hat auff zu heben
Nvn solt ir vernemen von der grossen guelt meines hernn von dem landt Mangi. Wann meyn herr der groß Chan alle iar von disem landt achczig tausent tomani von gold hat, vnn eyn itliche toman ist achczig sagio von gold, vnd eyn itliche sagio gilt ein ducaten. Also das precht sex hundert vnn vierczigtausent ducaten, dy er ierlichen von dem landt Mangi hat. [...]

Comment: 80,000 *tomans* à 80 *saggi* = 6,400,000 *saggi* or ducats!? In contrast to all manuscript versions the first printed version of Marco Polo starts with the total income and ends with the salt revenue. Moreover, it not only mistakes the amount of total income for the figure of the salt revenue, but also implies different values for one *toman* of gold, as in the case of Text MP F one *toman* is given as 80 *saggi* or ducats, while in Text MP E one *toman* is more or less 80,000 guilders.

Text MP E:
Was guelt d' groß Chan von dem landt Mangi hat auff zu heben
[...] Auch hat er auff zu heben von dem salcz zweyhundert vnd zehen thomani, das pringt des iars sechzehen Milioni vnn achthunderttausend gulden.

Comment: 210 *tomans* [à 80,000] = 15,800,000 *gulden* !?

* * *

V 14) Catalan Version *Istoria del Catay in Lingua Spagnola*, end of the Fourteenth Century

Annamaria Gallina, *Viatges de Marco Polo: Versió catalana del segle XIV*, Barcelona: Editorial Barcino (Els nostres clàssics; A 85), 1958.

This is cod. 2048 of the Bibliotheca Riccardiana which, like the Aragonese version, was commissened by the school of translation of Juan Fernández de Heredia, master of San Juan de Jerusalén.[50] Regarding Marco Polo's passages on salt, the Catalan version is very short and garbled. It does not contain the texts on the salt money of *Tebet*, on salt production in Changlu, nor on the salt revenue of Kinsay.

[50] Cf. Valentinetti Mendi (2008), *Marco Polo—Libro del Famoso Marco Polo; Libro de le Cose Mirabile*, p. LVIIn247.

Text MP A, p. 104:
[*XLII*]
Aquesta província de Lethabech [Thebet] […] E són totz ydòlatres; e han bèsties salvatjes a lur viure, specialment d'aqueles qui fan l'almesch. E són de la seyoria del Gran Cham. E no han moneda, ne vestedures sinó de pells salvatjes.

* * *

V 14a) Aragon Manuscript Version of *El Libro de Marco Polo*, end of the Fourteenth Century

John J. Nitti, *Juan Fernández de Heredia's Aragonese Version of the "Libro de Marco Polo*," Madison: Advisory Board of the Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies (Dialect Series; 1), 1980. See also R. Stuebe, *El Libro de Marco Polo, aus dem Vermächtnis des Dr. Hermann Knust, nach der Madrider Handschrift*, Leipzig: Dr. Seele & Co 1902.

This translation was carried out by the school of translation of Juan Fernández de Heredia (1310–1396), master of the order of San Juan de Jerusalén. It is stored in the Real Bibliotheca de San Lorenzo del Escorial (Ms. Z. I. 2 (I.c.3 y I.≡4).[51] Like the Catalan version *Istoria del Catay in Lingua Spagnola* from the end of the fourteenth century it is based on a now lost Catalan archetype and represents a much abbreviated version of Marco Polo's text, which contributes little to the textual issues of the more extensive traditions.[52]

Text MP A, p. 104:
[XXV.] De la prouinçia de Letabech
Aquesta prouinçia de Letabech [Thebet] […] Et son todos ydolatres; et han muchas bestias saluages, et mayorment daquellas que fazen el almesch. Et son de la senyoria del grant can. Et no han moneda, ni vestiduras sino de pieles de bes-tias [fol. 76c] saluajes.

* * *

[51] Cf. Valentinetti Mendi (2008), *Marco Polo—Libro del Famoso Marco Polo; Libro de le Cose Mirabile*, p. LVII.
[52] Nitti (1980), p. v.

V 15) Portuguese Printed Version *Livro de Marco Paulo de Veneza, das condiçoões e custumes das gentes e das terras e prouincias orientaes* of Valentim Fernandes, 1502

Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, *Marco Paulo o livro de Marco Paulo—o livro de Nicolao Veneto—carta de Jerónimo de Santo Estevam, conforme a impressão de Valentim Fernandes, feita em Lisboa em 1502; com tres facsimiles, introdução e índices*, Lisboa: Oficinas Gráficas da Biblioteca Nacional (Publicações da Biblioteca Nacional, Reimpressões II), 1922.

This Portuguese translation follows Pipino's text.

Text MP A, Ho Livro Segundo, pp. 43r–43v:
De hũa outra regiam da prouincia de Teheth e de huũ maao e torpe custume della. Capitulo .xxxvij.
[…] Em esta terra ha muytas animalias de que fazem ho almisquire. e som chamadas gauderi. E os moradores daquella terra tem muytos caães pera caçar que filham | aquellas alimarias, pella qual ha hi almisquire em grande auondança. E vestemse de coyro e de pelles de bestas ou de bocasin. ou de canabaço cruu ou grosso. Tem própria lingoagem. e outrosy moeda. e pertençe aa prouincia de Tebeth. e som vezinhas a grã prouincia de Mangy. […]

Text MP B, Ho Livro Segundo, p. 44r:
Da prouincia de Cayndu. Capitulo .xxxviij.
[…] A moeda tem desta maneyra. Fazem verguas pequenas de ouro sob çerto peso. e estas despendem por dinheiro. e segundo ho peso da vergua assy he ho preço della. e esta he a moeda mayor que corre. Mas a menor he tal. Cozem sal em caldeira e lançam a despois em formas pequenas e assy coalha. e tal moeda meuda despendem. E oytenta destes dinheiros meudos de sal valem hũa vergua de ouro. […]

Text MP D, Ho Livro Segundo, p. 50r:
Das çidades de Cacanfu Cyanglu e Cyangli. Capitulo .l.
[…] Desta çidade [Cacanfu] contra ho meo dia hyndo per tres dias he achada a çidade muy grande de Cyanglu que he tambem na prouincia de Cathay. onde fazem sal em muy grande auondança. porque hy ha huũa terra muy salguada de que fazem montes pequenos. sobre os quaes lançam agua que escorre do sopee do monte. e fazem feruer aquella agua per grande espaaço em huũ grande calderom. e despois congelase. e assy se faz em sal meudo e branco. […]

Text MP E, Ho Livro Segundo, p. 56r:
Das rondas e proueitos que reçebe ho gram Cham da prouincia de Mangy. e da çidade de Quinsay. Capitulo .lxv.
Agora conuem de dizer das rendas que reçebe ho gram Cham da çidade de Quinsay. e de toda a prouincia de Mangy segundo se segue. Ho gram Cham reçebe todollos annos de sal que se faz em a çidade de Quinsay e termos della. oytenta comanos de ouro. E cada huũ comano sobe a valor de oytenta mill sagios douro, e assi multipricam oytenta comanos douro em soma de çinco mill milhões e sasenta mill sagios douro, e cada huũ sagio douro tem mais peso que huũ frolim. [...]

Comment: 80 *tomans* à 80,000 *saggi* = 5,600,000 *saggi*?

Text MP F, Ho Livro Segundo, pp. 56r–56v:
Das rondas e proueitos que reçebe ho gram Cham da prouincia de Mangy. e da çidade de Quinsay. Capitulo .lxv.
[...] Eu Marco paulo ouui contar a soma das rendas que reçebe | ho gram Cham do regno de Quinsay que he a .ix. parte da prouincia de Mangy. e foy achado que sobiam cada huũ anno estas rendas a fora ho sal a quinze mill milhões e .Ix. mill sagios de ouro.

Comment: 15,600,000 *saggi*.

* * *

V 16) Spanish Printed Version *El libro d'l famoso Marco paulo vene / ciano d'las cosas merauillosas q̄ vido / enlas partes oriētales. conuiene saber / enlas indias. Armenia. Arabia. Per-/sia τ Tartaria. E del poderio del gran / Can y otros reyes. Cō otro tratado de / Micer pogio florētino que trata delas / mesmas tierras τ yslas* of Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella, printed by Juan Varela y Salamanca, Sevilla, in 1518[53]

José María Fulquet y Puig, *Libro de las Cosas Maravillosas de Marco Polo (1477)*, Madrid: Gráficas Ultra (Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles), 1947.[54]

---

[53] For Spanish and other printed version, see Sanz (1958), pp. 19–25, and now especially Valentinetti Mendi (2008), *Marco Polo—Libro del Famoso Marco Polo; Libro de le Cose Mirabile*, pp. LXXIX–LXXXV.

[54] Cf. also *El libro dl famoso Marco paulo veneciano dlas cosas merauillosas q̄ vido enlas partes oriētales. conuiene saber enlasindias. Armenia Arabia. Persia r Tartaria. E del poderio del gran Can y otros reyes. Cō otro tratado de Micer pogio florētino que trata delas mesmas tierras r yslas*, Facsimile ed. Coruña: Editorial Orbigo, 2008.

The first translation into Spanish by Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella was published in 1503 by Estanislao Polono y Jacobo Cromberger in Sevilla in 1503. It was based on a later version (VA^2) of the Venetian manuscript family VA.[55]

The first Spanish translations do not mention the use of salt money in *Tebet* and Caindu.

Text MP D, p. 118:
CAPITULO .LXXXV.
DE LA CIBDAD CYANGLU
Andando desta cibdad cinco jornadas está otra cibdad que llaman Cyanglu, muy noble e grande, assentada fazia medio día y es del estrecho de Cathayo. Aquí se faze gran cuantidad de sal; [...]

Text MP E, p. 130:
CAPITULO .CJ.
DE LA RENTA QUE HA EL GRAN CAN DE LA PROVINCIA DE GIUNSAY
Pues que os he dicho de la cibdad e provincia de Giunsay, quieros dezir de lo que renta. El gran Can ha desta provincia, de sola la sal, cada año cuatro mill e quinientas fanegas de oro e cada fanega cabe .xviij. mill sazos e cada sazo de oro vale más de siete ducados. [...]

Comment: 4,500 *tomans* à 80,000 *saggi* = 360,000,000 *saggi*? The revenue figures are totally corrupted in this version.

Text MP F, p. 130:
CAPITULO .CJ.
DE LA RENTA QUE HA EL GRAN CAN DE LA PROVINCIA DE GIUNSAY
[...] De las otras rentas allende de la sal ha cada año .x. mill fanegas de oro.

Comment: 10,000 *tomans* [à 80,000 *saggi* = 800,000,000 *saggi*]? The revenue figures are totally corrupted in this version.

* * *

[55] Cf. Valentinetti Mendi, *Marco Polo—Libro del Famoso Marco Polo; Libro de le Cose Mirabile*, pp. LIV and LXVI ff, and Angélica Valentinetti Mendi, "Tradizione ed innovazione: La prima traduzione spagnola del *Libro delle meraviglie*," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 115ff.

V 17) Spanish Printed Version *Libro del famoso Marco / polo veneciano delas cosas merauí|llosas q vido enlas partes orien-/tales: conuiene saber enlas / Indias /Armenia / Ara/bia /Persia / τ Tarta-/ria. E del poderio / del gran Can y /otros reyes. / Con otro / tratado / de mi|cer / Pogio Florentino τ que trata / delas mesmas tie-/rras τ yslasibro del famoso Marco / polo veneciano delas cosas* of Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella, printed by Miguel de Eguía, Logroño, in 1529

Angélica Valentinetti Mendi, *Marco Polo—Libro del Famoso Marco Polo; Libro de le Cose Mirabile*, Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2008.[56]

Like V 16, this Spanish printed version does not contain the passages about the use of salt in *Tebet* and Caindu.

Text MP D, p. 103:
CAPÍTULO OCHENTA E CINCO
DE LA CIUDAD CYANGLU
[1]D'esta ciudad adando desta cinco jornadas está otra ciudad que llaman Cyanglu, muy noble e grande, assentada hazia mediodía, y es del estre(21d)cho de Cathayo. [2]Aqui se haze gran quantidad de sal; [...]

Text MP E, p. 115:
CAPÍTULO CI
DE LA RENTA QUE HA EL GRAN CAN DE LA PROVINCIA DE GIUNSAY
[1]Pues que os he dicho de la ciudad y provincia de Giunsay, quiéroos dezir de lo que renta. [2]El gran Can ha d'esta provincia de sola la sal cada año cuatro mill e quinientas hanegas de oro, e cada fanega cabe diezeocho mill sazos, e cada sazo de oro vale más de siete ducados. [...]

Comment: 4,500 *tomans* à 80,000 *saggi* = 360,000,000 *saggi*? The revenue figures are totally corrupted in this version.

Text MP F, p. 115:
CAPÍTULO CI
DE LA RENTA QUE HA EL GRAN CAN DE LA PROVINCIA DE GIUNSAY
[...] De las otras rentas allende de la sal ha cada año .x. mill hanegas de oro.

[56] Cf. also *Libro del famoso Marco Polo veneciano: Edición en facsímile de la impresa en Logroño por Miguel de Eguía (1529)*, San Millán de la Cogolla: Cilengua, 2007.

Comment: 10,000 *tomans* [à 80,000 *saggi* = 800,000,000 *saggi*]? The revenue figures are totally corrupted in this version.

* * *

V 18) Spanish Printed Version *Historia de las grandezas y cosas marauillosas de las Prouincias Orientales* . . . of Martin de Bolea y Castro (based on the text of Grynäus), 1601

Historia de las grandezas y cosas marauillosas de las Prouincias Orientales. Sacada de Marco Paulo Veneto, y traduzida de Latin en Romance, y aňadida en muchas partes por Don Martin de Bolea y Castro, Varon de Clamofa, seňor de la Villa de Sietamo. Dirigida a Don Beltran de la Cueba, Duque de Alburquerque, Marques de Cuellar, Conde de Ledesma y Guelma, Lugarteniente, y Capitan General por su Magestad, en el Reyno de Aragon. Con Licencia, en Caragoça: Por Angelo Tauano, Aňo. M. DCI. (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, R. 1055).

Text MP A, p. 93:
Libro Segundo
Capitulo. 37
De otra parte de la prouincia de Tebeth, y un mal costumbre della.
[. . .] Ay ensu tierra muchos animales que crian almizque, que los llaman Gaderos, caçanlos con perros. Tienen propria lengua y moneda. Visten de pellejos de sieras. Esta region es en los limites de la prouincia de Tebeth, porque es muy grande y se diuide en ocho Reynos, llenos de Ciudades y lugares. [. . .]

Text MP B, p. 95:
Capitulo 38
De la provincia de Caniclu.
[. . .] Su moneda es unas barrillas de oro de cierto peso, conforme al qual es el valor de la moneda, y esta es la mayor y mejor. Aunque ay otra diferente y estraňa, que es, tomar la sal y cozerla en un caldero, y despues de cozida hazen de ella unos panezitos chiquitos, que secos siruen de moneda. [. . .]

Text MP D, pp. 106–107:
Capitulo 50
De las ciudades de Cacaufu, Canglu, y Ciangli.
[. . .] Desta Ciudad a la de Canglu ay tres jornadas hazia medio dia, que es ciudad grande, abundante de sal, porque toda la tierra es muy salobre,

y sacan la sal desta manera. Amontonan la tierra como un colladico y echá le agua encima, que lleuve consigo lo salobreño de la tierra, y tornan despues a sacar esta agua por debaxo de los montones, y despues la cuezen tanto, hasta que se espessa, y se hace sal. [...]

Text MP E, p. 120:
Capitulo 65
De las rentas que se pagan al gran Can, en la Ciudad de Quinsay, y toda la Prouincia de Mangi.
Leua el gran Can cada año de la sal, que se fáca enla ciudad de Quinsay y sus terminos, ochenta miryados de oro, que son ochozientos mil ducados. [...][57]

Comment: 80 tomans seem to be meant.

* * *

V 19) English Printed Version *The most noble and famous trauels of Marcus Paulus, one of the nobilitie of the state of Venice* of John Frampton, 1579

John Frampton, *The most noble and famous trauels of Marcus Paulus, one of the nobilitie of the state of Venice, into the East partes of the world, as Armenia, Persia, Arabia, Tartary, with many other kingdoms and Prouinces. No lesse pleasant, than profitable, as appeareth by the Table, or Contents of this Booke. Most necessary for all sortes of Persons, and especially for Trauellers. Translated into English*, At London: Printed by [H. Bynneman for] Ralph Nevvbery, Anno. 1579.

The first English printed version of 1579 follows the Spanish printed version of Santaella of 1518 and is thus as short as this second Santaella translation. Hence it does not contain the Texts MP A, B, and, of course, also not C.

Text MP D, p. 86:
Of the Citie named Cianglu.
Chap. 85
From this Citie [Cancafu] trauelling five dayes iourney, you come onto another Citie named *Cianglu*, which is very noble and great, situated

[57] I did not make a copy of Text MP F.

towards the midday, or south, and it is of the streight of *Cataya*, here is made greate plenty of salte: [. . .]

Tests MP E, p. 99:
On the rent which the great Cane hath of the prouince of Quynsay. Chap. 101
Seing I haue declared onto you of the City and prouince of *Quinsay*, now I wil declare you what rent the greate *Cane* hath yearely, out of this prouince only, of the salt euvery yere 4500. hanegs or bushels of Gold, and to euery measure goeth 18000. Sazos, and euery Sazo of Gold is worth seauen Duckets, [. . .]

Comment: 4,500 *tomans* à 18,000 *saggi* [= 81,000,000 *saggi*]? Like the Santaella version of 1518 the revenue figures are totally corrupted in this English version.

Tests MP F, p. 99:
On the rent which the great Cane hath of the prouince of Quynsay. Chap. 101
[. . .] and of the other rentes ouer and aboue the salte he hath euerye years 10000. hanegs of gold.

Comment: 10,000 *tomans* [à 18,000 *saggi* = 180,000,000 *saggi*]?

* * *

V 20) Dutch Printed Version *Markus Paulus Venetus*, Reisen, en beschryving der Oostersche lantschappen; *Daar in hy naarkeuriglijk veel Landen en Steden, . . .* of Jan Hendrik Glazemaker (1620–1682), 1664

Jan Hendrik Glazemaker, *Markus Paulus Venetus*, Reisen, en beschryving der Oostersche lantschappen*; Daar in hy naarkeuriglijk veel Landen en Steden, di hy zelf ten meestendeel bereist en bezichtigt heeft, beschrijft, de zeden en gewoonten van die Volken, tot aan die tijd onbekent, ten toon stelt, en d'opkoomst van de Heerschappy der Tartaren, en hun verövering van verscheide landen in Sina, met ander namen genoemt, bekent maakt. Beneffens de* Historie der Oostersche lantschappen, *door Haithon van Armenien te zamen gestelt. Beide nieuwelijks door J. H. Glazemaker vertaalt. Hier is noch by gevoegt* De reizen van Nicolaus Venetus*, en* Jeronymus van St. Steven *naar d'Oostersche landen, en naar d'Indien. Door P.P. vertaalt. Als ook een Verhaal van de verovering van't Eilant Formosa, door de Sinezen; door*

J.V.K.B. vertaalt. Met kopere platen verciert, t'Amsterdam: Voor Abraham Wolfgang, 1664. Copy held by Leiden University Library, 459 B17.

Glazemaker's Dutch rendering is clearly based on Grynäus' Latin edition (V 5).

Text MP A, p. 57:
XXXVII. Van een ander lantschap Tebeth, en van des zelfs schandelijke gewoonte
[…] Men vind by hen ook veel beesten / die muskus voortbrengen / en *Gadderi* genoemt worden. D'inwoonders jagen dusdanige beesten met honden / en hebben overvloet van muskus. Zy gebruiken hun eige taal / en bezondere munt / en kleden zich met vellen van beesten / of met ruwe hennipklederen. Dit gewest behoort aan Tebeth / 't welk een zeer groot Lantschap is / in acht Koninkrijken gedeelt word / en veel steden en vestingen heeft. Het lant is bergächtig; en daar in zijn enige plaatsen en vloeden / in de welken gout gevonden word. Zy gebruiken hier ook koraal voor hun munt: want deze steen is by hen in hoge waarde; en alle de vrouwen dragen hem aan hun hals; en zy hangen hem / als een kostelijk ding / aan de halzen van hun afgoden. […]

Text MP B, p. 58:
XXXVIII. Van't Lantschap Kaniklu
[…] Hun munt is zekere goude stokjes / die zeker gewicht hebben; en naar 't gewicht van 't stokje is de waarde van de munt. Dit is de grote munt. Maar zy hebben ook een kleine / die zy in dezer voegen toestellen. Zy koken zout in een ketel / en maken namaals daar af in zekere vormtjes kleine klompjes / die / als zy hard en vast geworden zijn / zy voor munt uitgeeven. […]

Text MP D, p. 66:
L. Van de steden Kakaufu, Kanglu, en Ciangli
[…] Van deze stat [Kakaufu] telt men drie dagreizens tot aan een ander grote stat / Kanglu genoemt / die overvloet van zout heeft: want dit lant is zeer zout; en het zout word in dezer voegen daar uit gehaalt. Zy maken een hoop van aarde / gelijk een heuvel / daar zy water op storten / 't welk de zoutigheit van d'aarde meeneemt; en zy storten dat weder op een heuvel / en koken het zo lang by 't vuur / tot dat het zo dik als zout word. […]

Text MP E, p. 74:
LXV. Van d'inkoomsten, die in de stat Quinsai, en in 't lantschap Mangi aan de grote Cham betaalt worden
De grote Cham vordert jarelijks van t' zout / 't welk in de stat Quinsai / en in des zelfs lantpalen gemaakt word / acht hondert duizent goude stukken. [...]

Comment: It seems that 800,000 *saggi* are meant?

Text MP F, p. 74:
LXV. Van d'inkoomsten, die in de stat Quinsai, en in 't lantschap Mangi aan de grote Cham betaalt worden
[...] Ik Markus heb eens de rekening van alle d'inkoomsten horen doen / die jarelijks in 't Koninkrijk Quinsai / 't welk het negende deel van 't lantschap Mangi is / aan de grote Cham betaalt worden; en zy beloopt in 't geheel / het zout uitgezondert / tot vijftien millioenen en zes hondert duizent goude stukken.

Comment: 15,600,000 *saggi*.

APPENDIX 8

TABLES 3 AND 27

Table 3. Measures of surviving specimens of Yuan paper notes or paper money printing plates

Place	Province	Currency	Type of relic[a]	Denomination[b]	Height of paper[c]	Width of paper[c]	Width to height of the paper (height = 1)[d]	Height of printed area	Width of printed area	Width to height of the printed area (height = 1)[d]	Period of production and circulation
Huhehot 呼和浩特	Neimenggu	*Zhongtong*	note (0629)	10 *wen*	16.4	9.3	0.567	15.8	8.3	0.525	1260–1269
(Jia Jingyan 贾敬颜 (a))		*Zhongtong*	plate rubbing, fragments (0639)	1 *guan ws*							1260–1269
Helanxian 贺兰县	Ningxia	*Zhongtong*	note (0631)	500 *wen*	28.1	19.2	0.683[e]	25.8	17.4	0.674	1260–1269
		Zhongtong	note (0630)	300 *wen*	26.4	17.5	0.663	23.0	15.0	0.652	1260–1269
Toksun 托克逊	Xinjiang	*Zhongtong*	note copy	2 *guan ws*	34.3	23.9	0.697				1260–1269
Yuanlinxian 沅陵县	Hunan	Zhiyuan	note (0652)	300 *wen*	24.3	16.8	0.691	21.6	14.2	0.657	1287–1305
		Zhiyuan	note (0649)	100 *wen*	21.9	13.7	0.626	18.8	11.8	0.628	1287–1305
		Zhiyuan	note (0646)	50 *wen*	21.2	12.8	0.604	19.0	10.7	0.563	1287–1305
		Zhiyuan	note (0645)	30 *wen*	19.6	11.8	0.602	17.2	9.1	0.529	1287–1305
		Zhiyuan	note (0643)	20 *wen*	18.7	11.1	0.594	15.6	9.0	0.577	1287–1305

Table 3 (*cont.*)

Place	Province	Currency	Type of relic[a]	Denomination[b]	Height of paper[c]	Width of paper[c]	Width to height of the paper (height = 1)[d]	Height of printed area	Width of printed area	Width to height of the printed area (height = 1)[d]	Period of production and circulation
Wuxi 无锡	Jiangsu	Zhiyuan	notes (a)	500 *wen*	27.5–27.8	18.5–19.0		24.8–25.5	16.3–16.8		1287–1321
		Zhiyuan	note (b)	500 *wen*	27.6	18.7	0.678	25.2	16.5	0.655	1287–1321
		Zhiyuan	note (d)	500 *wen*			0.678				1287–1321
		Zhiyuan	notes (a)	200 *wen*	24.0–24.4	15.6–16.1		22.1–22.4	14.0–14.3		1287–1321
		Zhiyuan	note (c)	200 *wen*	24.0	16.0	0.667	22.3	14.2	0.637	1287–1321
		Zhiyuan	note (d)	200 *wen*			0.663				1287–1321
(Peng Xinwei 彭信威)		Zhiyuan	plate rubbing (0650)	200 *wen*	24.5	15.6	0.637	22.8	14.9	0.654	1287–1321
Huarong 华容	Hunan	*Zhongtong*	note (0638)	500 *wen*	24.8	18.4	0.742				1260–1269
		Zhiyuan	note	500 *wen*	27.0	18.5	0.685				1287ff.
		Zhiyuan	note (0653)	300 *wen*	25.2	18.9	0.750	24.8	17.2	0.694	1287ff.
		Zhiyuan	notes	50 *wen*	21.0	12.8	0.610				1287ff.
[Singapore]		Zhiyuan	plate	2 *guan*				28.2	20.2	0.716	1287–c. 1350
[New York]		Zhiyuan	plate	2 *guan*				27.9	20.2	0.724	1287–c. 1350
Pingshanxian 平山县	Hebei	Zhiyuan	double plate	2 *guan*	25.3[f]	16.3[f]	0.644[f]				1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	double plate	500 *wen*	25.3[f]	16.3[f]	0.644[f]				1287–c. 1350

Table 3 (*cont.*)

Place	Province	Currency	Type of relic[a]	Denomination[b]	Height of paper[c]	Width of paper[c]	Width to height of the paper (height = 1)[d]	Height of printed area	Width of printed area	Width to height of the printed area (height = 1)[d]	Period of production and circulation
Germu Farm 格尔木农场	Qinghai	*Zhongtong*	note (0640)	1 *guan ws*	29.5 [28.7]	21.0 [20.7]	0.711 [0.721]	[25.5]	[18.4]	[0.721]	1350ff.
		Zhongtong	note (0636)	500 *wen*	26.8[g]	18.5	0.690[g]	25.7	17.1	0.665	1350ff.
		Zhongtong	note (0637)	500 *wen*	27.2[g]	19.1[g]	0.702[g]	23.6	17.0	0.720	1350ff.
		Zhiyuan	note (0665)	2 *guan*	30.4	20.8	0.684	28.0	19.0	0.679	1350ff.
		Zhiyuan	note	1 *guan*	24.0[e]	20.0[e]					1350ff.
		Zhongtong	note (0632)	500 *wen*	26.8	19.0	0.709	24.0	16.9	0.704	1350ff.
[Shanghai]		Zhiyuan	note (0663)	2 *guan*	29.4	21.5	0.731	27.5	19.8	0.720	1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	plate (0660)	2 *guan*				28.5	20.7	0.726	1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	plate (0661)	2 *guan*				28.2	20.3	0.720	1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	plate rubbing (0647)	100 *wen*				20.7	12.7	0.614	1287–c. 1350
Ta'ersi 塔尔寺	Qinghai	Zhiyuan	note	2 *guan*				25.0	19.8	0.792	1287–c. 1350
Xigazê (Shigatse) 日喀则	Tibet	*Zhongtong* Zhiyuan	note note	1 *guan ws*	26.0	18.0	0.692				1350ff.
Nakamura F. 中村不折		Zhiyuan	note	2 *guan*				27.9	20.0	0.717	1287–c. 1350

Table 3 (*cont.*)

Place	Province	Currency	Type of relic[a]	Denomination[b]	Height of paper[c]	Width of paper[c]	Width to height of the paper (height = 1)[d]	Height of printed area	Width of printed area	Width to height of the printed area (height = 1)[d]	Period of production and circulation
Senpukan 泉布館		Zhiyuan	plates	2 *guan*				27.9	20.0	0.717	1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	plate	2 *guan*				26.7	19.7	0.738	1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	plate	300 *wen*				23.6	15.6[h]	0.661	1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	plate	100 *wen*				20.0	12.4	0.662	1287–c. 1350
Xianyangshi 咸阳市	Shaanxi	*Zhongtong*	note (0641)	1 *guan ws*	29.9	21.4	0.716	26.9	18.8	0.699	1350ff.
		Zhongtong	note (0633)	500 *wen*	27.7	19.9	0.718	24.5	17.2	0.702	1350ff.
Heicheng 黑城 (KH)	Neimenggu	*Zhongtong*	note (0642)	1 *guan ws*	29.7	21.2	0.713	26.4	18.6	0.705	1350ff.
		Zhongtong	note (0635)	500 *wen*	27.9	19.3	0.692	24.4	17.2	0.705	1350ff.
		Zhiyuan	note (a)	2 *guan*			0.729			0.727	1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	note (b)	2 *guan*				27.2	19.2	0.706	1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	note (c) (0664)	2 *guan*	29.9	22.1	0.739	28.2	19.7	0.699	1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	note (0659)	1 *guan*	29.4[g]	22.3[g]	0.759[g]				1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	note (0648)	100 *wen*	20.8	15.4	0.740	20.0	12.8	0.640	1287–c.1350
		Zhiyuan	note (0644)	30 *wen*	20.6	11.8	0.573	18.2	9.6	0.527	1287–c. 1350
Heicheng 黑城 (S)	Neimenggu	*Zhongtong*	note	500 *wen*	24.4	16.9	0.697				

Table 3 (*cont.*)

Place	Province	Currency	Type of relic[a]	Denomination[b]	Height of paper[c]	Width of paper[c]	Width to height of the paper (height = 1)[d]	Height of printed area	Width of printed area	Width to height of the printed area (height = 1)[d]	Period of production and circulation
Heicheng 黑城	Neimenggu	*Zhongtong*	notes	1 *guan ws*	30.0–29.0	22.1–20.0		28.7	17.7	0.617	1350ff.
		Zhongtong	note (0634)	500 *wen*	27.9	19.4	0.708	24.0	17.2	0.717	1350ff.
		Zhiyuan	notes	2 *guan*	30.5–29.7	22.5–22.0		27.7	19.7	0.711	1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	note (0666)	2 *guan*	30.6	22.1	0.722	27.7	19.5	0.704	1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	note (0658)	1 *guan*	29.6	21.4	0.723	28.0	18.3	0.654	1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	note	200 *wen*	23.7	15.5	0.654	22.0	14.7	0.668	1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	note	100 *wen*	22.5	<11.3		19.0			1287–c. 1350
Jargalangt 吉日嘎郎图	Neimenggu	*Zhongtong*	note	500 *wen*				27.2	18.8	0.691	1350ff.
		Zhiyuan	note	2 *guan*				27.0	19.5	0.722	1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	note	1 *guan*				26.7	18.4	0.689	1287–c. 1350
(Wang Guichen 王贵忱)		Zhiyuan	plate rubbing	2 *guan*						0.707	1287–c. 1350
(Jia Jingyan 贾敬颜 (b))		Zhiyuan	plate rubbing	2 *guan*						0.719	1287–c. 1350
Fuzhou 福州	Fujian	Zhiyuan	plate rubbing (0655)	500 *wen*							1287–c. 1350
Turfan 吐鲁番 (a)	Xinjiang	Zhiyuan	note	2 *guan*	30.0	20.0	0.667				1287–c. 1350
Turfan 吐鲁番 (b)	Xinjiang	Zhiyuan	note	2 *guan*							1287–c. 1350

Table 3 (*cont.*)

Place	Province	Currency	Type of relic[a]	Denomination[b]	Height of paper[c]	Width of paper[c]	Width to height of the paper (height = 1)[d]	Height of printed area	Width of printed area	Width to height of the printed area (height = 1)[d]	Period of production and circulation
[Jinzhou 锦州]	Liaoning	*Zhongtong*	plate	2 *guan ws*				29.0	19.2	0.662[i]	1276–1287
Jieyangxian 揭阳县	Guangdong	Zhiyuan	plate	2 *guan*				25.2	17.2	0.683	1287–c. 1350
Jiexixian 揭西县	Guangdong	Zhiyuan	plate rubbing	2 *guan*				26.3	19.9	0.757	1287–c. 1350
(Jia Jingyan 贾敬颜 (c))		Zhiyuan	plate rubbing	2 *guan*						0.731	1287–c. 1350
[Qufu 曲阜]	Shandong	Zhiyuan	tile plate	1 *guan*						0.678	1287–c. 1350
Cixian 磁县	Hebei	Zhiyuan	plate	2 *guan*				17.3	9.0	0.520	1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	plate	2 *guan*				8.5	8.0	0.941	1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	plate	300 *wen*				23.5	15.5	0.660	1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	plate	300 *wen*				14.5	8.0	0.552	1287–c. 1350
Yunxian 郧县	Hubei	Zhiyuan	double plate (0662)	2 *guan*				26.4	19.8	0.750	1287–c. 1350
		Zhiyuan	double plate (0654)	500 *wen*				24.2	16.3	0.674	1287–c. 1350
[Tianjin 天津]		Zhiyuan	plate rubbing	100 *wen*				20.3	12.5	0.616	1287–c. 1350

Sources (in alphabetical order of the place names):

– Cixian: See Zhang Ziying 张子英, "Cixian faxian 'Zhiyuan tongxing baochao' tongban ji tongyin" 磁县发现《至元通行宝钞》铜版及铜印 (Bronze Seals and Bronze Plates for *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao* Discovered in Cixian), *Zhongguo qianbi* 中国钱币 (China Numismatics), 1 (1993): 36–37; Ye Shichang et al. (2009), p. 534. In 1989 four bronze printing plates and two bronze seals were discovered by the peasant Chao Qingxue 赵庆学 in Shenjiazhuangcun Village 申家庄村 of Huangsha Community 黄沙乡, Cixian District. The bronze plates comprised a large and small plate for Zhiyuan 2 *guan* paper notes and a large and small plate for Zhiyuan 300 *wen* paper notes. The weights of the plates are not indicated. Yao Shuomin thinks that the Cixian plates and seals were tools that had been used by forgers. He adduces six reasons for this: First, the characters and the arrangement of the text are of uneven, deficient quality when compared with genuine Yuan paper notes. Second, the *liaohao* and *zihao* registration number fields of the bronze plates were not left empty for having them filled in by hand, but carried engraved characters. Third, the quality of the frame pattern and string depiction is deficient. Fourth, use and function of the small printing plates are unclear and dubious. Fifth, the letters for *bao* 寶in Phags-pa script on the two seals as well as on the Zhiyuan 300 *wen* bronze plates are misspelled. Sixth, the quality of the bronze plates is irregular and deficient. See Yao Shuomin 姚朔民, "Xi Cixian Zhiyuan tongxing baochao tongban" 析磁县至元通行宝钞铜版 (An Analysis of the Copper Plate for the *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao* Found in Cixian), *Zhongguo qianbi*, 1 (1993): 7–8.

– Fuzhou: This remnant of a printing plate for Zhiyuan 500 *wen* notes was collected in 1964 and is now stored in the Cultural Relics Administration Committee of Fuzhou City (Fuzhoushi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 福州市文物管理委员会. See *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 64; Ye Shichang et al. (2009), pp. 161, 536.

– Germu: See Xu Xinguo 许新国, "Germu chutu Yuandai zhibi kaoshuo" 格尔木出土元代纸币考说 (Investigating and Explaining the Yuan Paper Money Excavated in Germu), *Qinghai jinrong yanjiu* 青海金融研究 (Finance Research of Qinghai), 6 (1987); Ye Yumei 叶玉梅, "Shixi Qinghai Chaidamu pendi chutu de Yuan'chao'" 试析青海柴达木盆地出土的元"钞" (A Preliminary Analysis of the Yuan "Paper Notes" Excavated in the Quaidam Basin in Qinghai), *Qinghai shehui kexue* 青海社会科学 (Qinghai Social Sciences), 6 (1994a): 113–117; id. (1994b), "Yuandai Qing Zang shexiang zhi lu shang de zhibi: Qinghai Chaidamu pendi chutu de Yuanchao" 元代青藏麝香之路上的纸币: 青海柴达木盆地出土的元钞 (Paper Money on the Musk Road between Qinghai and Tibet during the Yuan Period: Yuan Paper Notes Excavated in the Quaidam Basin in Qinghai), *Qinghai minzu yanjiu (shehui kexue ban)* 青海民族研究(社会科学版) (Qinghai Anthropological Research (Social Sciences Issue)), 2 (1994b): 51–54; Ye Shichang et al. (2009), pp. 136–137, 140–141, 174–175, 534, 562–563. Both the Zhongtong and Zhiyuan notes were printed in the Zhizheng reign-period (1341–1371) from 1350 onwards. They consisted of the greyish-black paper made from the bark of the mulberry tree. The notes were wrapped in felt and were excavated in 1955 while carrying out earthwork.

  The values in brackets indictated for the Zhongtong 1 *guan* note are based on the data or the photograph given in Ye Shichang et al. (2009), pp. 140–141, 563.

– Helan: These two Zhongtong notes were discovered in a round room of the West Pagoda of the Baisikou Double Pagoda 拜寺口双塔 in Helan District, Ningxia Autonomous Region, in May 1986 during renovation work. They were found together with a number of other items, namely a *Dachao tongbao* coin, two glued and lacquered tangkas painted on silk, a small bronze Buddha statue, a wooden Buddhist warrior attendant, a wooden vase with carved flower pattern, two bundles of silk flowers, three pieces of cloth with flower pattern, an alter table with an altar chair, rotten cloth and ropes, as well as pottery. The paper notes carry no Phags-pa script and thus must have been printed before 1269. The principal issuing agency mentioned in the legend is a Branch Secretariat (*xing zhongshu sheng* 行中書省). Especially important is the Zhongtong 300 *wen* note as it proves that there were indeed ten denominations of early Zhongtong notes issued, and not only nine. The colour of the notes is described as greyish-black and they are said to have been made of paper consisting of silk floss, hemp and mulberry bark.. The rim of the Zhongtong 500 *wen* note is damaged and the lower part is not complete. On the back of the note, in the upper right corner, the character Li 李 is written in ink, probably the name of the original owner. Also the Zhongtong 300 *wen* note is quite damaged, but appears to be more complete in height and width. See Lei Runze 雷润泽, Yu Cunhai 于存海 and He Jiying 何继英, "Ningxia Baisikou shuangta faxian de Tachao tongbao he Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao" 宁夏拜寺口双塔发现的大朝通宝和中统元宝交钞 (The *Tachao tongbao* Coin and the *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* Notes Discovered in the Baisikou Double Pagoda in Ningxia), *Zhongguo qianbi*, 4 (1989), pp. 28–31; *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 3, 46–48, 53; Ye Shichang et al. (2009), pp. 127–129, 562.

– Heicheng (KH): This refers to eight paper notes found by the P. K. Kozlov expedition in the years 1907–1908 in Khara Khoto, i.e. Heicheng, which belongs to Ejin Qi (Erjinaqi 额济纳旗). These notes, all printed in the Zhizheng reign-period, are now stored in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg. Photos are available in *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 2, 5, 39–40, 52, 57, 61–62, 68–69, 74–75, and in Ye Shichang et al. (2009), pp. 135, 144–145, 147–148, 153–154, 166–167, 534, 562–563.
For the height-width ratios of the Zhiyuan 2 *guan* paper note (a) see *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 57.

For the measure of the printed area of the Zhiyuan 2 *guan* paper note (b) see Pang Wenxiu 庞文秀, "Yuanchao banbie zakao (shang)" 元钞版别杂考 (上) (An Investigation into Printing Differences of Yuan Paper Notes (Part One)), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu* 内蒙古金融研究 (Finance Research of Inner Mongolia), 4 (2003): 72.

For the measures of the Zhiyuan 2 *guan* paper note (c) see the facsimile reproduction in Ye Shichang et al. (2009), p. 173.

– Heicheng (S): See Yuehan Bodun 约翰伯顿; Wang Xin 王欣 (transl.), "Yizhang shisan shiji de Zhongguo chaopiao jiqi baocun" 一张十三世纪的中国钞票及其保存 (A Chinese Paper Note from Thirteenth-Century China and its Preservation), *Xinjiang wenwu* 新疆文物 (Xinjiang Historical Relics), 2 (1991); Ye Shichang et al. (2009), p. 534. This refers to a paper note discovered by Aurel Stein (1862–1943) in 1914.

– Heicheng: See Li Yiyou 李逸友, "Yuandai caoyuan sichou zhi lu shang de zhibi: Neimenggu Ejinaqi Heicheng chutu de Yuanchao ji piaojuan" 元代草原丝绸之路上的纸币—内蒙古额济纳旗黑城出土的元钞及票券 (Paper Money on the Grassland Silkroad during the Yuan Period: Yuan Paper Notes, Vouchers and Certificates Excavated in Heicheng of Ejin Qi, Inner Mongolia), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu*, 2 (2003): 6–15; Ye Shichang et al. (2009), pp. 134, 165, 176, 562–563. In the excavation period from 1983 to 1984 Chinese archaeologists excavated 144 Yuan paper notes. Most of them were, however, severely damaged, because they were worn-out notes thrown away or used for other purposes, such as material for the ground layer of a floor.

Zhongtong notes: 12 notes were found, two of them complete, one damaged, and nine being worn-out. The paper was made of a black tree bark. It appears that moveable types were used for printing the registration characters. These Zhongtong notes were not early Zhongtong notes, but were printed in 1350. Contrary to early Zhongtong notes they bear Phags-pa inscriptions for *Zhongtong yuanbao* 中統元寶 (Zhongtong Primordial Treasure) and *zhulu tongxing* 諸路通行 (to be circulated in all Routes), in addition to these identical phrases in Chinese. In the legend on area F of the paper note's face not the *xing zhongshu sheng* 行中書省 (Branch Secretariat), but the *zhongshu sheng* 中書省 (Metropolitan Secretariat) is indicated. Moreover, the seal on the reverse side reads *Zhizheng yinzao yuanbao jiaochao* 至正印造元寶交鈔 or "Primordial-treasure Exchange Note printed in the Zhizheng [reign-period]," clearly indicating that these notes were made during the Zhizheng reign-period. Such a type of Zhongtong 1 *guan wensheng* paper note printed in the Zhizheng reign-period was already found by the 1907–1908 expedition of Kozlov to Khara Khoto, i.e. Heicheng. It is now stored in the Hermitage State Museum in Saint Petersburg and depicted in *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 39–40.

For the Zhongtong 500 *wen* note see, however, *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 51–52; Ye Shichang et al. (2009), p. 134.

Zhiyuan notes of four denominations were excavated, namely 2 *guan*, 1 *guan*, 200 *wen* and 100 *wen*:
128 pieces of 2 *guan* notes were found, 13 of them complete, 15 partly damaged, and 100 worn-out. They were made of grey or greyish-black tree bark. Phags-pa script is used for the inscriptions *Zhiyuan baochao* 至元寶鈔 (Zhiyuan Treasure Note) and *zhulu tongxing* 諸路通行 (to be circulated in all Routes) right and left of the cash strings. About one half of the notes have serial numbers according to the *Qianziwen* 千字文 (One Thousand Characters Primer). The Department of State Affairs (*shangshu sheng* 尚書省) is indicated as issuing agency. Though later during the Yuan period this institution was abolished, the legend of the Zhiyuan paper notes was not changed. The front bears two red seals in Phags-pa script, the upper in the meaning of *tiju zhulu tongxing baochao yin* 提舉諸路通行寶鈔印 (Seal of the Supervisor[-in-Chief] [put] on Treasure Notes to be circulated in all Routes), the second *Baochao zongku zhi yin* 寶鈔總庫之印 (Seal of the Chief Storehouse for Treasure Notes). A read Phags-pa seal was also impressed on the reverse side, in the meaning of *Yinzao baochaoku yin* 印造寶鈔庫印 (Seal of the Storehouse for Printing Treasure Notes), in addition to a black stamp depicting two strings with 10 substrings each and with the characters *er guan* 貳貫 (Two strings). Both front

and reverse side bear black split-edge seals with the characters *baochao* 寶鈔 (Treasure Note). A few notes had not red seals on the back, but one or even two of the black *er guan* stamps. For illustrations of such paper notes excavated by the Chinese and the Russians as well as rubbings of printing plates see *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 55–59.

One piece of a 1 *guan* note was excavated, which was similar in design with the 2 *guan* notes. It was made of grey tree bark. For pictures of this rather rare Zhiyuan denomination from both the Chinese and the Russian excavations see *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 4, 60–62.

Two pieces of 200 *wen* notes are mentioned, made of greyish-black tree bark. Only one of the notes is rather complete, bearing no registration characters however. Because the surface is rather small, the two read seals on the note's face overlap. The reverse side has only the usual oblong black stamp, but no impression of a read seal.

One piece of a 100 *wen* note was found. The note is quite blurred and damaged; hence the width mentioned in the table is the measure of the still extant part of the note. The height of the printed area is 19.0 cm. For illustrations of both face and back of the note excavated by the Kozlov expedition see *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 68–69.

Already in another excavation campaign taking place in the period 1278–1279 a Yuan paper note has been found, which, however, was not an official note, but, as it seems, a paper note substitute issued by the local government. See Ye Shichang et al. (2009), p. 535, and especially Chen Bingying 陈炳应, "Heicheng xin chutu de yipi Yuandai wenshu" 黑城新出土的一批元代文书 (Newly Excavated Documents of the Yuan Period from Heicheng), *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古与文物 (Archaeology and Historical Relics), 1 (1983), document 13 on p. 56 and pp. 61–62.

– Huhehot: See Wei Yuewang 卫月望, "Baita Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao kaoshuo" 白塔中统元宝交钞考说 (An Investigation of the *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* of the White Pagoda), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu*, 1 (2002): pp. 28–30, 23. This Zhongtong 10 *wen* paper note was discovered in 1982 during repairs of the Wanbu Huayanjing Pagoda 万部华严经塔 or White Pagoda 白塔 in Huhehot. It was buried in the earthen ground layer in a second-floor grotto of the East Gate near a winding corridor. The main issuing agency mentioned is a Branch Secretariat (*xing zhongshu sheng* 行中書省), and because it does not carry Phags-pa script it must have been printed before 1269. This is not only one of the earliest Yuan paper notes discovered so far, but also the one of the smallest denomination. See also Fang Ji 方辑, "Xishi zhenbao: Yizhang Yuandai 'Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao'" 稀世珍宝—一张元代中统元宝交钞 (A World-wide Rare Treasure: A *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* of the Yuan Period), *Neimenggu shehui kexue* 内蒙古社会科学 (Inner Mongolia Social Sciences), 4 (1985): 93; Wei Yuewang, "Yishi wen Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao kaoshuo" 壹拾文中统元宝交钞考说 (An Investigation of the *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* of 10 *wen*), *Zhongguo qianbi*, 4 (1985): 38–40; Bu Yangwu 卜杨武, "Hushi dongjiao Baita faxian yizhang 'Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao'" 呼市东郊白塔发现一张中统元宝交钞 (A *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* Discovered in the White Pagoda in the Eastern Suburbs of Huhehot), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu*, 1 (2002): 24–26; *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 54; Ye Shichang et al. (2009), pp. 126, 534, 562.
– Huarong: See Li Zhengxin 李正鑫, "Hunan Huarong chutu Yuanchao" 湖南华容出土元钞 (Yuan Paper Notes Excavated in Huarong, Hunan), *Zhongguo qianbi*, 4 (1994): 33–35, 23; Ye Shichang et al. (2009), pp. 138, 159, 563. Eleven paper notes were found in a Yuan tomb in the vicinity of Chengguan Town 城关镇 of Huarong District in 1988. The coffin of the female corpse was well preserved, yielding more than 80 pieces of silk clothes. 6 Zhongtong notes of 500 *wen*, and 5 Zhiyuan notes of 500 *wen* (1 piece), 300 *wen* (1) and 50 *wen* (3) were found. They had been all put together, folded four times and stored in a silken purse embroidered with floral patterns. Their colour was greyish-black. The Zhongtong notes carry no Phags-pa script and thus must have been made before 1269. Typically for early Zhongtong notes, the main agency indicated in the legend is a Branch Secretariat (*xing zhongshu sheng*).
– Jargalangt: In April 1985 herdsmen from Sumu 苏木 in Jargalangt in Ejin Qi (Erjinaqi 额济纳旗) found a number of paper notes in the Hongliu Dune 红柳沙丘 40 km from Dalaihubozhen 达来湖波镇. Most of the notes were Zhiyuan 2 *guan* paper notes, but also one Zhiyuan 1 *guan* note and three Zhongtong 500 *wen* notes from the Zhiyuan reign-period were found. The notes are said to have been of bluish-green colour. See Pu Nashengdeliger 普· 那生德力格尔, "Neimenggu Ejinaqi chutu Yuandai zhibi" 内蒙古额济纳旗出土元代纸币 (Paper Notes of the Yuan Period Excavated in Ejin Qi, Inner Mongolia), *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology), 8 (1990):

765–766 & plates; id., "Neimenggu Ejinaqi chutu Yuandai zhibi" 内蒙古额济纳旗出土元代纸币 (Paper Notes of the Yuan Period Excavated in Ejin Qi, Inner Mongolia), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu*, S1 (2002), 8 (1990): 39–40; Ye Shichang et al. (2009), p. 535.

– Jia Jingyan: Item (a) is the rubbing of a broken Zhongtong 1 *guan wensheng* printing plate kept by Jia Jingyan. In all probability the printing is representative of an early Zhongtong note. See *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 44–45; Ye Shichang et al. (2009), p. 139. Item (b) is the rubbing of the Zhiyuan 2 *guan* printing plate. See *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 59. Item (c) is a rubbing taken from Luo Zhenyu's 羅振玉 *Sichao chaobi tulu* 四朝鈔幣圖錄 (Records and Illustrations of Paper Notes from Four Dynasties) of 1914. With regard to the latter it is said that characters and design of this printing plate rubbing do not correspond exactly to that on real Yuan notes. See *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 136.
– Jiexixian: The plate itself was excavated in 1975 in Jiexi District at Laomatang 老麻塘. It is 26.3 cm long, and 19.9 cm wide, 1 cm thick, with a weight of 2.75 kg. A copy of the rubbing was provided by the Provincial Museum of Guangdong (Guangdongsheng bowuguan 广东省博物馆). It is said that the plate itself is made of a "white" alloy and that the characters of the text as well as the size do not correspond exactly to the characteristics of official Yuan paper notes. See Zeng Guangyi 曾广亿, "Guangdong Lingshui, Shunde, Jiexi chutu de Songdai ciqi, yulie gongju he Yuandai chaoban" 广东陵水，顺德，揭西出土的宋代瓷器，渔猎工具和元代钞版 (Pottery, Fishing and Hunting Tools as well as a Yuan Paper-Money Printing Plate Excavated in Lingshui, Shunde and Jiexi in Guangdong Province), *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology), 1 (1980): 71–76 & plates; *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 137. In contrast to the compilers of *Zhongguo guochao tuji*, Ye and his colleagues think that the plate is official and genuine.
– Jieyangxian: See Pang Wenxiu 庞文秀, "Yuanchao banbie zakao (shang)" 元钞版别杂考 (上) (An Investigation into Printing Differences of Yuan Paper Notes (Part One)), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu*, 4 (2003): 72.

  It is unclear whether the Jiexi found refers to the same plate indicated under Jieyang. At any rate, the length-width-ratios, as far as they could be reconstructed on the basis of textual and photographic documentation, seem to be different.
– Jinzhou: For a rubbing of this plate see Na Rongli 那荣利, "'Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao er guan wensheng' chaoban kao" 《中统元宝交钞贰贯文省》钞版考 (An Investigation of the Paper Money Printing Plate for a *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* of 2 *guan* Short-string), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu*, 1 (2002): 63–65; Ye Shichang et al. (2009), p. 535. This bronze plate is stored in the Museum of Jinzhou City (Jinzhoushi bowuguan 锦州市博物馆). The plate has a thickness of 1 cm and weighs 8.04 *jin* (pounds or kg?). As it is made out of bronze, it dates from 1276 or later, because before that date paper money printing blocks were made of wood. It is probably this printing plate which is depicted in *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 135. There it is said that the making of the plate, the structure of the text and the calligraphy of the "nine times folded seal script" are of deficient quality or not formal.
– Nakamura: See Maeda Naonori, "Gen no shihei no yōshiki ni tsuite," p. 6. This is a Zhiyuan note which was in the private collection of Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折.
– New York: See L. Carrington Goodrich, "A Bronze Block for the Printing of Chinese Paper Currency," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, 4 (1950): 127–130. This bronze plate was shown in 1949 in the Chinese Art Gallery of Allen J. Merher, 119 East 57th Street, New York. Measures of this printing block of relatively high quality were given in inches. It was about 0.6 cm thick and rested on 4 pegs about 1.6 cm high.
– Peng Xinwei: This rubbing of a Zhiyuan 200 *wen* printing plate comes from Peng Xinwei's 彭信威, *Zhongguo huobishi* 中国货币史 (A History of Chinese Currency), 2nd ed. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1958, plate 64; Peng Xinwei/Kaplan (1994), vol. 2, p. 493. The heights and widths can be derived from the measuring stick accompanying the picture. For an illustration (without scale indications) see also *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 67; Ye Shichang et al. (2009), pp. 156, 563.
– Pingshanxian: See Hebeisheng bowuguan, Wenwu guanlichu 河北省博物馆, 文物管理处 (Museum of Hebei Province and Administration Office for Cultural Relics); Zheng Shaozong 郑绍宗, "Hebei Pingshanxian faxian de 'Zhiyuan tongxing baochao' tongban" 河北平山县发现的"至元通行宝钞"铜版 (A Copper Printing Plate for a *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao* Discovered in Pingshan District in Hebei), *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology), 1 (1973): 42; Ye Shichang et al. (2009), p. 534. This double-faced printing plate was discovered during construction work in Wangpocun Village 王坡村 of Pingshan District in autumn of 1963. It is 1.1 cm thick and weighs 2.4

kg. The one face is for printing a 2 *guan* note, the other for a 500 *wen* note. For the relic of another printing plate for Zhiyuan 500 *wen* notes found in 1964 and now kept by the Administration Committee for Historical Relics of Fuzhou City (Fuzhoushi wenguanhui 福州市文管会), see *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 64.

– Qufu: A photo of this tile plate can be found in the *Sichao baochao* 四朝寶鈔 (Paper Notes from Four Dynasties) published by the Tianzhen meishuguan 天真美術館 Publishers in Shanghai in 1918. The colophon says that this plate was discovered by peasants in Shandong Province while digging in the fields and that thereafter it was stored in the home of Professor Yan Xinzhai 顏心齋 in Qufu. This, no doubt, is a tile plate made by counterfeiters. See *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 139–140.
– Senpukan: See Maeda Naonori, "Gen no shihei no yōshiki ni tsuite," p. 6. Maeda Naonori mentions that these Zhiyuan copper plates were stored in the Osaka Mint Reception Hall (Senpukan) in Osaka.
– Shanghai: See Ye Shichang et al. (2009), pp. 130, 152, 168–169, 171, 562–563. These are relics from the Shanghai Museum (Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物馆). The Zhongtong 500 *wen* note was printed in the Zhizheng reign-period (1341–1371) from 1350 onwards.
– Singapore: See Yao Qinglin 姚庆霖, "Guobao Zhiyuan chaoban bei paimai" 国宝至元钞版被拍卖 (A National Treasure—a Zhiyuan Paper Note Printing Block—Sold at an Auction), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu*, 2 (2003): 5. This bronze printing block was sold to a Western museum for a price of 85,000 US$ in February 13, 1988, at an auction held in the New Otami Hotel in Singapore. This was deplored by Yao Qinglin as a loss of a national treasure.
– Ta'ersi: See Pang Wenxiu 庞文秀, "Yuanchao banbie zakao (shang)" 元钞版别杂考 (上) (An Investigation into Printing Differences of Yuan Paper Notes (Part One)), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu*, 4 (2003): 72.
– Tianjin: See Wei Yuewang 卫月望 (2002a), "Meng Yuan zhibi shiliao quanshi" 蒙元纸币史料诠释 (Annotations to Historical Material on Paper Money of the Mongolian Yuan Dynasty), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu*, 1 (2002): 48. This seems to be the same rubbing as the one reproduced in *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 141. The making of this now lost printing plate appears to be coarse and deficient. Hence it is doubtful that this was an official printing plate. The rubbing is now kept by the China Numismatic Society (Zhongguo qianbi xuehui 中国钱币学会).
– Toksun: This is a copy of a Zhongtong 2 *guan wensheng* note as it is documented in Wang Shu'nan's 王樹枏 *Xinjiang fanggu lu* 新疆訪古錄 (Records of Copies of Antiques in Xinjiang). It is said to be a copy of a note found in 1909 in the mountains of Turfan near Toksun. Style and legends in this copy are typical for those of early Zhongtong notes. See *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 133–134; Ye Shichang et al. (2009), p. 536, and especially p. 461, where the measures of height and width are given.
– Turfan (a): See Ye Shichang et al. (2009), p. 461, referring to Huang Wenbi's 黃文弼 *Tulufan kaogu ji* 吐魯番考古記 (Notes on the Archaeology of Turfan), 1928.
– Turfan (b): See Ye Shichang et al. (2009), p. 461, depicting a Zhiyuan 2 *guan* note now stored in the Turfan Museum (Tulufan bowuguan 吐鲁番博物馆). The illustration shows a note of markedly lower quality than the usual official Zhiyuan 2 *guan* notes. The characters of the legends, as far as they are legible, are quite coarse. Moreover, the depiction of the two cash strings is different than on other Zhiyuan 2 *guan* notes, which show two strings arranged in two lines each, each of which holds five hundred-coin clusters separated from each other. In the case of the Turfan note, simply two cash strings are shown arranged in one undivided column each. It seems that the quality and design of Zhiyuan 2 *guan* notes issued in the Uighur region was of lower quality than those of the Chinese areas.
– Wang Guichen: This rubbing was provided by Wang Guichen. See *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 58.
– Wuxi: For (a) see Feng Lirong 冯丽蓉, "Wuxishi bowuguan cang 'Zhiyuan tongxing baochao'" 无锡市博物馆藏《至元通行宝钞》 (The *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao* Stored in the Wuxi City Museum), *Zhongguo qianbi*, 3 (1989): 44–45; Ye Shichang et al. (2009), p. 535. Altogether 33 Zhiyuan notes were found, 15 of 500 *wen*, 18 of 200 *wen*, in the tomb of Qian Yu 錢裕 (1247–1320) and his wife, located between the Longwang 龙王 and Yunzhang 崆嶂山 Mountains. The paper notes of grey colour had been put into a silken bag and placed within the clothes on the breast of Qian Yu's wife, whose death probably occurred not much later than that of Qian Yu. Qian Yu, apparently a wealthy landlord and merchant, was buried in 1321 at Jiazhangwugai Hill 甲丈坞亥山 in the Jun[?]zhang Mountains 崆嶂山 of Kaihua Community 开化乡, together with 154 funerary objects of gold, silver, jade, lacquer, silk and paper money, but with no pottery. When the tomb was excavated in 1960 the read seals on the surface and back of the notes could be still seen.

The figures for (b) are the average values of the data given for no. 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, and 15 of the 500 *wen* paper notes. For these eight paper notes we have complete data for the sizes of both the paper as well as of the printed area. See Feng Lirong (1989), p. 45. See also Wuxishi bowuguan 无锡市博物馆 (Wuxi City Museum), "Jiangsu Wuxishi Yuanmu zhong chutu yipi wenshu" 江苏无锡市元墓中出土一批文书 (Documents Excavated from a Yuan Tomb in Wuxi City of Jiangsu), *Wenwu* 文物 (Historical Relics), 12 (1964): 56, which give similar data (27.8, 18.9, 25.0, 16.4 cm).

The figures for (c) are the average values of the data given for no. 32 and 33 of the 200 *wen* paper notes. For these two paper notes we have complete data for the sizes of both the paper as well as of the printed area. See Feng Lirong (1989), p. 45. See also Wuxishi bowuguan (1964), p. 56, which has almost identical figures (24.0, 16.0, 22.3, 14.0).

For (d), i.e. the heights or lengths or the height-width-ratio of the individual 500 and 200 *guan* notes are based on photographies. Cf. *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 63, 66.

Also Ye Shichang et al. (2009), pp. 157, 162–164, depict notes from Wuxi, but their attribution to the data given in the table here are not clear.

– Xigazê (Shigatse): See Xizang zizhiqu wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 西藏自治区文物管理委员会 (Committee for the Administration of Cultural Relics of Tibet Autonomous Region), "Xizang Sajiasi faxian de Yuandai zhibi" 西藏萨迦寺发现的元代纸币 (Yuan Paper Notes Discovered in the Sagya Monastery in Tibet), *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics), 9 (1975): 32–34; Ye Shichang et al. (2009), p. 536. A Zhongtong 1 *guan* note and a Zhiyuan note were found in the Sagya Monastery in Xigazê in Tibet in 1959. The Zhiyuan paper note is not described in the record, because it had already been sent to the Museum of Chinese History (Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 中国历史博物馆). It is said that the paper of the Zhongtong note was made of mulberry bark and showed a greyish-black colour. The seal on the reverse side reads *Zhizheng yinzao yuanbao jiaochao* 至正印造元寶交鈔 or "Primordial-treasure Exchange Note printed in the Zhizheng [reign-period]," thus indicating that this note was printed in the the Zhizheng reign-period. As is typical for later Zhongtong notes in general, the inscriptions *Zhongtong yuanbao* 中統元寶 (Zhongtong Primordial Treasure) and *zhulu tongxing* 諸路通行 (to be circulated in all Routes) in the areas C and E are given both in Chinese and Phags-pa.
– Xianyang: These Zhongtong notes were discovered in Xianyang City in 1965 and are now preserved in the Xianyang City Museum. They were printed in the Zhizheng reign-period, hence in 1350 and later. See Cai Yonghua 蔡永华 and Ma Jianxi 马建熙, "Xianyang faxian de Yuandai zhibi" 咸阳发现的元代纸币 (Paper Money from the Yuan Period Discovered in Xianyang), *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古与文物 (Archaeology and Historical Relics), 3 (1980); *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 41–43, 49–50; Ye Shichang et al. (2009), pp. 132, 142–143, 535, 562–563.
– Yuanling: These Zhiyuan paper notes originate from the tomb of the wife of the Prefect Huang 黄公知州, i.e. Huang Chengcun 黄澄存, born in 1228 and buried in 1305. Hence they are the earliest verified Zhiyuan paper notes so far. Alltogether seven notes were found. They were found, folded three times, in a small purse. They are of greyish-black colour and said to be made of paper from silk floss, hemp and mulberry bark. Only the Zhiyuan 50 *wen* note is described in the article of Xiangjun and Shijian (probably pseudonyms). The tomb was located at Shuangqiao 双桥 in Yuanling District. The notes are now kept by the Yuanling District Museum 沅陵县博物馆. The excavation took place in 1985. See Xiangjun 湘军 and Shijian 石见, "Yuanling Yuanmu chutu Yuandai zhibi kaoshuo" 沅陵元墓出土元代纸币考说 (Yuan Paper Money Excavated from a Yuan Tomb in Yuanling), *Hunan wenwu* 湖南文物 (Hunan Historical Relics), 1 (1986): 36–38, 52; *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 6, 65, 70–73, 76; Ye Shichang et al. (2009), pp. 146, 149–151, 153, 536, 563.
– Yunxian: See Wang Zhenghua 王正华, Liu Shangjing 刘尚敬 and Liu Chaojin 刘朝金, "Yunxian faxian 'Zhiyuan tongxing baochao' shuangmian tongchaoban" 郧县发现 "至元通行宝钞" 双面铜钞版 (A Double Surface Bronze Plate of *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao* Discovered in Yunxian), *Jiang Han kaogu* 江汉考古 (Archaeology in the Yangzi and Hanshui River Valleys), 3 (1993): 96, 95; Wang Zhenghua王正华, "Hubei Yunxian faxian Yuandai 'Zhiyuan tongxing baochao' shuangmian tongchaoban" 湖北郧县发现元代 "至元通行宝钞" 双面铜钞版 (A Double Surface Bronze Plate of *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao* of the Yuan Period Discovered in Yunxian, Hubei), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu*, 1 (2003): 74–76; Ye Shichang et al. (2009), pp. 160, 170, 563. This is a double surface printing plate with a Zhiyuan 2 *guan* note on the one side and a Zhiyuan 500 *wen* note on the other. It is stored in the Yun District Museum (*Yunxian bowuguan* 郧县博物馆). The plate itself measures

27.5 cm in height and 19.5 cm in width, is 1.3 cm thick and weighs 3,150 g. The reports indicate that the printing plate is made out of brass! What is also strange is that for the 2 *guan* note the areas E and C, i.e. right and left of the copper cash depictions, are left empty. On the 500 *wen* note we can find, however, the usual Phags-pa inscriptions in the meaning of *Zhiyuan baochao* 至元寶鈔 (Zhiyuan Treasure Note) and *zhulu tongxing* 諸路通行 (to be circulated in all Routes). Moreover, for both the *ziliao* and *zihao* registrations fields characters are already provided by the printing plates, and not left empty for filling in by hand, as is usually the case. In the 2 *guan* plate the character *ba* 八 (eight) is still legible in the *ziliao* field, while the characters in the other registration fields are not legible anymore. With the exception of the legends in large characters, the text in small characters is hardly legible. A very similar double surface plate of 2 *guan* and 500 *wen* was excavated in Pingshan District 平山縣 of Hebei Province (cf. Hebeisheng bowuguan, Wenwu guanlichu 河北省博物馆，文物管理处 (Museum of Hebei Province and Cultural Relics Administration Office), "Hebei Pingshanxian faxian de 'Zhiyuan tongbao chao' tongban" 河北平山县发现的《至元通宝钞》铜板 (A Copper Plate for a "*Zhiyuan tongbao* Note" Discovered in Pingshan District in Hebei), *Kaoguo* 考古 (Archaeology), 1 (1973): 42; *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 142–143. With the exception of the *zihao* field of the 2 *guan* note bearing the character *yi* 一 (one), however, no characters can be discerned in the other registration fields. Moreover, both plates contain the usual Phags-pa inscriptions.

Notes:
With regard to the height and width of paper notes, the indications found in the literature sometimes lack precision. It seems that the measures often represent the height and width of the paper notes and not of the printed area. In the case of the printing plates the measures, however, seem to indicate the printing area only. Maeda Naonori, "Gen no shihei no yōshiki ni tsuite," p. 7, has pointed out correctly that taking the height and width of the paper notes may be problematic because of the lack in uniformity of the paper margins outside of the printed area and also because of the large differences in the quality of the Yuan paper note relics.

The entries with grey background refer to unclear, dubious, unofficial or counterfeited notes or plates, as they are to be found especially in the second part, called "Reference," of *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, pp. 133–143.

[a] (a), (b) etc. refers to different individual notes. The indices (0629)—(0666) link to the facsimile illustrations in Ye Shichang et al. (2009).
[b] *ws* refers to *wensheng* 文省 or "short-string" notes.
[c] In the case of figures of height and width of paper notes indicated by Ye Shichang et al. (2009), I followed these figures rather than those given by earlier scholars. The reason is that it seems to me that they represent more precise values. At any rate, the differences to the figures given by earlier reports are minor after all.
[d] In some cases the measures for height and width were not available, but at least the ratio between them could be ascertained on the basis of photographs or rubbings. It is clear that this involves some degree of imprecision because of the blurred and damaged state of many paper notes and also due to some distortion of the photographic pictures.
[e] The note is severely damaged in such a way that height or width cannot be measured anymore with precision.
[f] It is not clear whether these measures refer to the whole plate or the printed area only. Probably rather to the former only, because it would be strange to have the same sizes of the printed area for different denominations.
[g] The note is somewhat damaged so that a part is missing, which then may also distort somewhat the ratio between width and height. The figures are from Ye Shichang et al. (2009), p. 534.
[h] The original figure in inches given by Maeda Naonori must be a printing error. It was corrected according to his indication of the relation between the height and width of the printed area of the paper note.
[i] According to the photograph in *Zhongguo guchao tuji*, p. 135, the ratio would rather be 0.648.

Table 27. Preserved data of annual revenues of various tax categories in monies, metals and kinds and expenditures in paper money in Mongol China, 1263–1329

Year	Grain taxes *shuiliang* 稅糧		Household taxes *kechai* 科差				
	Grain *liang* 糧 *shi* 石	Sommer tax *xiashui* 夏稅 ***ding* 錠**	Silk yarn *si* 絲 *jin* 斤	Silk cloth *juan* 絹 *pi* 匹 (bolts)	*baoyinchao* 抱銀鈔 ***ding* 錠**	Cowries *ba* 貝 *suo* 索 (strings)	Silk floss *mian* 綿 *jin* 斤
1263			712,171		**56,158**		
1265			986,912		**56,874**		
1266			1,053,226		**59,085**		
1267			1,096,489		**78,126**		
1269	over 1,000,000						
1270							
1276							
1277							
1278							
1281							
1284	290,500[a]						
1286	578,520[a]						
1289	935,000[a]						
1290	1,595,000[a]						
1291	1,527,250[a]						
1292	1,407,400[a]						
towards 1295							
1295	345,000[a]						
1298	742,751[a]						
1307	1,665,422[a]						
1308	1,240,148[a]						
1311	2,873,212[a]						
1313	2,317,228[a]						
1318	2,553,714[a]						
1328	12,114,708	**149,274**[b]	1,098,843	350,530	**989**	1,133,119	72,015
1329	10,960,053		884,450[f]	407,500			70,645

Table 27 (*cont.*)

Cloth *bu* 布 *pi* 匹, (bolts)	Salt levies *yanke* 鹽課 *ding* 錠	Tea levies *chake* 茶課 *ding* 錠	Liquor and vinegar levies *jiucuke* 酒醋課		Commercial taxes *shangshui* 商稅 *ding* 錠	Non-quota levies *ewaike* 額外課 *ding* 錠
			Paper money *ding* 錠	Cowries *suo* 索 (strings)		
85,412						
					450,000	
		1,200				
		2,300				
		6,600				
		24,000				
		40,000				
			250,000			
	1,700,000					
		80,300				
		171,131				
		192,866				
		250,000				
211,223	7,661,000	289,211[c]	491,755[d]	201,117[e]	939.682	212,835
407,500						

Table 27 (*cont.*)

Year	Annual [monopoly] levies *suike* 歲課						
	Copper *tong* 銅	Iron *tie* 鐵		Lead and tin *qian xi* 鉛錫		Alum *fan* 礬	Nitre and sodium carbonate *xiao jian* 硝鹼
	jin 斤	***ding* 錠**	*jin* 斤	***ding* 錠**	*jin* 斤	***ding* 錠**	***ding* 錠**
1263							
1265							
1266							
1267							
1269							
1270							
1276							
1277							
1278							
1281							
1284							
1286							
1289							
1290							
1291							
1292							
towards 1295							
1295							
1298							
1307							
1308							
1311							
1318							
1328	2,380	**1,880**	884,543	**937**	1,798	**2,249**	**26**
1329							

					Total revenue in paper money	Total expenditures in paper money
Bamboo and wood *zhu mu* 竹木	Bamboo *zhu* 竹	Wood planks *banmu* 板木	Gold *jin* 金	Silver *yin* 銀		
***ding* 錠**	*gan* 竿 (poles)	*tiao* 條 (pieces)	*liang* 兩[g]		***ding* 錠**	***ding* 錠**
					932,600[h]	
					2,987,305	**over 3,638,543**
			19,000	100,000[i]	**3,600,000**	
					4,000,000	**over 5,200,000**
						over 8,200,000
						16,000,000 –17,000,000
13,550	269,695	58,600	24,450	77,460	**9,663,790**[j]	
			16,350	58,450	**9,297,800**	

Sources: Yuanshi, vol. 8, chap. 93, pp. 2360–2361, 2363, 2366–2369; chap. 94, pp. 2392–2401, 2404–2407; Schurmann (1956), pp. 80, 101–102, 123–125, 186, 197–199, 210–211, 238–242; Chen Gaohua 陈高华 and Shi Weimin 史卫民, *Zhongguo jingji tongshi: Yuandai jingjishi* 中国经济通史: 元代经济史 (Comprehensive Economic History of China: Economic History of the Yuan Period), Beijing: Jingji ribao chubanshe, 2000, pp. 753–757; Franke (1949), pp. 132, 134, 137–138.

Notes:
Tax revenue collected in paper money is marked in bold script.
[a] These figures refer to tribute grain shipments only. The total grain taxes in kind were considerably larger.
[b] This concerns the following Branch Secretariats:

Jiangzhe	57,830.80 *ding*
Jiangxi	52,895.20 *ding*
Huguang	19,378.04 *ding*

This would total 130,103 *ding*. The *Yuanshi*, vol. 8, chap. 93, p. 2361, gives, however a total of 149,273.60 *ding*.
[c] Representing the value of 1320.
[d] 469,159.40 *ding* of liquor levies and 22,595.70 *ding* of vinegar levies.
[e] Liquor levies only.
[f] Franke has 834,405 *jin*.
[g] The original figures were given in *ding* of gold and silver and were converted here into *liang* (1 *ding* = 50 *liang*) of gold and silver in order that the *ding* of precious metals are not confounded with the *ding* of paper money.
[h] It was Lu Shirong's 盧世榮 (executed in 1285) target to increase these 932,600 *ding* of total annual levies to 3,000,000 *ding*. This was, however, not reached, at least not in 1285, as we know from Franke's detailed analysis of Lu Shirong's efforts at overhauling the Yuan financial system during the years 1284–1285. See Franke (1949), pp. 60–76, especially 64, 71, 73. That this target was reached later, in 1292, was rather a result of the depreciation of the paper currency than of an increase in tax and levies revenue.
[i] See Franke (1949), p. 134. Chen Gaohua and Shi Weimin (2000), p. 754, have only 60,000 *liang*.
[j] Chen Gaohua and Shi Weimin's (2000) (p. 755) total amount differs by 30,000 as they give only 9,633,790 *ding* of total income in paper money. Franke (1949, p. 138) gives a total figure of 9,890,000 *ding*. When adding up all the concrete figures listed in this line for 1328, the result is, however, 9,763,338 *ding*. With the silver and gold taxes converted to paper money, the result would be 9,828,585 *ding* of paper money, an amount near to that of Franke. The difference between all these figures is not large and thus does not constitute a substantial problem, especially in view of the fact that actual annual tax income fluctuated to a certain degree above or below the stipulated quota.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Marco Polo Editions[1]

Allulli, Ranieri, *Marco Polo: Il Milione*, Milano: Alpes, 1928. An edition that is only interested in historical and geographical details, but void of any critical textual approach.

Aquí empieza el libro de Micer Marco Polo dónde se explican las maravillas del mundo. Texto íntegro en francés moderno gracias a los trabajos de M. G. Pauthier sobre los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional de París, en versión castellana de A. Cardona y G. Gilbert con 84 ilustraciones ejecutadas para el Duque de Borgoña en 1399 y un estudio preliminar de A. Cardona sobre la obra y su historia, Barcelona: Círculo del Bibliófilo, 1978.

Badel, Pierre-Yves, *Marco Polo: La description du monde*, Paris: Le livre de Poche (Lettres gothiques; 4551), 1998. This is a modern edition of the early French ms. fr. 5649 of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. It belongs to the sub-family B—that is B4, of the early French manuscripts.

Baldelli Boni, Giovanni Battista, *Il Milione di Marco Polo*, Firenze: Pagani, 1827. This is an edition based on the Tuscan TA[1] version, i.e. MS II, IV, 88, of the Bibliotheca Nazionale di Firenze (before Magliab. XIII, 104; provenienza: Crusca 18), which was also entitled the "Ottimo," though being far from being the "best" Tuscan version. Badelli's edition is not free of mistakes. Moreover, in order to mend problems of TA[1], he unfortunately took recourse to the Tuscan version TB[6] (Magliab. XIII, 73), which, however, does not belong to the TA familiy, but to the later TB family, which itself derives from a Venetian-Emilian VA rendering.

Barbieri, Alvaro, *Marco Polo, Milione: Redazione latina del manoscritto Z, versione italiana a fronte*, Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo / Ugo Guanda, 1998. Contains a modern transcription of a copy of the Latin Z manuscript stored in the Cathedral Library of Toledo (see Moule and Pelliot (1938)) as well as an appendix on the passages suppressed by the Z version. The copy (MS Y 160 P. S. of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milano) was ordered by Giuseppe Toaldo (1719–1798) in 1795.

Barbieri, Alvaro (2004c), "La prima attestazione della versione VA del Milione (ms. 3999 della Biblioteca Casanatense di Roma)," in his *Dal viaggo al libro: Studi sul* Milione, pp. 93–127. A modern fundamental edition of the Venetian V[1] fragment. For a former edition see Pelaez (1906).

Barbieri, Alvaro, and Alvise Andreose, with the collaboration of Marina Mauro and a preface of Lorenzo Renzi, *Marco Polo, Il "Milione" veneto: ms. CM 211 della Biblioteca Civica di Padova*, Venezia: Marsilio, 1999. This is a modern and fundamental version of the only integral manuscript of the Venetian VA family. See also Olmo (1986–1987).

Bartoli, Adolfo, *I viaggi di Marco Polo*, Firenze: Le Monnier, 1863. Basically a remake of Baldelli Boni (1827), but also mending the text TA[1] by using the F version as available in Roux de Rochelle (1824) and other TA versions. Contains numerous problems and mistakes.

Battaglia Ricci, Lucia, *Marco Polo: Milione*, Milano: Sansoni, 2001. A reproduction of the Tuscan edition TA[2] of Bertolucci Pizzorusso (1975), but without critical apparatus.

Bellonci, Maria, *Il Milione*, Torino: Edizione Rai Radiotelevisione Italiana, 1982; Milano: Mondadori (Oscar classici), 1990. This is a version written in Italian.

[1] Remarks on the various editions are mainly based on Barbieri, "Quale 'Milione'?. . .," in his *Dal viaggo al libro: Studi sul* Milione, pp. 67–89.

Benedetto, Luigi Foscolo, *Marco Polo, Il Milione*, Firenze: L. S. Olschki (Comitato geografico nazionale italiano; 3), 1928. This is a modern integral version, but mainly based on the manuscript ms. fr. 1116 (F) of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

——, *Il Milione: Il libro di Messer Marco Polo dove sai raconta le Meraviglie del Mondo*, Milano-Roma: Treves-Treccani-Tumminelli, 1932. An *editio minor* of the Marco Polo text of 1928 destined for a larger public.

Bernardi, Katia, *Il "Milione" veneto del ms. 557 della Bibliotheca Civica di Berna*, Tesi di laurea, Università di Padova, 1993–1994. An edition of the Venetian version V^5, i.e. MS 557 of the Bürgerbibliothek of Bern, inferior to the text V^3, i.e. MS CM 211 of the Biblioteca Civica di Padova (see Barbieri and Andreose (1999)).

Bertolucci Pizzorusso, Valeria, *Marco Polo, Milione. Versione toscana del Trecento*, Milano: Adelphi Edizioni, 1975, 1982. This is the fundamental edition of the Tuscan TA^2 version, based on MS II, IV, 136, of the Bibliotheca Nazionale di Firenze (before Magliab. XIII, 69; provenienza: Strozzi 378), a much superior edition than TA^1, unjustifiedly called the "Best" ("Ottimo," see Baldelli Boni (1827)). Also contains the helpful "Indice ragionato" of Giorgio Cardona. A transcription of the Tuscan rendering is also available on http://it.wikisource.org/wiki/Milione (accessed March 1, 2012).

Blanchard, Joël, and Michel Quereuil, *Voyages à travers la China*, in Philippe Ménard (ed.), *Marco Polo: Le devisement du monde*, Genève: Librairie Droz S.A. (Textes littéraires français), vol. 4, 2005.

Boivin, Jeanne Marie, Laurence Harf-Lancner, and Laurence Mathey-Maille, *Traversée de l'Afghanistan et entrée en China*, in Philippe Ménard (ed.), *Marco Polo: Le devisement du monde*, Genève: Librairie Droz S.A. (Textes littéraires français), vol. 2, 2003.

Boutet, Dominique, Thierry Delcourt, and Danièle James-Raoul, *Livre d'Yinde; Retour vers l'Occident*, in Philippe Ménard (ed.), *Marco Polo: Le devisement du monde*, Genève: Librairie Droz S.A. (Textes littéraires français), vol. 6, 2009.

Bürk, August, Die *Reisen des Venezianers Marco Polo im dreizehnten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1845. German edition based on Ramusio and the commentaries of Marsden, Baldelli Boni and Ritter.

Buongiorno, Teresa, *Il romanzo di Marco Polo*, Milano: Rusconi, 1980.

Charignon, Antoine Joseph Henri, *Le livre de Marco Polo, citoyen de Venise, conseiller privé et commissaire impérial de Khoubilaï Khaân, rédigé en Français sous sa dictée en 1298 par Rusticien de Pise, revu et corrigé par Marco Polo lui même en 1307*, publié par G. Pauthier en 1867, traduit en français moderne et annoté d'après les sources chinoises par A. J. H. Charignon, Pékin: Nachbaur, 1924.

Chênerie, Marie-Luce, Michèle Guéret-Laferté et Philippe Ménard, *Départ des voyageurs et traversée de la Perse*, in Philippe Ménard (ed.), *Marco Polo: Le devisement du monde*, Genève: Librairie Droz S.A. (Textes littéraires français), vol. 1, 2001.

Ciccuto, Marcello, *Marco Polo: Il Milione*, Milano: Rizzoli, 1981, repr. Milano: Fabri Editori (La Grande Letteratura Italiana), 2006.

De consuetudinibus et condicionibus orientalium regionum, e uulgari in Latinum traductus per fratrem Franciscum de Pepuris de Bononia, as transcribed in Juan Gil, *El libro de Marco Polo: Ejemplar anotado por Cristobal Colón y que se conserva en la Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina de Sevilla*, Madrid: Testimonio, 1986. The annotations of Columbus were made in one of the many manuscripts derived from Pipino's rendering.

De consuetudinibus et conditionibus orientalium regionum, Gouda: Gerard Leeu, between 1483 and June 11, 1484. Copy held by the British Library, London; available as a microfilm in the Tabularium of the Central Library of the Catholic University of Leuven.

De Klerk, Jan, and Henri Willem Wijsman, *Marco Polo's boek over de wonderen van de wereld: Toelichtingen bij de miniaturen, de tekst en de historische achtergronden aan de hand van 86 folio's van het handschrift van het Livre des merveilles van Marco Polo bewaard in de Bibliothèque nationale de France te Parijs (manuscrit français 2810); met een inleiding en een nawoord over het handschrift en de historische context*, 's-Hertogenbosch: Stichting Erasmus Festival, 2008.

Delclos, Jean-Claude, and Claude Roussel, *A travers la Chine du Sud*, in Philippe Ménard (ed.), *Marco Polo: Le devisement du monde*, Genève: Librairie Droz S.A. (Textes littéraires français), vol 5, 2006.

Delle maravigliose cose del mondo, Venice: Johannes Baptista Sessa, 13 June 1496. Copy held by the British Library, London, a microfilm of which is available in the Tabularium of the Central Library of the Catholic University of Leuven.

——, Brescia: Baptista Farfengus, 20 December 1500. Copy held by the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino; available as a microfilm in the Tabularium of the Central Library of the Catholic University of Leuven.

Description géographique des provinces & villes plus fameuses de l'Inde Orientale, meurs, loix, & coustumes des habitans d'icelles, mesmement de ce qui est soubz la domination du grand Cham Empereur des Tartares / par Marc Paule, gentilhomme Venetien, et nouvellement reduict en vulgaire François, Paris: Iehan Longis, 1556. See http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k52228d/f2 (accessed March 1, 2012). Cf also the edition Paris: Estienne Groulleau, 1556. See http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k842244 (accessed March 1, 2012).

Dinale, Maria Teresa, *Il Milione veneto del ms. 1924 della Bibliotheca Riccarsiana di Firenze*, Tesi di laurea, Università di Padova, 1989–1990. A modern edition of the mutilated Venetian rendering V^2, i.e., MS 1924 of the Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze.

El libro dl famoso Marco paulo veneciano dlas cosas merauillosas q vido enlas partes oriētales. conuiene saber enlasindias. Armenia Arabia. Persia r Tartaria. E del poderio del gran Can y otros reyes. Cō otro tratado de Micer pogio florētino que trata delas mesmas tierras r yslas, Facsimile ed. Coruña: Editorial Orbigo, 2008. This is the first translation into Spanish by Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella.

Esteves Pereira, Francisco Maria, *Marco Paulo o livro de Marco Paulo—o livro de Nicolao Veneto—carta de Jerónimo de Santo Estevam, conforme a impressão de Valentim Fernandes, feita em Lisboa em 1502; com tres fac-similes, introdução e índices*, Lisboa: Oficinas Gráficas da Biblioteca Nacional (Publicações da Biblioteca Nacional, Reimpressões II), 1922. An edition of the Portuguese translation published by Valentim Fernandes in 1502. It followed Pipino's text.

Eusebi, Mario, *Il manoscritto della Bibliothèque Nationale de France Fr. 1116; I, Il testo*, Roma and Padova: Editrice Antenore (Biblioteca Veneta; Poliana: Documenti per l'edizione integrale del libro di Marco Polo; 1), 2010. The latest modern edition of the Franco-Italian manuscript F.

Faucon, Jean-Claude, Danielle Quéruel and Monique Santucci, *L'empereur Khoubilai Khan*, in Philippe Ménard (ed.), *Marco Polo: Le devisement du monde*, Genève: Librairie Droz S.A. (Textes littéraires français), vol. 3, 2004.

Frampton, John, *The most noble and famous trauels of Marcus Paulus, one of the nobilitie of the state of Venice, into the East partes of the world, as Armenia, Persia, Arabia, Tartary, with many other kingdoms and Prouinces. No lesse pleasant, than profitable, as appeareth by the Table, or Contents of this Booke. Most necessary for all sortes of Persons, and especially for Trauellers. Translated into English*, At London: Printed by [H. Bynneman for] Ralph Nevvbery, Anno. 1579. Available on "Early English Books Online." Frampton's first English printed version of 1579 follows the Spanish printed version of Santaella of 1518 and is thus as short as this second Santaella translation.

Fulquet y Puig, José María, *Libro de las Cosas Maravillosas de Marco Polo (1477)*, Madrid: Gráficas Ultra (Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles), 1947. This is a modern edition of the Spanish rendering of Santaella which was based on a later version (VA^2) of the Venetian manuscript family VA.

Gallina, Annamaria, *Viatges de Marco Polo: Versió catalana del segle XIV*, Barcelona: Editorial Barcino (Els nostres clàssics; A 85), 1958. This is a modern edition of a very short and defective Catalan version (cod. 2048 of the Bibliotheca Riccardiana) of the fourteenth century.

Gallo, Rodolfo, *Marco Polo: Delle cosa de'Tartari e dell'Indie Orientali nella versione di Gio Battista Ramusio*, Venezia, 1954.

Gennari, Pamela, "'Milione,' redazione VB: Edizione critica commentata," PhD diss., Venezia, Università Ca'Foscari, 2008–2009. See http://dspace.unive.it/handle/10579/937 (accessed February 29, 2012).

Gil, Juan, *El libro de Marco Polo: Ejemplar anotado por Cristobal Colón y que se conserva en la Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina de Sevilla* (Edicion, traduccion y estudios de Juan Gil; presentacion de Francisco Morales Padron), Madrid: Testimonio, 1986. An authoritative study on the annotations of Christopher Columbus to the Marco Polo text, which were made in one of the many Latin manuscripts derived from Pipino's rendering. Gil is the leading expert on this topic.

——, *El libro de Marco Polo anotado por Cristóbal Colón; El libro de Marco Polo, versión de Rodrigo de Santaella*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1987.

Giovannini, Luigi, *Marco Polo: Il Milione, con le postille di Cristoforo Colombo*, Roma: Edizioni Paolone, 1985. A very defective edition and investigation on the annotations of Columbus to the Marco Polo text.

Glazemaker, Jan Hendrik, *Markus Paulus Venetus*, Reisen, en beschryving der Oostersche lantschappen*; Daar in hy naarkeuriglijk veel Landen en Steden, di hy zelf ten meestendeel bereist en bezichtigt heeft, beschrijft, de zeden en gewoonten van die Volken, tot aan die tijd onbekent, ten toon stelt, en d'opkoomst van de Heerschappy der Tartaren, en hun verövering van verscheide landen in Sina, met ander namen genoemt, bekent maakt. Beneffens de* Historie der Oostersche lantschappen, *door Haithon van Armenien te zamen gestelt. Beide nieuwelijks door J. H. Glazemaker vertaalt. Hier is noch by gevoegt* De reizen van Nicolaus Venetus*, en* Jeronymus van St. Steven *naar d'Oostersche landen, en naar d'Indien. Door P.P. vertaalt. Als ook een Verhaal van de verovering van't Eilant Formosa, door de Sinezen; door J.V.K.B. vertaalt. Met kopere platen verciert*, t'Amsterdam: Voor Abraham Wolfgang, 1664. Copy held by Leiden University Library, 459 B17. Glazemaker's Dutch rendering of Marco Polo's text is clearly based on Grynäus' Latin edition. See *Marci Pavli Veneti de regionibus orientalibus*.

Granieri, Maria Gabriella, "Il 'Milione' di Marco Polo: Redazione veneta del scritto Donà delle Rose," Tesi di laurea, Università di Padova, 1989–1900.

Hambis, Louis, *La description du monde; Texte intégral en Français moderne avec introduction et notes*, Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1955. This is a simplified French version of Moule and Pelliot (1938), compounding all the problems of the integral edition of the latter two authors.

Heers, Jacques, *Marco Polo*, Paris: Fayard, 1983.

Hie hebt sich an das puch des edeln Ritters vnd landtfarers Marcho Polo, in dem er schreibt die grossen wunderlichen ding dieser welt, Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 1477. Copy held by the London British Library; available as a microfilm in the Tabularium of the Central Library of the Catholic University of Leuven. Like the Admont manuscript, this text is based on a second Tuscan Marco Polo version (TB) and its rendering into Latin (LA). The second Tuscan version itself derived from the Venetian VA text family. For an electronic version see http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?set[mets]=http%3A%2F%2Fdaten.digitale-sammlungen.de%2F~db%2Fmets%2Fbsb00004552_mets.xml (accessed March 1, 2012).

Historia de las grandezas y cosas marauillosas de las Prouincias Orientales. Sacada de Marco Paulo Veneto, y traduzida de Latin en Romance, y aňadida en muchas partes por Don Martin de Bolea y Castro, Varon de Clamofa, seňor de la Villa de Sietamo. Dirigida a Don Beltran de la Cueba, Duque de Alburquerque, Marques de Cuellar, Conde de Ledesma y Guelma, Lugarteniente, y Capitan General por su Magestad, en el Reyno de Aragon, Con Licencia, en Caragoça: Por Angelo Tauano, Aňo. M. DCI. (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, R. 1055). Based on the text of Grynäus. See *Marci Pavli Veneti de regionibus orientalibus*.

Hoang-Thi, Kim Loan, "Edition critique de la version française du livre de Marco Polo (les deux premières parties)," Positions des thèses de l'École des Chartes, 1967.

Kappler, René, *Marco Polo: La description du monde*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale Editions, 2004.

Komroff, Manuel, *The Travels of Marco Polo [the Venetian]*, with illustrations by Withold Gordon, Garden City, New York: Garden City Publishing Co. 1926, 1930.

Kosta-Théfaine, Jean-François, "Étude et édition du manuscrit de New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 723, f. 71–107, *Du devisement du monde* de Marco Polo," PhD diss., Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, 2002. This is an edition of a manuscript belonging to the sub-family A, that is, A4, of the early French manuscripts.

Lanza, Antonio, *Marco Polo: Il Milione*, Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1980. A re-edition of the fundamental Tuscan TA² version based on Bertolucci Pizzorusso (1975). Contains some modifications and a perceptive introduction of Giorgio Manganelli.

Latham, Ronald, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, London: Penguin, 1958, repr. New York: Abaris Books, 1982.

Le Livre de Marco Polo: Fac-simile d'un manuscrit du XIV^e^ siècle conservé a la Bibliothèque Royale de Stockholm, Stockholm: photolithographie par l'Institut Lithographique de l'État Major; typographie par l'Imprimerie Centrale, 1882. This is a text belonging to the sub-family C1 of the early French texts. It is held by the Kungliga Biblioteket in Stockholm (Cod. Holm. M 304). On this manuscript see now the edition and study of Overbeck (2003).

Libro del famoso Marco Polo veneciano: Edición en facsímile de la impresa en Logroño por Miguel de Eguía (1529), San Millán de la Cogolla: Cilengua, 2007. Santaella's printed Spanish version of 1529.

López-Vidriero, María Luisa, *Delle meravigliose cose del mondo: estudio y traducción de la edición véneta de 1496*, Valencia and Madrid: Vicent Garcia and Patrimonio Nacional, 1997. A Spanish translation of the Sessa printed version of 1496.

Marci Pauli Veneti, Historici fidelisimi juxta ac praestantissimi, de regionibus orientalibus Libri III: Cum Codice Manuscripto Bibliothecae Electoralis Brandenburgicae collati, exq; eo adjectis Notis plurimùm tum suppleti tum illustrati. Accedit, propter cognationem materiae, haithoni armeni historia orientalis: quae & de tartaris inscribitur; Itemque Andreae Mulleri, Greissenhagii, de Chataja, cujus praedictorum Auctorum uterque mentionem facit, Disquisitio; inque ipsum Marcum Paulum Venetum praefatio, & locupletissimi indices, Coloniae Brandenburgicae: Ex Officina Georgii Schulzii, Typogr. Elect. Anno M. DC. LXXI. This is a reworking of the Grynäus text carried out and published by Andreas Müller in 1671. It includes modifications on the basis of a Pipino manuscript preserved in Berlin. See http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10358895_00001.html and http://books.google.de (accessed March 1, 2012).

Marci Pavli Veneti de regionibus orientalibus, in Simon Grynäus (1493–1541), *Novvus orbi regionvm ac insvlarvm veteribvs incognitarvm, . . .*, Basileae: apvd Io. Hervagivum, 1532. Available on the database "Western Books on China" of the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin). This is a printed Latin version based on the Pipino text.

Marco Polo; Le livre des merveilles, manuscrit français 2810 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris—Das Buch der Wunder. Handschrift Français 2810 der Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, with commentaries from François Avril, Marie-Thérèse Gousset, Jacques Monfrin, Jean Richard and Marie-Hélène Tesnière, and with a contribution from Thomas Reimer, Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 1995–1996. This manuscript is famous for its many illustrations. It belongs to the sub-family A, i.e. A2, of the early French manuscripts.

Marsden, William, *Marco Polo: The Travels*, London: Dent, 1908.

Mazzali, Ettore, *Marco Polo; Milione*, Milano: Garzanti, 1982; Torino: La stampa, 2003.

Ménard, Philippe (ed.), *Marco Polo: Le devisement du monde*, Genève: Librairie Droz, 5 vols., 2001–2006. A modern authoritative edition based on the early French manuscript version B1 preserved in the British Library, but taking into account all the other early French versions as well as all the other important manuscripts, i.e. the Franco-Italian (F²), Tuskan (TA), Venetian (VA), Pippino and Toledo (Z) renderings.

Moule, Arthur Christopher, and Paul Pelliot, *Marco Polo: The Description of the World*, 2 vols., London: George Routledge, 1938. The first volume is an integral version based on the Franco-Italian manuscript F, but with the addition of material from eighteen other manuscripts. As Barbieri concluded, this integral version is, however, seriously defective, because the choice in the inclusion of additional materials is both arbitrary and uncritical. The second volume contains also a transcription, though illegible in Barbieri's view, of the Latin Z manuscript (MS Zelada 49.20) stored in the Cathedral Library of Toledo. For a modern transcription of the copy ordered by Giuseppe Toaldo (1719–1798) in 1795 see Barbieri (1998).

Nitti, John J., *Juan Fernández de Heredia's Aragonese Version of the "Libro de Marco Polo,"* Madison: Advisory Board of the Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies (Dialect Series; 1), 1980. A modern edition based on a manuscript stored in the Real Bibliotheca de San Lorenzo del Escorial (Ms. Z. I. 2 (I.c.3 y I.≡4). Like the Catalan version it derives from a now lost Catalan archetype and represents a much abbreviated version of Marco Polo's text.

Nordenskiöld, Nils Adolf Erik, *Le livre de Marco Polo: Facsimile d'un manuscrit du XIV^e^ siècle conservé à la Bibliothèque Royale de Stockholm*, Stockholm: Imprimerie Centrale, 1882. This text belongs to the sub-family C, that is C1, of the early French manuscripts. For a modern edition see Overbeck (2003).

Of the Marco Polo Itinerarum, Antverpiae 1485, National Diet Library, Tokyo: Otsuka Kogeisha Ltd., 1949. This is Pipino's rendering, i.e. *De consuetudinibus et conditionibus orientalium regionum*.

Olivieri, Dante, "La lingua di varî testi veneti del *'Milione'*," in *Miscellanea di studi critici in onore di V. Crescini*, Cividale: Tip. Fratelli Stagni, 1927, pp. 501–522.

——, *Marco Polo: Il Milione*, Bari: Laterza, 1928. An erroneous and problematic version based on Bartoli (1863) and with additions and corrections from the Venetian text family.

Olmo, Ysabel, *Il "Milione" veneto del ms. CM 211 della Biblioteca Civica di Padova, Edizione interpretativa e studio linguistico*, Tesi di laure, Università di Padova, 1986–1987. This is a modern edition of the only integral manuscript of the Venetian VA family. See also Barbieri and Andreose (1999).

Ortalli, Gherardo, *Il Milione di Marco Polo*, Milano: Gruppo ART'È, 2004. This is a re-edition of the Tuscan text, with a large introductory essay and commentaries.

Overbeck, Anja, *Literarische Skripta in Ostfrankreich: Edition und sprachliche Analyse einer französischen Handschrift des Reiseberichts von Marco Polo (Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Cod. Holm. M 304)*, Trier: Kliomedia (Trierer Historische Forschungen; 51), 2003. This text belongs to the sub-family C, i.e. C4, of the early French manuscripts.

Pauthier, Guillaume, *Le livre de Marco Polo, citoyen de Venise, conseiller privé et commissaire impérial de Khoubilaï Khaân, rédigé en Français sous sa dictée en 1298 par Rusticien de Pise*, Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et C., Imprimeurs de l'Institut de France, 1865. Based on the early French manuscript A1, but also supplemented with information coming from the almost identical Ms. A2 (B.N.F. fr. 2810) of 1407, the much more deficient Ms. B4 (B.N.F. fr. 5649) of the second half of the fifteenth century, and the text of the Franco-Italian (F) version. Available on http://books.google.de (accessed March 1, 2012).

Pelaez, Mario, "Un nuovo testo veneto del 'Milione' di Marco Polo," *Studi romanzi*, 4 (1906): 5–65. The first edition of the Venetian VA[1] fragment of the MS 3999 of the Biblioteca Casanatense di Roma, not free of mistakes. For a modern edition see Barbieri (2004c).

Penzer, Norman Mosley, *The Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marco Polo, together with the Travels of Nicolò de' Conti, Edited from the Elizabethan Translation of John Frampton; with Introduction, Notes and Appendixes*, London: Argonaut, 1929.

Ponchiroli, Daniele, *Il libro di Marco Polo detto Milione*, Torino: Einaudi, 1954. Contains a fine introduction of Daniele Ponchiroli, but as an edition not original in its approach.

Prášek, Justin V., *Marka Pavlova z Benátek; Milion: Dle jediného rukopisu spolu s příslušným základem latinským*, Prag: Nákladem České Akademie Císaře Františka Josefa pro Vědy, Slovesnost a Umění, 1902. For a digitalised version of this edition see http://www20.us.archive.org/stream/markapavlovazbeooprgoog/markapavlovazbeooprgoog_djvu.txt. This is an edition of Pipino's rendering which is based on the Venetian VA family. For a digitalised version of one of the manuscripts based on Pipino see Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. Weissenb. 40, fol. 7ff., http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=mss/40-weiss (accessed March 1, 2012).

Ramusio, Giovanni Battista, *Secondo volume Delle navigationi et viaggi Nel quale si contengono L'historia delle cose de'Tartari, & diversi fatti de'loro imperatori, descritta da m. Marco Polo gentilhuomo venetiano, et da Hayton Armeno. Varie descrittioni di diuersi autori . . .*, Venedig: Stamparia Giunti, 1559. See http://books.google.de (accessed February 29, 2012).

——, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, ed. by Marica Milanesi, Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1980, vol. 3.

Ronchi, Gabriella, *Marco Polo, Milione. Le divisament dou monde: Il Milione nelle redazioni toscana e franco-italiana*, with a preface of Cesare Segre, 2nd ed. Milano: Mondadori (I meridiani), 1988. The Franco-Italian version is based on the manuscript ms. fr. 1116 of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and corrects the integral version of Benedetto here and there. The Tuscan version is a reproduction of the edition TA² of Bertolucci Pizzorusso (1975), but without critical apparatus. A transcription of the Tuscan rendering is also available on http://it.wikisource.org/wiki/Milione (accessed March 1, 2012).

Roux de Rochelle, Jean Baptiste Gaspard, *Voyages de Marco Polo*, Paris: Everat, 1824. This is the earliest modern edition of the ms. fr. 1116 of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, now superseded by the editions of Benedetto (1928), Ronchi (1988), and Eusebi (2010).

Ruggieri, Ruggero M., *Marco Polo, Il Milione: Introduzione, edizione del testo toscano ("Ottimo"), note illustrative, esegetiche, linguistiche, repertori onomastici e lessicali*, Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore (Biblioteca dell' "Archivium Romanicum," Serie I—Storia—Letteratura—Paleografia; 200), 1986. An attempt at re-establishing the "Ottimo" or TA¹ rendering as the base text of the TA family.

Simion, Samuela, "Il 'Milione' secondo il manoscritto Hamilton 244 della Staatsbibliothek di Berlino: Edizione critica," PhD diss. Venezia, Università Ca'Foscari, 2007–2008.

Steidl, Nicole, *Marco Polos "Heydnische Chronik": Die mitteldeutsche Bearbeitung des "Divisament dou monde" nach der Admonter Handschrift Cod. 504*, Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2010.

Stokes, Whitley, "The Gaelic Abridgement of the Book of Marco Polo," *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 1 (1897): 245–273, 362–438.

Stuebe, R., *El Libro de Marco Polo, aus dem Vermächtnis des Dr. Hermann Knust, nach der Madrider Handschrift*, Leipzig: Dr. Seele & Co 1902. For a newer edition of this Aragon manuscript version see John F. Nitti. For a digitalised version of Stuebe's rendering see http://home.us.archive.org/stream/ellibrodemarcopoooopolo/ellibrodemarcopoooopolo_djvu.txt.

Valentinetti Mendi, Angélica, *Marco Polo—Libro del Famoso Marco Polo; Libro de le Cose Mirabile*, Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2008. An edition of Santalla's printed Spanish version of 1529.

——, *Una familia veneta del Libro de Marco Polo*, Madrid: Editorial de la Universidad Complutense, Facultad de Filología, Departamento de Filología Italiana, 1992. This book contains the modern editions of two texts belonging to the sub-family VA² of the Venetian family VA. One manuscript is held by the Municipal Library in Lucca; the other, a Sicilian rendering, in the Biblioteca Capitular of Sevilla.

Von Tscharner, Horst, *Der mitteldeutsche Marco Polo nach der Admonter Handschrift*, Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1935. Based on the second Tuscan Marco Polo family (TB) and its rendering into Latin (LA). This second Tuscan version itself is derived, however, from the Venetian VA text family.

Yule, Henry, *The Travels of Marco Polo: The Complete Yule-Cordier Edition*, 1903, repr. New York: Dover Publications, 1993. This English edition is based on Phautier's (1868) work, but has also integrated the Franco-Italian manuscript ms. fr. 1116 and additional passages of Ramusio. In spite of its age, it is still worthwhile to be consulted because of its many annotations. Available on http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks (accessed March 1, 2012).

Zambon, A., " 'De condicionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum': Il 'Marco Polo' di fra'Pipino nella lezione del ms. Riccardiano 983; Editione e studio del testo," tesi di Laurea magistrale, Padova, Università degli Studi, 2009–2010.

Zolesi, Ettore, *Marco Polo: Dall'opera di G. B. Ramusio (Venezia 1559) narrata nell'italiano d'oggi*, Roma: Editoriale epoca, 1982.

Zorzi, Alvise, Fabrizio Lollini, Marcello Brusegan and Monica Centanniet (eds.), *Il Milione*, Firenze: Vallecchi (I libri delle meraviglie), 1999.

2. Other Primary Sources

Afshar, Iraj, *Khitaynama: sharh-i mushahidat-i Saiyid 'Ali Akbar Khita'i* (The Book on China: The Eyewitness Report of 'Ali Akbar Khita'i), Tehran: Markaz-i Aznad-i Farhangi Asya, 1978 [=1378 h.s.].

Andreose, Alvise, *Libro delle nuove e strane e meravigliose cose; volgarizzamento italiano del secolo XIV dell'Itinerarium di Odorico da Pordenone*, Padova: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2000.

Andreose, Alvise, and Philippe Ménard, *Le voyage en Asie d'Odoric de Pordenone, traduit par Jean Le Long, OSB, Itineraire de la peregrinacion et du voyaige (1351)*, Genève: Librairie Droz (Textes littéraires français), 2010.

Anon. (ed.), *Hafiz Abru: Zubdat at-Tawarikh* (Cream of Chronicles), Tehran: Sazman-i Chap wa Intisharat-i Wizarat-i Farhang wa Irshad-i Islami, 1993 [=1372 h.s.].

Ayati, Abdulhamid, *Tahrir-i Tarikh-i Wassaf* (History of Wassaf), Tehran: 'Ilmi, 1959 [=1346 h.s.].

Bencao gangmu 本草綱目 (Materia Medica, Arranged according to Drug Descriptions and Technical Aspects), by Li Shizhen 李時振, 1596, ed. Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1992.

Bertuccioli, Giuliano, *Martino Martini; Novus atlas sinensis*, reprint of the Bleau edition of 1655, with Italian translation and commentaries, Trento: Università degli Studi di Trento (Opera omnia/Martino Martini), 2003.

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Nouvelles Acquisitions (NAF), 7482, *Collection Renaudot Sinica* (unknown author(s) of Jesuit testimonies from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries), Fol. 91v.

Boxer, Charles Ralph, *South China in the Sixteenth Century: Being the Narratives of Galeote Pereira, Fr. Gaspar da Cruz, O.P., Fr. Martín de Rada, O.E.S.A. (1550–1575)*, London: Hakluyt Society, 1953.

Bracciolini, Poggio, *De l'Inde: Les voyages en Asie de Niccolo de'Conti*, ed. and transl. by Michèle Guéret-Laferté, Turnhout: Brepols, 2004.

——, *Le Voyage aux Indes de Nicolo de Conti (1414–1439)*, ed. by Anne-Laure Amilhat-Szary, with a preface of Geneviève Bouchon and transl. by Diane Ménard, Paris: Editions Chandeigne, 2004.

Buell, Paul D., and Eugene N. Anderson, with an appendix by Charles Perry, *A Soup for the Qan: Chinese Dietary Medicine of the Mongol Era as Seen in Hu Szu-hui's* Yin-Shan Cheng-Yao—*Introduction, Translation, Commentary, and Chinese Text*, London and New York: Kegan Paul International (The Sir Henry Wellcome Asian Series), 2000.

Buggisch, Christian, *Reisen des Ritters John Mandeville: Vom Heiligen Land ins ferne Asien*, Lenningen: Edition Erdmann, 2004.

Caomuzi 草木子 (Book of Master Plants), by Ye Ziqi 葉子奇, preface of 1378, ed. *Yuan Ming shiliao biji congkan* 元明史料筆記叢刊 (Collection of Note-Form Literature and Historical Materials from the Yuan and Ming), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997.

Chen Dezhi 陳德芝, Qiu Shusen 邱樹森, and He Zhaoji 何兆吉 (eds.), *Yuandai zouyi jilu* 元代奏議集錄 (A Collection of Palace Memorials from the Yuan Period), Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe (*Yuandai shiliao congkan* 元代史料叢刊 (Collection of Source Materials of the Yuan Period)), 1998.

Chien, Cecilia Lee-fang, *Salt and State: An Annotated Translation of the Songshi Salt Monopoly*, Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan (Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies; 99), 2004.

Chongxiu Zhenghe jingshi zhenglei beiyong bencao 重修政和經史證類備用本草 (Newly Revised Materia Medica of the Zhenghe Reign-Period [1111–1118], Annotated, Arranged by Types, Organized for Practical Use, and Based upon the Classics and Historical Works), by Tang Shenwei 唐愼微 et al., 1249 (reprinted many times afterwards), ed. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1957.

Coopland, George William, *Le songe du vieil pèlerin*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Conlan, Thomas Donald, *In Little Need of Divine Intervention: Takezaki Suenaga's Scrolls of the Mongol Invasion of Japan; Translation with an Interpretive Essay*, Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University (Cornell East Asia series; 113), 2001.

Cramer, N. A., *De Reis van Jan de Mandeville, naar de middelnederlandsche Handschriften en Incunabelen, vanwege de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden*, Leiden: Brill, 1908.

Da Qing yitong zhi 大清一統志 (Comprehensive Account of Administrative Geography of the Great Qing), preface 1842, ed. electronic *Siku quanshu* of the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin).

Da Yuan cangku ji 大元倉庫記 (Records of the Storehouses of the Great Yuan), ed. *Shiliao congbian, sibian* 史料叢編, 四編, Taibei: Guangwen shuju, 1972.

Da Yuan hunyi fangyu shenglan 大元混一方輿勝覽 (Unified Almanac of Administrative Geography of the Great Yuan), comp. originally by Liu Yingli 劉應李 in ca. 1303; re-compiled by Zhan Youliang 詹有諒; rearranged by Guo Shengbo 郭聲波, ed. Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 2003.

Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang 大元聖政國朝典章 (State Codex of the Sacred Government of the Great Yuan), 1322, ed. Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe.

Daffinà, Paola, Claudio Leonardi, Maria Cristiana Lungarotti, Enrico Menestò and Luciano Petech, *Giovanni di Pian di Carpine, Storia dei Mongoli*, Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo (Biblioteca del "Centro per il Collegamento degli Studi Medievali e Umanistici nell'Università di Perugia"), 1989. A critical edition of the Latin text and translation into Italian.

Davis, John F., *Sketches of China, partly during an Inland Journey of Four Months, between Peking, Nanking, and Canton; with Notices and Observations Relative to the Present War*, London: Charles Knight, 1841.

Dawson, Christopher, *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, translated by a nun of Stanbrook Abbey, London and New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955.

De Acosta, José, *Historia Moral y Natural de las Indias Orientales*, Sevilla: Juan de Léon, 1590.

De Magaillans, R. P. Gabriel, *Nouvelle Relation de la China, Contenant la description des particularitez les plus considerables de ce grand Empire*, Paris: Chez Claude Barbin, 1688.

De Mailla, Joseph-Anne-Marie de Moyriac, *Histoire générale de la China ou annales de cet empire; traduites du Tong-kien-kang-mou*, Paris: Ph.-D. Pierres et Clousier, 1779.

De Rachewiltz, Igor, *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, Leiden, Boston: Brill (Brill's Inner Asian Library; 7/1–2), 2004.

Defremery, Charles François, *Voyages d'Ibn Battûta: Texte arabe accompagné d'une traduction par C. Defremery et le Dr. B. R. Sanguinetti*, 2nd ed. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1874–1879, repr. Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1979.

Deluz, Christiane, *Jean de Mandeville; Le livre des merveilles du monde*. Paris: CNRS Éditions (Sources d'histoire médievale, publiées par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes; 31), 2000.

Dian Hai yuheng zhi 滇海虞衡志 (A Guide to the Region of the Dianchi and Erhai Lakes), by Tan Cui 檀萃, 18th/19th century, ed. *Congshu jicheng chubian*.

Dianlüe 滇略 (A Brief Account of Dian [Yunnan]), by Xie Zhaozhe 謝肇淛, c. 1600, ed. electronic version of *Siku quanshu* of the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin).

Diannan yanfa tu: see Li Bi.

Dianzhi 滇志 (Records of Dian [Yunnan]), comp. by Liu Wenzheng 劉文征, 1621–1627, ed. Kunming: Yunnan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991.

Dienes, Mary, "Eastern Missions of the Hungarian Dominicans in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century," *Isis*, 27.2 (1937): 225–241.

Ding Wenjiang 丁文江 (ed.), *Xu Xiake you ji* 徐霞客游紀 (The Travel Notes of Xu Xiake), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1928.

Dörrie, Heinrich, "Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen: Die Missionsreisen der fr. Iulianus O.P. ins Ural-Gebiet (1234/5) und nach Russland (1237) und der Bericht des Erzbischofs Peter über die Tartaren," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 6 (1956): 125–202.

Du Halde, Jean-Baptiste, *Description geographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'Empire de la China et de la Tartarie chinoise, enrichie des cartes générales et particulieres de ces pays, de la carte générale & des cartes particulieres du Thibet, & de la Corée, & ornée d'un grand nombre de figures & de vignettes gravées en taille-douce*, Paris: P. G. Le Mercier, 1735.

Du shi fangyu jiyao 讀史方輿紀要 (Essentials of Geography while Reading Historical Works), by Gu Zuyu 顧祖禹, 1667, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005.

Duan Jinlu 段金錄 and 張錫祿 (eds.), *Dali lidai mingbei* 大理歷代名碑 (Celebrated Stelae through the Ages in Dali), Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 2000.

Elger, Ralf, *Ibn Battuta: Die Wunder des Morgenlandes—Reisen durch Afrika und Asien*, München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2010.

Epistolae Fr. Iohannis de Monte Corvino, in Anastasius Van den Wyngaert (ed.), *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 1, *Itinera et relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*, Quaracchi-Firenze: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1929, vol. 1, pp. 335–355.

Evans, Allan, *Francesco Balducci Pegolotti: La Pratica della Mercatura*, Cambridge (Mass.): The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936.

Fang Guoyu 方国瑜 (chief ed.), Xu Wende 徐文德 and Mu Qin 木芹 (compilers and collators), *Yunnan shiliao congkan* 云南史料丛刊 (Collection of Historical Materials of Yunnan), Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 1998–2001.

Forke, Alfred, *Lun-Hêng: Miscellaneous Essays of Wang Ch'ung*, translated from the Chinese and annotated by Alfred Forke, 2nd ed. New York: Paragon Book Gallery, 1962.

Gadrat, Christine, *Une image de l'Orient au XIV^e^ siecle: Les* Mirabilia Descripta *de Jordan Catala de Sévérac; Édition, traduction et commentaire*, Paris: École des Chartes (Mémoires et documents de l'École des Chartes; 78), 2005.

Gallagher, Louis J., *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583–1610*, translated from the Latin by Louis J. Gallagher, S.J., with a foreword by Richard J. Cushing, D.D., L.L.D., Archbishop of Boston, New York: Random House, 1953.

Gallo, Rodolfo, "Nuovi documenti riguardanti Marco Polo e la sua famiglia," *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 114 (1958), pp. 309–325.

Garnier, Francis, *Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine, effectué pendant les années 1866, 1867 et 1868*, Paris: Hachette et Cie., 1873.

Gießauf, Johannes, *Die Mongolengeschichte des Johannes von Piano Carpine: Einführung, Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar*. Diplomarbeit. Graz: RM—Druck- und Verlagsanstalt (Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Geschichte [der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz]; 6), 1995.

Gil, Juan, *En demanda del Gran Kan: Viajes a Mongolia en el siglo XIII*, Madrid: Alianza Editoral, 1993.

Guangxifu zhi 廣西府志 (Gazetteer of Guangxi Prefecture), comp. by Zhao Hongren 趙弘任, 1714 ed.

Hambis, Louis, *Le Chapitre CVII du Yuan Che: Les généalogies impériale mongoles dans l'histoire chinoise officielle de la dynastie mogole; avec des notes supplémentaires par Paul Pelliot* (Supplement to *T'oung Pao*, XXXVIII), Leiden: Brill, 1945.

——, *Le Chapitre CVIII du Yuan Che: Les fiefs attribués aux membres de la famille impériale et aux ministres de la cour mongole d'après l'histoire officielle de la dynastie mongole* (*T'oung Pao* monographs III), Leiden: Brill, 1954.

Hanshu 漢書 ([History] Records of the [Western] Han [Dynasty]), by Ban Gu 班固, 58–76, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962.

Hosie, Alexander, *Three Years in Western China: A Narrative of Three Journeys in Ssŭ-ch'uan, Kuei-chow, and Yün-nan*, first ed. London and Liverpool: Philip, 1890; second ed. 1897.

Hou Hanshu 後漢書 ([History] Records of the Later Han [Dynasties]), by Fan Ye 笵曄, 450, with the monograph chapters by Sima Biao 司馬彪 (d. 305), and with commentary by Liu Zhao 劉昭 (c. 510), ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965.

Huayang guozhi 華陽國志 (Records of the States South of Mount Hua), by Chang Qu 常璩, c. 332–350, ed. *Huayang guozhi jiaozhu* 華陽國志校注 (Record of the Country South of Mount Hua, Collated and Annotated), collated and annotated by Liu Lin 劉琳, Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1984.

Huang Wenbi 黃文弼 *Tulufan kaogu ji* 吐魯番考古記 (Notes on the Archaeology of Turfan), 1928.

Institut Royal de France (ed.), *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi et autres bibliothèques*, vol. 13, Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1838.

——, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi et autres bibliothèques*, vol. 14, Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1843.

Itinerarium Willelmi de Rubruc, in Anastasius Van den Wyngaert (ed.), *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 1, *Itinera et relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*, Quaracchi-Firenze: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1929, vol. 1, pp. 164–332.

Jackson, Peter, with David O. Morgan, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1990.

Jahn, Karl, *Rashid al-Dīn, Ta'rīkh-i mubārak-i Ghazani, 's-Gravenhage*: Mouton, 1957.

Jados, Stanley S., *The Consulate of the Sea and Related Documents*, University of Alabama Press, 1975, in the Library of Iberian Resources Online, http://libro.uca.edu/consulate/consulate.htm (access by May 24, 2012).

Jingtai Yunnan tujing zhishu jiaozhu 景泰雲南圖經志書校注 (Records of Yunnan [Province] with Maps [and Illustrations] from the Jingtai Reign-period [1450–1456], Collated and Annotated), comp. by Chen Wen 陳文, 1455; collated and annotated by Li Chunlong 李春龙 and Liu Jingmao 刘景毛, ed. Kunming: Yunnan minzu chubanshe, 2002.

Jiu Tangshu 舊唐書 (Old [History] Records of the Tang [Dynasty]), comp. by Liu Xu 劉煦, 945, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975.

Kappler, Claude, and René Kappler, *Guglielmo di Rubruck; Viaggio nell'imperio dei Mongoli*, Roma: Lucarini, 1987.

Kircher, Athanasius, *China monumentis qua sacris qua profanis illustrata, nec non variis Naturae & Artis Spectaculis, aliarumque rerum memorabilium argumentis illustrata*, Amsterdam, 1667; facsimilie ed., Frankfurt/Main: Minerva, 1966.

——, (1670), *La Chine d'Athanase Kirchere de la Compaigne de Jesus, illustrée de plusieurs monuments tant sacrés que profanes, et de quantité de recherchés de la nature & de l'art . . .*, Amsterdam: Jean Jansson à Waesberge, & les heritiers d'Elizée Weyerstraet, 1670.

Kobayashi Takashirō 小林高四郎 and Okamoto Keiji 岡本敬二, *Tsusei jōkaku no kenkyū yakuchū* 通制條格の研究譯注 (An Investigation and Annotated Translation of the "Regulations of the [Book of the] Comprehensive Rules [of the Great Yuan]"), Tōkyō: Chūgoku keihōshi kenkyūkai, 1964–1975.

Kölla, Brigitte, *Der Traum von Hua in der Östlichen Hauptstadt: Meng Yuanlaos Erinnerungen an die Hauptstadt der Song; Einleitung und Übersetzung Buch 1–3*, Bern, Berlin etc.: Peter Lang, 1996.

Langyanjing zhi 琅鹽井志 (Gazetteer of Langyanjing [in Yunnan]), comp. by Sun Yuanxiang 孫元相 and Zhao Chun 趙淳, 1756.

Lech, Klaus, *Das mongolische Wellreich: Al-'Umarī's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masālik al-abṣār fi mamālik al-amṣār [Glances of the Eyes throughout the Districts of the Lands]; mit Paraphrase und Kommentar*, Harrassowitz (Asiatische Forschungen; 22), 1968.

Leicht, Hans Dieter, *Wilhelm von Rubruk; Beim Grosskhan der Mongolen, 1253–1255*, Lenningen: Edition Erdmann, 2003.

Letts, Malcolm, *Mandeville's Travels: Texts and Translations*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1953.

Li Bi 李芯, *Diannan yanfa tu* 滇南鹽法圖 (Illustrations of the Salt [Production] Methods of Yunnan), 1707. Original stored in National History Museum in Beijing.

Li Xiusheng 李修生 (ed.), *Quan Yuanwen* 全元文 (Complete Prose Literature of the Yuan), Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chuanbanshe, 1998ff.

Lidai mingchen zouyi 歷代名臣奏議 (Memorials Submitted by Famous Officials through the Dynasties), comp. by Huang Huai 黃淮, Yang Shiqi 楊士奇 et al. 1416, 1635, ed. *Zhongguoshi xue congshu* 中國史學叢書 (Collection of Chinese History), chief ed. Wu Xiangxiang 吳相湘, Taibei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1964.

Lijiangfu zhilüe 麗江府志略 (Abridged Gazetteer of Lijiang Prefecture), comp. by Guan Xuexuan 管學宣 and Wan Xianyan 萬咸燕, 1743 ed., ed. *Zhongguo Xi'nan wenxian congshu, diyi ji* 中國西南文獻叢書,第一輯 (Collection of Documents of Southwest China, First Series); *Xi'nan xijian fangzhi wenxian* 西南希見方志文獻 (Rare Documents and Local Gazetteers from the Southwest), Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 2003.

Lin'anfu zhi 臨安府志 (Gazetteer of Lin'an Prefecture), 1731 ed.

Luce, Gordon H. (transl.), and Giok Po Oey (ed.), *The Man Shu (Book of the Southern Barbarians)*, Ithaca, New York: Department of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University, 1961.

Lunheng jiaoshi (Fu Liu Pansui jijie) 論衡校釋 (附劉盼遂集解) ("Discourses Weighed in the Balance," Collated and Explained (Including the Collected Explanations by Liu Pansui)), by Wang Chong 王充, possibly completed between 70 and 80 AD; collated and explained by Huang Hui 黃暉, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju (*Xinbian zhuzi jicheng (diyi ji)* 新編諸子集成(第一輯)), 1995.

Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉, *Sichao chaobi tulu* 四朝鈔幣圖錄 (Records and Illustrations of Paper Notes from Four Dynasties), 1914.

Maitra, K. M., *A Persian Embassy to China, Being an Extract from Zubdatu't Tawarikh [Cream of Chronicles] of Hafiz Abru*, with a new introduction by L. Carrington Goodrich, New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1970.

Martini, Martino, *Novus atlas sinensis a Martino Martinio Soc. Jesu Descriptu et serenissimo archiduci Leopoldo Guilielmo Austriaco dedicatus cum privilegio S. C. Maj. et Ordd. Foed. Belg.* Amsterdam, 1655. See also facsimile ed., Trento: Museo Tridentino di Scienze Naturali, Cassa di Risparmio di Trento e Rovereto, 1981.

Michieli, Adriano Augusto, "Il Milione di Marco Polo e un Cronista [i.e. Jacopo d'Acqui] del 1300," *La geografia*, 12.4–5 (1924): 153–166.

Mills, J. V. G., *Ma Huan; Ying-yai sheng-lan: 'The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores' [1433]*, Cambridge: University Press, 1970.

Mills, J. V. G. (transl.); Roderich Ptak (ed.), *Fei Hsin; Hsing-ch'a sheng-lan: The Overall Survey of the Star Raft*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996.

Mishu jianzhi 祕書監志 (Revised Record of Secret Books), by Wang Shidian 王士點 and Shang Zhiweng 商企翁, 1341-1367, ed. electronic version of *Siku quanshu* of the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin).

Ming shilu 明實錄 (Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty), collected during the early seventeenth century, ed. of the Beiping National Library, repr. Taibei, Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, n.d.

Mingshi 明史 (History of the Ming Dynasty), comp. by Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al., begun in 1646, completed in 1736, first printed in 1739, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.

Monaco, Lucio, and Giulio Cesare Testa, *Odorico da Pordenone: Relazione del viaggio in Oriente e in Cina (1314?–1330)*, Pordenone: Camera di Commercio, Industria, Artigianato e Agricoltura, 1982.

——, *Odorichus de rebus incognitis: Odorico da Pordenone nella Prima Edizione a Stampa del 1513*, Pordenone: Camera di Commercio, Industria, Artigianato e Agricoltura, 1986.

Morrall, Eric John, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung in deutscher Übersetzung von Michael Velser: Nach der Stuttgarter Papierhandschrift Cod. HB V 86*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1974.

Moule, Arthur Christopher, "Brother Jordan of Sévérac," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 2 (1928): 349–376.

Nasr, Husain, *Tanksuq-nama ya tibb-i ahl-i Khata* (Treasure Book on the Medicine of the People of China), Tehran: Capkhana-i Sazman-i Intisharat wa Chap-i Danishgah-i Tihran, 1972 [1350 h.s.].

Neimenggu qianbi yanjiuhui 内蒙古钱币研究会 (Inner Mongolian Numismatic Research Institute) and "Zhongguo qianbi" bianjibu《中国钱币》编辑部 ("China Numismatics" Editorial Department) (eds.); Cai Mingxin 蔡明信 (transl.), *Zhongguo guchao tuji* 中国古钞图辑 (A Compilation of Pictures of Chinese Ancient Paper Money), Beijing: Zhongguo jinrong chubanshe, 1992.

Orlandini, Giovanni, "Marco Polo e la sua famiglia," *Archivio Veneto-Tridento*, 9 (1926): 1–68.

Pan Jixing, *"Tiangong kaiwu" jiaozhu ji yanjiu*《天工開物》校注及研究 (An Investigation of the *Tiangong kaiwu*, with a Collated and Annotated Edition [of the *Tiangong kaiwu*]), Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1989.

Pullé, Giorgio, *Viaggio del beato Odorico da Pordenone*, Milano: Alpes, 1931.

——, *Giovanni da Pian del Carpine; Viaggio ai Tartari*, Milano: Istituto editoriale italiano, 1956.

Qinding Siku quanshu zongmu 欽定四庫全書總目 (Imperially Commissioned Catalogue of the Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature), comp. by Ji Yun 紀昀, Yongrong 永瑢, Lu Xixiong 陸錫熊 et al., 1782, ed. electronic version of *Siku quanshu* of the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin).

Qingchao wenxian tongkao 清朝文獻通考 (General Investigation of [Important Historical] Records of the Qing Dynasty), comp. by Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉, Ji Huang 嵇璜, Liu Yong 劉墉 and Ji Yun 紀昀, compilation ordered in 1767, completed in 1787, ed. *Shitong* 十通, Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2000.

Qiu Long 邱隆, Qiu Guangming 丘光明, Gu Maosen 顾楙森, Liu Dongrui 刘东瑞, and Wu Hong 巫鸿, *Zhongguo gudai dulianghеng tuji* 中国古代度量衡图集 (Collected Illustrations of Ancient Weights and Measures in China), Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981.

Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tanksuqnama-i ilkhan dar funum-i 'ulum-i khita'i* (The Precious Work of the Ilkhan on the Various Branches of Khitay Learning), c. 1295–1304.

Ratchnevsky, Paul, *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 1, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises; 4), 1937.

——, *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 2, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises; 4), 1972.

——, *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 4, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises; 4), 1985.

Ratchnevsky, Paul, and F. Aubin, *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 3, *Index*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises; 4), 1977.

Richard, Jean, *Simon de Saint-Quentin; Histoire des Tartares*, Paris: P. Geuthner, 1965.

Ridder, Klaus, *Jean de Mandevilles "Reisen": Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der deutschen Übersetzung des Otto von Diemeringen*, München and Zürich: Artemis (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters; 99), 1991.

Rockhill, William Woodville, *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World 1253–55, as Narrated by Himself, with Two Accounts of the Earlier Journey of John of Pian de Carpine*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1900.

Rossabi, Morris, *The Mongols and Global History: A Norton Documents Reader*, New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2011.

Schaab-Hanke, Dorothee, and Stephen H. West, *Kaifeng um 1120: Das Dongjing Meng Hua Lu des Meng Yuanlao*, Gossenberg: Ostasien Verlag (Bibliothek der Tang und Song; 3), publication announced for 2012.

Schefer, Ch., "Notice sur les relations des peuples Musulmans avec les Chinois: L'extension de l'islamisme jusqu'à la fin du XV^e siecle," Paris: Centenaire de l'École de Langues Orientales Vivantes, 1895, pp. 1–43.

Schurmann, Herbert Franz, *Economic Structure of the Yüan Dynasty: Translation of Chapters 93 and 94 of the Yüan shih*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1956.

Shenke Yuan dianzhang jiaobu 沈刻元典章校補 (Revised and Supplemented State Codex of the Yuan), repr. Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1967.

Shenzhai ji 申齋集 (Collected Writings of Shenzhai [i.e. Liu Yueshen]), by Liu Yueshen 劉岳申 (1260–c. 1368), ed. electronic version of *Siku quanshu* of the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin).

Sichuan yanfang zhi 四川鹽法志 (The Salt Laws Gazetteer of Sichuan), compiled officially at the request of Ding Baozhen 丁寶楨, Governor-General of the province, 1882.

Sivin, Nathan, with the research collaboration of the late Kiyosi Yabuuti 藪内清 and Shigeru Nakayama 中山茂, *Granting the Seasons: The Chinese Astronomical Reform of 1280, with a Study of its Many Dimensions and an Annotated Translation of its Records*, New York: Springer (Sources in the History of Mathematics and Physical Sciences), 2009.

Song huiyao jigao 宋會要揖稿 (Draft of State Regulations of the Song), ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957.

Souza, George Bryan, and Jeffrey S. Turley, *The Commentaries of D. García de Silva y Figueroa on his Embassy to Shah Abbas of Persia on behalf of Philip III, King of Spain*, manuscript of 2011, to be published by the Hakluyt Society.

Strasmann, Gilbert, *Konrad Steckels deutsche Übertragung der Reise nach China des Odorico de Pordenone*, Gießen: Erich Schmidt Verlag (Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit; 20), 1968.

Stussi, Alfredo, with contributions of Frederic C. Lane, Thomas E. Marston and Oystein Ore, *Zibaldone de Canal: Manoscritto mercantile del sec. XIV*, Venezia: Il Comitato Editore (Fonti per la storia di Venezia, Sez. V—Fondi vari), 1967.

Suishu 隋書 ([History] Records of the Sui [Dynasty]), by Wei Zheng 魏徵 et al., 636–656, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973.

Sun E-Tu Zen and Sun Shiou-Chuan, *T'ien-kung K'ai-wu: Chinese Technology in the Seventeenth Century, by Sung Ying-Hsing*, University Park, Penn., and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966.

Tongzhi tiaoge jiaozhu 通制條格校注 (Regulations of the [Book of the] Comprehensive Rules [of the Great Yuan], Collated and Annotated), with a preface of Beizhulu Chong 孛朮魯翀 (1279–1338); collated and annotated by Fang Linggui 方齡貴, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001.

Trotter, David A., *Jean de Vignay: Les Merveilles de la Terre d'Outremer—Traduction du XIV^e siècle du récit de voyage d'Odoric de Pordenone.* Exeter: Exeter University Publications, 1990.

T'Serstevens, A. (ed.); Roberto Ortolani (transl.), *I precursori di Marco Polo: Testi integrali scelti, tradotti e commentati; con una introduzione sulla geografia dell'Asia prima di Marco Polo*, Milano: Aldo Garzanti Editore, 1960.

Tumurtogoo, Domjin, with the collaboration of G. Cecegdari, *Mongolian Monuments in 'Phags-Pa Script: Introduction, Transliteration, Transcription and Bibliography*, Taipei: Institute of Lingguistics, Academia Sinica (Language and Linguistics Monograph Series; 42), 2010.

Waley, Arthur, *The Travels of an Alchemist: The Journey of the Taoist Ch'ang-ch'un from China to the Hindukush at the Summons of Chingiz Khan, Recorded by His Disciple Li Chih-ch'ang*, Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 1991.

Xin Tangshu 新唐書, by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1043–1060), ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975.

Xin Yuanshi 新元史 (New History of the Yuan), comp. by Ke Shaomin 柯劭忞, 1890–1920, ed. *Ershiwu shi* 二十五史, [Taibei:] Yiwen yinshuguan.

Xinbian gujin shiwen leiju waiji 新編古今事文類聚外集 (Outer Part of the Newly Compiled and Classified Collection about Events and Writings in Past and Present), by Fu Dayong富大用, printed by Luling Wuxi shuyuan 廬陵武溪書院, 1326.

Xinzuan Yunnan tongzhi 新纂雲南通志 (Provincial Gazetteer of Yunnan Province, Newly Compiled), comp. by Qin Guangyu 秦光玉 et al., 1943.

Xu tongdian 續通典 (Comprehensive Regulations, Continued), comp. by Ji Huang 稽璜 and Liu Yong 劉墉 on imperial commission, 1783, ed. Shitong 十通, Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2000.

Xu wenxian tongkao 續文獻通考 (General Investigation of [Important Historical] Records, Continued), comp. by Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉, Ji Heng 嵇璜, Liu Yong 劉墉 et al., based on Wang Qi's 王圻 (1529–1612) *Xu wenxian tongkao*, preface of 1784, ed. *Shitong* 十通, Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2000.

Xu Yunnan tongzhi gao 續雲南通志稿 (Draft of the Provincial Gazetteer of Yunnan Province, Continued), comp. by Wang Wenshao 王文韶 et al., 1898, ed. *Zhongguo bianjiang congshu* 中國邊疆叢書 (Collection on Chinese Frontier Regions), Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe.

Xuxiu Baiyanjing zhi 續修白鹽井志 (Gazetteer of Baiyanjing [in Yunnan], Continued and Revised), comp. by Li Xunhong 李訓鋐, revised in 1901, printed in 1907.

Yang Shiyu 楊世鈺 and Zhang Shufang 張樹芳 (eds.), *Dali congshu: Jinshi pian* 大理叢書: 金石篇 (Collection of Sources from Dali: Part of Bronze and Stone Inscriptions), 10 vols., Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1993.

Ye Shichang 葉世昌, Wang Yuxun 王裕巽, Tu Yanzhi 屠燕治 and Zhang Wenfang 張文芳, *Yuan Ming huobi* 元明貨幣 (Monies from the Yuan and Ming), vol. 5 in Ma Feihai 馬飛海 (editor in chief), *Zhongguo lidai huobi daxi* 中國歷代貨幣大系 (Great Series of Monies in China through the Ages), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2009.

Yoshida Tora (author); Hans Ulrich Vogel (transl.), *Salt Production Techniques in Ancient China: The Aobo tu*, Leiden: Brill (Sinica Leidensia; 27), 1993.

Yuan yitong zhi 元一統志 (Comprehensive Account of Administrative Geography of the Yuan), by Beilan 孛蘭, printed in the Dade reign-period (1297–1307); collated and compiled by Zhao Wanli 赵万里, ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1966.

Yuanjiangfu zhi 元江府志 (Gazetteer of Yuanjiang Prefecture), comp. by Zhang Lücheng 章履成, 1712 ed.

Yuanshi 元史 (History of the Yuan), by Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–1381), ed. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976.

Yule, Henry, *Mirabilia Descripta—The Wonders of the East by Friar Jordanus, of the Order of Preachers and Bishop of Columbum in India the Greater, (circa 1330); Translated from the Latin Original, as Published at Paris in 1839, in the Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires, of the Society of Geography, with the Addition of a Commentary*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1863.

——, *Cathay and the Way thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, New Edition, Revised throughout in the Light of Recent Discoveries by Henri Cordier, *Vol. I: Preliminary Essay on the Intercourse between China and the Western Nations Previous to the Discovery of the Cape Route*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1913.

——, *Cathay and the Way thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, New Edition, Revised throughout in the Light of Recent Discoveries by Henri Cordier, *Vol. II: Odoric of Pordenone*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1913.

——, *Cathay and the Way thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices on China*, New Edition, Revised throughout in the Light of Recent Discoveries by Henri Cordier, *Vol. III: Missionary Friars—Rashíduddín—Pegolotti—Marignolli*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1914.

——, *Cathay and the Way thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices on China*, New Edition, Revised throughout in the Light of Recent Discoveries by Henri Cordier, *Vol. IV: Ibn Batuta—Benedict Goës—Index*, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1916.

Yunnan tongzhi 雲南通志 (Gazetteer of Yunnan Province), comp. by Zhou Jifeng 周季鳳, 1510 ed. (repr. 1553).

Yunnan tongzhi 雲南通志 (Provincial Gazetteer of Yunnan Province), comp. by Ortai 鄂爾泰 and Jing Daomou 靖道謨, 1736 ed., ed. electronic version of *Siku quanshu* of the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library, (Staatsbibliothek Berlin).

Yunnan tujing zhishu 雲南圖經志書: see *Jingtai Yunnan tujing zhishu jiaozhu*.

Yunnan zhi jiaoshi 雲南志校釋 (A Record of Yunnan, Collated and Annotated), written by Fan Chuo 樊綽, ca. mid-ninth century; collated and annotated by Zhao Lüfu 趙吕甫, Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1985.

Yunnan zhilüe 雲南志略 (Draft Account of Yunnan), by Li Jing 李京, in Fang Guoyu 方国瑜 (chief ed.), Xu Wende 徐文德 and Mu Qin 木芹 (compilers and collators), *Yunnan shiliao congkan* 云南史料丛刊 (Collection of Historical Materials of Yunnan), Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 1998, vol. 3.

Zanetti, V., "Quattro documenti inediti dell'Archivio degli Esposti in Venezia (Marco Polo e la sua famiglia—Marin Falier)," *Archivio Veneto*, 16 (1878): 95–110.

Zhao Yanwei 趙彦衛, *Yunlu manchao* 雲麓漫抄 (Copied at Random at the Cloudy Foot of the Mountain), 1206 (referring to events from about 1170 onwards), ed. *She wen zi jiu* 涉聞梓舊 in *Congshu jicheng*.

Zhishun Zhenjiang zhi 至順鎮江志 (Local Gazetteer of Zhenjiang from the Zhishun Reign-period), compiled by Yu Xilu 余希魯, end of the Zhishun reign-period (1330–1332), ed. Taibei: Huawen shuju, 1968.

Zhongguo guchao tuji: see Neimenggu qianbi yanjiuhui et al. (1992).

Zhongguo guojia bowuguan 中国国家博物馆 (National Museum of China) (ed.), *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guancang wenwu yanjiu congshu; Huihua juan: Fengsu hua* 中国国家博物馆馆藏文物研究丛书;绘画卷:风俗画 (Collection of Research on Historical Relics Stored in the National Museum of China; Volume on Paintings: Paintings on Customs), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007.

Zhongguo renmin yinhang Yunnan shengfenhang jinrong yanjiusuo 中国人民银行云南省分行金融研究所 (Research Institute for Finance of the Yunnan Branch of the Chinese People's Bank) (ed.), *Yunnan jindai huobi shiliao huibian* 云南近代货币史料汇编 (Collection of Historical Materials on Currency in Yunnan of the Modern Period), n.p., printed by Zhongguo renmin yinhang Yunnan shengfenhang jinrong yanjiusuo, n.d.

Zhongtang shiji 中堂事記 (Records from the Court), in *Qiujian ji* 秋澗集 (Collection of Works of Mr. Qiujian [i.e. Wang Yun 王惲]), ed. electronic version of *Siku quanshu* of the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin).

3. Secondary Literature[2]

Abe Takeo 安部健夫, "Gendai tsuka seisaku no hatten" 元代通貨政策の發展 (The Development of Monetary Policy during the Yuan Period), in his *Gendaishi no kenkyū* 元代史の研究 (Historical Studies on the Yuan Period), Tōkyō: Sobunsha, 1972, pp. 363–423.

Abegg-Stiftung (ed.), *Gewebtes Gold: Metallfäden in der Textilkunst*, exhibition catalogue, Riggisberg, 2006.

---

[2] This bibliography of secondary sources is an attempt at including all major works on Marco Polo in Western languages as well as in Chinese and Japanese. It is intended to supplement the bibliography of Watanabe Hiroshi (1986). For the older literature in Italian, French, English and German it is especially the works of Yule, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, Cordier (1920), Cicutto, *Marco Polo: Il Milione*, and Henze (2000) that have been useful.

Aga-Oglu, Kamer, "Blue-and-White Porcelain Plates Made for Moslem Patrons," *Far Eastern Ceramic Bulletin*, 3.3 (1951): 12–16.
Agachanjanc, Okmir E., "Der Pamir im Buch des Marco Polo," *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen*, 116 (1972).
Airaldi, Gabriella, "Autobiografia di Marco," in Frederico Masini et al. (eds.) (2006), pp. 209–219.
Akbari, Suzanne Conklin, "Currents and Currency in Marco Polo's *Devisement dou monde* and *The Book of John Mandeville*," in Akbari and Iannucci (eds.) (2008), pp. 110–130.
Akbari, Suzanne Conklin, and Amilcare Iannucci, with the assistance of John Tulk (eds.), *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
Akimoto Naojiro 彬本直治郎, "Chūsei ni okeru Unnan no baika" 中世における雲南の貝貨 (Cowry Currency in Yunnan during the Middle Ages), *Shigaku kenkyū* 史學研究 (Historical Research, 41 (1950): 1–46.
Alabiso, Alida, "Chinese Imperial Palaces in Marco Polo's 'Milione'," in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 160–170.
Allsen, Thomas T., *The Mongols in East Asia, Twelfth-Fourteenth Centuries: A Preliminary Bibliography of Books and Articles in Western Languages*, Philadelphia: Sung Studies Newsletter, 1976.
——, *Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands, 1251–1259*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1987.
——, "Mongolian Princes and their Merchant Partners 1200–1260," *Asia Major*, third series, 2.2 (1989): 83–126.
——, "Biography of a Cultural Broker: Bolad *Ch'eng-hsiang* in China and Iran," *Oxford Studies in Islamic Art*, 12 (1996): 7–22.
——, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Cambridge Series in Islamic Civilization), 1997.
——, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
——, "The Cultural Worlds of Marco Polo," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 31.3 (2001a): 375–383.
Almagià, Roberto, *La figura e l'opera di Marco Polo secondo recenti studi*, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1938.
——, *Marco Polo: Commemorazione tenuta il 10 Giugno 1954 in Palazzo Ducale a Venezia*, Venezia: Carlo Ferrari, 1954.
——, "Marco Polo e la cartografia dell'Asia orientale," in "Due grandi viaggiatori italiani: Marco Polo e Amerigo Vespucci," supplement to *L'Universo*, 3 (March to June 1954a): 5–10.
——, "Importanza geografica del viaggio di Marco Polo," *L'Italia che scrive*, 30 (1954b).
—— et al. (eds.), *Nel VII centenario della nascita di Marco Polo*, Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere e Arti, 1955.
——, "A proposito di recenti studi su Marco Polo e i suoi viaggi," *Rivista geografica italiana*, 62.2 (1955a): 81–100.
Altaner, Berthold, "Sprachstudien und Sprachkenntnisse im Dienste der Mission des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, 21 (1931): 113–136.
——, "Die fremdsprachliche Ausbildung der Dominikanermissionare während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, 23 (1933): 233–241.
——, "Sprachkenntnisse und Dolmetscherwesen im missionarischen und diplomatischen Verkehr zwischen Abendland (Päpstliche Kurie) und Orient im 13. u. 14. Jahrh.," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 55 (1936): 83–126.
Ament, William Scott, "Marco Polo in Cambaluc: A Comparison of Foreign and Native Accounts," *Journal of the Oriental Society*, 3.2 (1892): 97–122.

Amitai-Preiss, Reuven, and David O. Morgan (eds.), *The Mongol Empire & its Legacy*, Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Amoretti, Biancamaria Scarcia, "Some Side Thoughts on Marco Polo's Outlook over Islam," in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 215–222.

Amrein, Kaspar C., "Marco Polo: Oeffentlicher Vortrag, gehalten in der Geographisch–kommerziellen Gesellschaft in St. Gallen," Zürich: J. Herzog, 1879, 42 pp.

An Li 安莉 and Chen Naixiong 陈乃雄, "'Zhiyuan tongxing baochao' zhi yin" "至元通行宝钞"之印 (The Seals on the *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao*), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu* 内蒙古金融研究 (Finance Research of Inner Mongolia), 2 (2002): 66-67.

Anderson, Eugene N., *The Food of China*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988.

Andreose, Alvise, "La prima attestazione della versione VA del *Milione* (ms. 3999 della Biblioteca Casanatense di Roma): Studio linguistico," *Critica del testo*, 4.2 (2001): 423–525, and 5.2 (2002): 655–668.

Anon., "Un texte de Marco Polo sur l'existence de chrétiens dans la Chine du Sud depuis le VI^{e} siècle," *Le bulletin catholique de Pékin*, 15 (1928): 574–578.

Armijo-Hussein, Jacqueline Misty, "Sayyid 'Ajall Shams al-Din: A Muslim from Central Asia, Serving the Mongols in China, and Bringing 'Civilization' to Yunnan," PhD diss., Harvard University, 1996, UMI, accessed the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin).

Asami Shōzō 淺海正三, "Gendai toshi no yaei ni tsuite" 元代都市の夜衛について (On the Night Guard in the Capital during the Yuan Period), *Shichō* 史潮 (Tides of History), 4.2 (1934): 120–140.

Atwood, Christopher Pratt, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.

——, "*Ulus* Emirs, *Keshig* Elders, Signatures, and Marriage Partners: The Evolution of a Classic Mongol Institution," in David Sneath (ed.), *Imperial Statecraft: Political Forms and Techniques of Governance in Inner Asia, Sixth-Twentieth Centuries*, Bellingham (Wash.): Center for East Asian Studies (Studies on East Asia; 26), 2006, pp. 141–173.

Ayers, John, "Some Characteristic Wares of the Yüan Dynasty," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 29 (1957): 69–86.

Backus, Charles, *The Nan-chao Kingdom and T'ang China's Southwestern Frontier*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Badel, Pierre-Yves, "Lire la merveille selon Marco Polo," *Revue des sciences humaines*, 183 (1981–1983): 7–16.

Bagrow, Leo, "The Maps from the Home Archives of the Descendants of a Friend of Marco Polo," *Imago Mundi*, 5 (1948): 3–13.

Baier, Martin, "Salzgewinnung und Töpferei der Dayak im nordwestlichen Ost-Kalimantan (Indonesisch-Borneo)," *Tribus (Jahrbuch des Linden-Museums)*, 54 (2005): 57–89.

Balard, Michel, "Les Génois en Asie centrale et en Extrême-orient au XIV^{e} siècle: Un cas exceptionnel?" *Économies et sociétés au moyen âge: Mélanges offerts à Édouard Perroy*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1973, pp. 681–689.

Balazs, Étienne, "Marco Polo dans la capitale de la Chine," in *Oriente Poliano*, 1957, pp. 133–154.

——, "Marco Polo in the Capital of China," in his *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy: Variations on a Theme*, edited with an Introduction by Arthur F. Wright, transl. by H. M. Wright, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964, pp. 79–100.

——, *La Bureaucratie céleste: Recherches sur l'économie et la société de la Chine traditionelle*, Paris: Gallimard, 1968.

Baldelli Boni, Giovanni Battista, *Carte geografiche attenenti all'opera dei viaggi di Marco Polo, commentati del Conte Baldelli*, Firenze, 1827.

Bao Zhicheng 鮑志成, *Make Boluo yu tiancheng Hangzhou* 馬可· 波羅與天城杭州 (Marco Polo and the Heaven-city Hangzhou), Xianggang: Xianggang xinfeng chubanshe, 2000.

Barbieri, Alvaro, "Quale 'Milione'? La questione testuale e le principali edizioni moderne del libro di Marco Polo," *Studi mediolatini e volgari*, 42 (1996): 9–46. Repr. in his *Dal viaggo al libro: Studi sul* Milione, pp. 47–91.
——, "Marco Polo e l'altro," *Studi testuali,* 5 (1998): 7–24. Repr. in his *Dal viaggo al libro: Studi sul* Milione, pp. 157–175.
——, "Un Veneziano nel Catai: Sull'autenticità del viaggio di Marco Polo," *Critica del testo*, 3.3 (2000): 993–1022. Repr. in his *Dal viaggo al libro: Studi sul* Milione, pp. 9–43.
——, "Il popolo degli arcieri: L'organizzazione militare e le tecniche di combattimento dei Mongoli nel libro di Marco Polo," *Annuario* (Istituto Romano di Cultura i Ricerca Umanistica), 2 (2000a): 21–38. Also published under the title "Il popolo degli archieri: I Mongoli nel *Milione*" in his *Dal viaggo al libro: Studi sul* Milione, pp. 195–218.
——, *Dal viaggio al libro: Studi sul* Milione, Verona: Grafiche Fiorini (Medioevi; 6), 2004.
—— (2004a), "Marco Polo, Rustichello, il 'patto,' il libro: Genesi e statuto testuale del *Milione*," in his *Dal viaggo al libro: Studi sul* Milione, pp. 129–154.
—— (2004b), "Usanze e culti nell'Oriente poliano (schede etnografiche dal *Milione*," in his *Dal viaggo al libro: Studi sul* Milione, pp. 219–243.
—— (2004d), "Marco Polo e la montagna," in his *Dal viaggo al libro: Studi sul* Milione, pp. 177–194.
—— (2004e), "Marco Polo etnografo: Le cortigiane templari nella provincia di Maabar," in his *Dal viaggo al libro: Studi sul* Milione, pp. 245–251.
——, "Il 'narrativo' nel *Devisement dou monde*: Tipologia, fonti, funzioni," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 49–75.
Barozzi, Pietro, *Appunti per la lettura del Milione*, Genova: F.lli Bozzi, 1971.
——, "Le postille colombiane al Milione," in Osvaldo Baldacci (ed.), *Scritti geografici in onore di Aldo Sestini*, Firenze: Società di studi geografici, vol. 1, 1982, pp. 53–65.
Barrett, Timothy H., "Wall? I Saw no Wall," *London Review of Books*, 17.23 (November 30, 1995): 28.
——, "The Modern Historiography of Asia and the Faking of 'The City of Light'," *Modern Asian Studies*, 32.4 (1998): 1017–1023.
Barthold, V. V., "The Burial Rites of the Turks and Mongols," transl. by J. M. Rogers, *Central Asiatic Journal*, 14.1–3 (1970): 195–227.
Bartolucci, Lidia, "Ancora sul Milione de Marco Polo," *Economia e storia*, 23 (1976): 241–244.
Barysz, Kornelius, "Marco Polos Einfluß auf die Kartographie, insbesondere auf Waldseemüllers Weltkarte aus dem Jahre 1507," Ph.D., University of Wien, 1917.
Battaglia Ricci, Lucia, "*Milione* de Marco Polo," in Alberto Asor Rosa (ed.), *Letteratura italiana: Le Opere*, vol. 1: *Dalle origini al cinquecento*, Torino: Einaudi, 1992, pp. 85–105.
——, "Del Madagascar, dell'uccello griforne, delle donne cinesi e di altro ancora," in Vitilio Masiello (ed.), *Studi di filologia italiana in onore di Gianvito Resta*, Roma: Salerno Editrice, 2000, vol. 1, pp. 3–25.
Batterson, Mark, and William W. Boddie, *Salt, the Mysterious Necessity*, New York: Dow Chemical Company, 1972.
Baumer, Christoph, *Frühes Christentum zwischen Euphrat und Jangtse: Eine Zeitreise entlang der Seidenstrasse zur Kirche des Ostens*, Stuttgart: Urachhaus Verlag, 2005.
Bausani, Alessandro, "Marco Polo e l'Islam," in Lionello Lanciotti (ed.), *Sviluppi scientifici, prospettive religiose, movimenti rivoluzionari in Cina*, Firenze: Olschki, 1975, pp. 29–38.
Bawden, Charles R., "Astrologie und Divination bei den Mongolen—die schriftlichen Quellen," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 108 (1958): 317–337.
Beal, Edwin G., "Concerning Marco Polo and Christopher Columbus: The Pipino Version," *Journal of East Asian Libraries*, 101.1 (1993): 151–160.
Beckingham, Charles F., and Bernard Hamilton (eds.), *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, Aldershot: Variorum, 1996.
Benedetto, Luigi Foscolo, "Il vero testo di Marco Polo," *Il Marzocco*, January 27, 1924.
——, "Il problema critico del testo di Marco Polo," *Atti del X. Congresso geografico italiano*, Milano, 1927, vol. 1, pp. 361–365.

——, "A proposito dell'edizione olschkiana di Marco Polo," *La Bibliofilia*, 30 (1928): 430–432.
——, "Di una pretesa redazione latina che Marco Polo avrebbe fatta del suo libro," *Archivio storico italiano*, serie VII, 13 (1930): 207–216.
——, "Perché fu chiamato *Milione* il libro di Marco Polo," *Il Marzocco*, 35.37 (September 14, 1930a): 1–2.
——, "Ancora del nome *Milione*," *Il Marzocco*, November 16, 1930b, p. 4.
——, "Nota marcopoliana: A proposito del codice Ghisi," *Rendiconti della classe di Scienze morali e storiche*, vol. XVII, serie VII, vol. I, fasc. 1/5 (serie accademiche giugno-ottobre 1939), pp. 15–45.
——, "Grandezza di Marco Polo," in his *Uomini e tempi: Pagine varie di critica e storia*, Milano, Napoli: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1953, pp. 71–85.
——, "Non 'Rusticiano' ma 'Rustichello'," in his *Uomini e tempi: Pagine varie di critica e storia*, Milano, Napoli: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1953a, pp. 63–700.
——, *Ancora qualque rilievo circa la scoperta dello Z toledano*, Torino: Accademia delle Scienze, 1960. Formerly published in *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino; Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, 94.2 (1959–1960): 1–60.
——, *La tradizione manoscritta del "Milione" di Marco Polo*, Torino: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1962.
Berger, Friedemann, *Die Milchstraße am Himmel und der Kanal auf Erden: Geschichte, Kultur und Gegenwart an Chinas Großem Kanal*, Beijing: Verlag für fremdsprachige Literatur, 1998.
Bergreen, Laurence, *Marco Polo: From Venice to Xanadu*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008.
Bernard-Maître, Henri, "Un nouveau 'Marco Polo' en français," *France-Asie*, 113 (1955): 219–228.
Bernholz, Peter, "Paper Money Inflation, Gresham's Law and Exchange Rates in Ming China," *Kredit und Kapital*, 30.1 (1997): 35–51.
——, *Monetary Regimes and Inflation: History, Economic and Political Relationships*, Cheltenham, UK, and Northhampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 2003.
Bertolucci Pizzorusso, Valeria, "Enunciazione e produzione del testo nel 'Milione'," *Studi mediolatini e volgari*, 25 (1977): 5–43.
——, "Recuperi (e smarrimenti) di manoscritti veneti del 'Milione'," in *Scritti in onore di Giovan Battista Pellegrini*, vol. 1, Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1983, pp. 357–370.
——, "À propos de Marco Polo et de son livre: Quelques suggestions de travail," in Alberto Limentani et al. (eds.), *Essor et fortune de la Chanson de geste dans l'Europe et l'Orient latin: Actes du IX^e^ Congrès International de la Société Rencesvals pour l'étude des épopées romanes; Padoue-Venise 29 août–4 septembre 1982*, Mondena: Mucci, 1984, vol. 2, pp. 795–801.
——, "La certificazione autoptica: Materiali per l'analisi di una costante della scrittura di viaggio," *Viaggi e scritture di viaggio*, 3 (1990): 281–299.
——, "Lingue e stili nel 'Milione'," in Renzo Zorzi (ed.), *L'epopea delle scoperte*, Firenze: Olschki, 1994, pp. 61–73.
——, "Nuovi studi su Marco Polo e Rustichello da Pisa," in Luigina Morini (ed.), *La cultura dell'Italia padana e la presenza francese nei secoli XII–XV (Pavia, 11–14 settembre 1994)*, Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2001, pp. 95–110.
——, "Pour commencer à raconter le voyage: Le prologue du *Devisement du monde* de Marco Polo," in Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Laurence Harf-Lancner (eds.), *Seuils de l'œuvre dans le texte médiéval*, Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2002, pp. 115–130.
——, "Edizioni di lusso del Milione," *Studi mediolatini e volgari*, 50 (2004); 251–254.
——, "Le meraviglie inquietanti: Marco Polo, Sklovskij, Calvino," *Studi mediolatini e volgari*, 51 (2005): 7–26.
——, "Le versioni storiche del Milione in Italia: La versione Toscana," in Frederico Masini et al. (eds.) (2006), pp. 199–208.
——, "Le relazioni di viaggio di Marco Polo e di Odorico da Pordenone: Due testi a confronto," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 155–172.

Bertuccioli, Umberto, "Marco Polo uomo di mare," *Ateneo Veneto*, 146 (1955): 23ff.
Bezzola, Gian Andri, *Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht [1220–1270]: Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Völkerbegegnungen*, Bern and München: Francke Verlag, 1974.
Bianchi, Vito, *Marco Polo, Storia del mercante che capì la Cina*, Roma-Bari: Leterza, 2007.
Bianconi, Giovanni Giuseppe, "Dell'Epyornis Maximus e degli scritti di Marco Polo; Memoria II," *Memorie della Accademia delle Scienze dell'Istituto di Bologna*, serie seconda, vol. 2, Bologna, 1862: 3–64.
——, *Degli scritti di Marco Polo e dell'uccello Ruc da lui menzionato*, Bologna, Gamberini e Parmeggiani, Memoria prima, 1862, 64 pp., Memoria seconda, 1868, 40 pp.
Biasutti, R., "Il nuovo 'Marco Polo' di L. F. Benedetto nella versione italiana e l'isola di Madagascar," *Rivista geografica italiana*, 39 (1932): 133–138.
Birge, Bettine, "Levirate Marriage and the Revival of Widow Chastity in Yüan China," *Asia Major*, third series, 8.2 (1995): 107–146.
——, *Women, Property, and Confucian Reaction in Sung and Yüan China (960–1368)*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature and Institutions), 2002.
Blake, Robert P., "The Circulation of Silver in the Moslem East down to the Mongol Epoch," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 2.3/4 (1937): 291–328.
Bloch, M. R., "Salz in der Geschichte des Geldes," *Mitteilungen der List-Gesellschaft*, 12/13.8 (1975/1976): 251–266.
Blue, Gregory, "Marco Polo et les pates," *Médievales*, 20 (1989): 91–98.
——, "Marco Polo's Pasta," in Hakim Mohammed Said (ed.), *Essays on Science: Felicitation Volume in Honour of Dr. Joseph Needham*, Karachi: Hamdard Foundation Pakistan, 1990, pp. 39–48.
Bodi 波迪, W. W. (William W. Boddie), "Wu ke zhiyi de wenming" 無可置疑的文明 (A Civilization not Being Open to Doubt); transl. by Wang Haiqian 王海潛 and rev. by Peng Jiusong 彭久松, *Jingyanshi tongxun* 井盐史通讯 (Well Salt History Newsletter), 1.5 (1978): 36–40, 50–58. Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 259–274.
Bodun, Yuehan 约翰伯顿; Wang Xin 王欣 (transl.), "Yizhang shisan shiji de Zhongguo chaopiao jiqi baocun" 一张十三世纪的中国钞票及其保存 (A Chinese Paper Note from Thirteenth-Century China and its Preservation), *Xinjiang wenwu* 新疆文物 (Xinjiang Historical Relics), 2 (1991).
Boltz, William G., "Leonardo Olschki and Marco Polo's Asia (with an Etymological Excursus on *giraffe*)," *Romance Philology*, 23.1 (1969): 1–16.
Bonnaire, M., "Quelques mots sur Marco Polo," *Société Dunkerquoise pour l'Encouragement des Sciences, des Lettres et des Arts*, 31 (1899): 65–100.
Borbone, Pier Giorgio, *Storia di Mar Yahballaha e di Rabban Sauma: Un orientale in Occidente ai tempi di Marco Polo*, Turin: Silvio Zamorani, 2000.
Borlandi, Franco, "Alle origini del libro di Marco Polo," in Gino Barbieri, Maria Raffaella, and Amintore Fanfani (eds.), *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani*, Milano: Giuffrè, 1962, vol. 1, pp. 108–147.
Borschberg, Peter, "Der asiatische Moschushandel vom frühen 15. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert," in Jorge M. dos Santos Alves, Claude Guillot and Roderich Ptak (eds.), *Mirabilia Asiatica: Produtos raros no comércio marítimo; Produits rares dans le commerce maritime; Seltene Waren im Seehandel*, Wiesbaden and Lisboa: Harrassowitz and Fundação Oriente, 2003, vol. 1, pp. 65–83.
Bousquet-Labouérie, C., "Les Voyageurs de l'Orient: Étude des rapports entre les texts et les images dans quelques récits manuscrits sur l'Asie aux XIV^{e} et XV^{e} siècles," PhD thesis, Université François Rabelais, Tours, 1994.
Boyer, Martha, *Mongol Jewellery*, Copenhagen: I Kommission Hos, Guyldenda Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1952.
Boyle, John Andrew, "A Form of Horse Sacrifice amongst the 13th- and 14th-Century Mongols," *Central Asiatic Studies*, 10 (1965): 145–150. Repr. in his *The Mongol World Empire 1206–1370*.

——, "An Eurasian Hunting Ritual," *Folklore*, 80 (1969): 12–16. Repr. in his *The Mongol World Empire 1206–1370*.
——, "Marco Polo and his Description of the World," *History Today*, 23.8 (1973): 554–563. Repr. in his *The Mongol World Empire 1206–1370*.
——, "The Thirteenth-Century Mongols' Conception of the After-Life: The Evidence of their Funerary Practices," *Mongolion Studies*, 1 (1974): 5–14. Repr. in his *The Mongol World Empire 1206–1370*.
——, *The Mongol World Empire 1206–1370*, preface by Owen Lattimore, London: Variorum Reprints, 1977.
Bremer, Ernst, "Polo, Marco," in Wolfgang Stammler and Kurt Langosch (eds.); Kurt Ruh et al. (ed. of 2nd ed.), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 7, Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1979, col. 771–775.
Bretschneider, Emil, *Medieval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, 2 vols., London: Trübner & Co., 1888.
Brook, Timothy, "Native Identity Under Alien Rule: Local Gazetteers of the Yuan Dynasty," in Richard Britnell (ed.), *Pragmatic Literacy, East and West, 1200–1330*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997, pp. 235–245.
——, *The Troubled Empire: China in the Yuan and Ming Dynasties*, Cambridge, MA, and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010.
Brose, Michael C., "Central Asians in Mongol China: Experiencing the 'Other' from Two Perspectives," *Medieval History Journal*, 5.2 (2002): 267–289.
——, "Uyghur Technologists of Writing and Literacy in Mongol China," *T'oung Pao*, second series, 91.4–5 (2005): 396–435.
Brown, J. Coggin, "The Mines and Mineral Resources of Yunnan, with Short Accounts of its Agricultural Products and Trade," *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*, XLVII, 1923.
Bruce, Clarence Dalrymple, *In the Footsteps of Marco Polo: Being an Account of a Journey Overland from Simla to Pekin*, Edinburg and London: W. Blackwood, 1907.
Brunello, Franco, *Marco Polo e le merci dell'Oriente*, Vincenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1986.
Bu Yangwu 卜杨武, "Hushi dongjiao Baita faxian yizhang 'Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao' " 呼市东郊白塔发现一张中统元宝交钞 (A *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* Discovered in the White Pagoda in the Eastern Suburbs of Huhehot), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu* 内蒙古金融研究 (Finance Research of Inner Mongolia), 1 (2002): 24–26.
Buell, Paul D., "Steppe Perspectives on the Medieval History of China: Modern Mongol Scholarship on the Liao, Chin and Yüan Periods," *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 15 (1981): 129–149.
——, "Saiyid Aǰall (1211–1279)," in Igor de Rachewiltz, Chan Hok-lam, Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing and Peter W. Geier, with the assistance of May Wang (eds.), *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200–1300)*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993, pp. 466–479.
——, *The A to Z of the Mongol World Empire*, Lanham, Toronto, Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press, 2010.
Buenger Robbert, Louise, "Il sistema monetario," in Giorgio Cracco and Gherardo Ortalli (eds.), *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*; II: *L'età del Comune*, Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana fondata da Giovanni Treccani, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1995, pp. 409–430.
Buffa, Gaspare, "Marco Polo: Orazione commemorativa letta nel R. Liceo Cristoforo Colombo il 24 marzo 1872," Genova: Schenone, 1872, 18 pp.
Burgio, Eugenio, "Forma e funzione autobiografica nel 'Milione'," in Francesco Bruni (ed.), *"In quella parte del libro de la mia memoria": Verità e finzioni dell'"io" autobiografico*, Venezia: Marsilio, 2003, pp. 37–55.
——, "Marco Polo e gli 'idolatri'," in Sonia Maura Barillari and Nicolò Pasero (eds.), *Le voci del Medioevo: Testi, immagini, tradizioni; Atti del VII Convegno internazionale (Rocca Grimalda, 21–22 settembre 2002)*, Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2006, pp. 31–62.

Burgio, Eugenio, and Mario Eusebi, "Per una nueva edizione del *Milione*," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 17–48.

Burgio, Eugenio, and Giuseppe Mascherpa, " 'Milione' latino: Note linguistiche e appunti di storia della tradizione sulle redazioni Z e L," in Renato Oniga and Sergio Vatteroni (eds.), *Plurilinguismo letterario*, Soveria Manelli: Rubbettino, 2007, pp. 119–158.

Busetto Giorgio, "La posizione del *Milione* nella letteratura Franco-Italiana," in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 273–280.

Bushell, Stephen Wootton, "Notes on the Old Mongolian Capital of Shangtu," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 7 (1875): 329–338.

Bussagli, Mario, "La grande Asia di Marco Polo," in Alvise Zorzi (ed.), *Marco Polo, Venezia e l'Oriente*, Milano: Electa, 1980, pp. 173–226.

Butler, John S., and Liu Jin-tan, "Money, Prices and Causality: The Chinese Hyperinflation 1946–49 Reexamined," *Journal of Macroeconomics*, 11 (1989): 447–457.

Cai Meibiao蔡美彪, "Yuandai yuanpai liangzhong kaoshi" 元代圆牌两种考释 (An Investigation of Two Types of Round Tablets of Authority of the Yuan Period), in his *Yuanshi lunji* 元史论集 (Collected Articles on Yuan History), Beijing: Renmin chuban she, 1984, pp. 698–710.

——, "Yuanshi Kaihuasi bei shiyi" 元氏開化寺释译 (Explanation and Translation of the Stele of the Kaihua Temple of the Yuan Clan), *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology), 9 (1988): 842–845.

——, "Shilun Make Boluo zai Zhongguo" 试论马可波罗在中国 (A Discussion of Marco Polo's Stay in China), *Zhongguo shehui kexue* 中国社会科学 (Social Sciences in China), 2 (1992): 177–188. Repr. in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 297–314.

——, "Marco Polo in China," transl. by Wang Yintong from *Zhongguo shehui kexue*, 2 (1992), rev. by Yang Zhi and Tao Busi, *Social Sciences in China*, 14.2 (1993): 171–179.

——, "Make Boluo guitu jishi xiyi" 马可菠罗归途记事析疑 (A Critical Analysis of the Records Concerning the Return Journey of Marco Polo), *Yuanshi luncong* 元史论丛 (Studies of Yuan History), 6 (1996): 24–34.

——, "Make Boluo suoji Ahema shijian zhong de *Cenchu Vanchu*" 马可波罗所记阿合马事件中的 *Cenchu Vanchu* (*Cenchu* and *Vanchu* in Marco Polo's Record of the Ahmad Incident), *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan yanjiushengyuan xuebao* 中国社会科学院研究生院学报 (Academic Journal of the Graduate School of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), 5 (1998): 89–93.

Cai Yonghua 蔡永华 and Ma Jianxi 马建熙, "Xianyang faxian de Yuandai zhibi" 咸阳发现的元代纸币 (Paper Money from the Yuan Period Discovered in Xianyang), *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古与文物 (Archaeology and Historical Relics), 3 (1980).

Calabrese, Omar, Renato Giovannoli, and Isabella Pezzini (eds.), *Hic sunt leones: Geografia fantastica e viaggi straordinari*, Milano, Electra, 1983.

Calvino, Italo, *Le città invisibili*, 3rd. ed. Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1972.

Capecchi, Fernando, "O 'livro das maravilhas' de Marco Polo," *Boletim da Sociedade de Geográfia de Lisboa*, 73 (1955): 307–314.

Capusso, Maria Grazia, *La lingua del "Divisament dou monde" di Marco Polo. I. La morfoligia verbale*, Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1980.

——, "La mescidanza linguistica del Milione franco-italiano," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 263–283.

Caraci, Giuseppe, "Un capitolo del 'Milione' di Marco Polo," *Rivista geografica italiana*, (1924): 12–42.

——, "Viaggiatori italiani in Persia," *Il Veltro*, 14 (1960): 39–60.

Cardona, Giorgio R., "Indice ragionato," in Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, *Marco Polo, Milione. Versione toscana del Trecento*, Milano: Adelphi Edizioni, 1975, pp. 591–760.

Carile, Antonio, "Territorio e ambiente nel 'Divisament dou Monde' di Marco Polo," *Studii Veneziani*, 1 (1977): 13–26.

Carvajal, Doreen, "Marco Polo: Is a Rivalry Just Fiction?" *The New York Times*, December 9, 1997, URL: http://www.nytimes.com/1997/12/09/world/marco-polo-is-a-rivalry-just-fiction.html (accessed February 4, 2011).

Casal, U. A., "Salt," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 14.1/2 (1958): 61–90.
Casella, Mario, "Il libro di Marco Polo," *Archivio storico italiano*, serie VII, 11 (1929): 193–230.
Castellani, Guiseppe, "I valori delle monete espresse nel testamento di Marco Polo," *Rivista mensile della Città di Venezia*, 3.9 (1924).
Cattaneo, A. S., *Fra Mauro's* Mappa Mundi *and Fifteenth-Century Venetian Culture*, Brepolis: Brepols Publishers (Terrarum orbis series; 8), 2011.
Cavalieri, Renzo, "Marco Polo and Chinese Law," in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 170–176.
Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉, "Shumi fushi Boluo" 枢密副使孛罗 (The Military Affairs Vice Commissioner Boluo [Bolad Akha]), *Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 历史语言研究所集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica), 5 (1935). Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed). (1983), pp. 188–195.
Cessi, Roberto, "L'opera di Marco Polo," *Rivista mensile della città di Venezia*, 8 (1929): 465–476.
Chaffee, John W., "The Impact of the Song Imperial Clan on the Overseas Trade of Quanzhou," in Angela Schottenhammer (ed.) (2001), pp. 13–46.
Chai Jiguang 柴继光, "Qite de Yunnan yanbi" 奇特的云南钱盐币 (The Peculiar Salt Currency of Yunnan), in his *Zhongguo yan wenhua* 中国盐文化 (The Salt Culture of China), Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe, 1991, pp. 148–154.
Chaix, Paul, "Marco Polo," *Le Globe: Journal géographique* (Organ de la Société de Géographie de Genève), 39 (1900): 84–94.
Chakravarti, Ranabir, "Early Medieval Bengal and the Trade in Horses: A Note," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 42.2 (1999): 194–211.
Chan Hok-lam [Chen Xuelin 陳學霖], "Liu Ping-chung 劉秉忠 (1216–74): A Buddhist-Taoist Statesman at the Court of Khubilai Khan," *T'oung Pao*, 53.1/3 (1967): 98–146.
——, "The Yüan Currency System," in David M. Farquhar, *The Government of China under Mongolian Rule: A Reference Guide*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner (Münchener Ostasiatische Studien; 53), 1990, pp. 445–460.
——, "Siting by Bowshot: A Mongolian Custom and its Sociopolitical and Cultural Implications," *Asia Major*, 3rd ser., 4.2 (1991): 53–78. Repr. in his *China under the Mongols: History and Legend under the Yüan and Ming*.
——, " 'The Distance of a Bowshot': Some Remarks on Measurement in the Altaic World," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, 25 (1995): 29–46.
——, *China under the Mongols: History and Legend under the Yüan and Ming*, Aldershot, Brookfield USA, Singapore, Sydney: Ashgate Variorum, 1999.
Chan Hok-lam and William Theodore de Bary (eds.), *Yüan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion under the Mongols*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.
Chang Chun-shu, "Maritime Trade and Images of the South Seas and the Western World in Sung China, 960–1279," in Michel Soymié (ed.), *Chine ancienne (Pre-modern China), Actes du XXIX^e Congrès Internationale des Orientalistes, section organisé par Michel Soymié*, Paris: L'Asiathèque, 1977, pp. 11–16.
Chang Kia-ngau, *The Inflationary Spiral: The Experience in China, 1939–50*, New York and London: MIT Press, John Wiley & Sons, and Chapman & Hall, 1958.
Chang Yahlin, "A Kublai Con Job? The Dubious Diary of a Proto-Marco Polo," *Newsweek*, October 6, 1997, http://www.newsweek.com/1997/10/05/a-kublai-con-job.html (accessed February 4, 2011).
Charignon, A. J. H., "Deux chapitres de Marco Polo," *La Chine*, 4.64 (1er mai 1924): 135–145.
——, "La Grande Java de Marco Polo en Cochinchine," *Bulletin de la Société des Études Indochinoises*, nouvelle série, 4.4 (octrobre–décembre 1929): 191–347.
Chavannes, Édouard, "Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole," *T'oung Pao*, 5.4 (1904): 357–447; 6 (1905): 1–42; 9 (1908): 297–428.
Chen Bingying 陈炳应, "Heicheng xin chutu de yipi Yuandai wenshu" 黑城新出土的一批元代文书 (Newly Excavated Documents of the Yuan Period from Heicheng), *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古与文物 (Archaeology and Historical Relics), 1 (1983): 59–61.

——, "'Make Boluo youji' zhong de Yuanchao"《马可· 波罗游记》中的元钞 (Yuan Paper Money in *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Zhongguo qianbi* 中国钱币 (China Numismatics), 11 (1998): 75–76.

——, "'Make Boluo youji' zhong de Yuanchao"《马可· 波罗游记》中的元钞 (Yuan Paper Money in *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Gansu jinrong* 甘肃金融 (Gansu Finance), 11 (1998a): 58–62.

Chen Chau-nan, Chang Ping-tsun, and Chen Shi-kuan, "The Sung and Ming Paper Monies: Currency Competition and Currency Bubbles," *Journal of Macroeconomics*, 17.2 (1995): 273–288.

Chen Dasheng, "Le rôle des étrangers dans le commerce maritime de Quanzhou ('Zaitun') aux 13e et 14e siècles," in Denys Lombard and Jean Aubin (eds.), *Marchands et hommes d'affaires asiatiques dans l'Océan Indien et la Mer de Chine, 13e–20e siècles*, Paris: Ed. de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1988, pp. 21–29.

Chen Dezhi 陈得芝, "Make Boluo zai Zhongguo de lücheng jiqi niandai" 马可波罗在中国的旅程及其年代 (Marco Polo's Travel Route and Period in China), in *Nanjing daxue lishixi Yuanshi yanjiushi* 南京大学历史系元史研究室 (Yuan History Research Institute, Faculty of History of Nanjing University) (ed.), *Yuanshi ji beifang minzushi yanjiu jikan* 元史及北方民族史研究集刊 (Collected Research Papers on Yuan History and the History of the Northern Nationalities), 10 (1986), pp. 430–447.

——, "Yuandai de chaofa" 元代的钞法 (The Paper Money Measures of the Yuan Period), *Nanjing daxue xuebao* 南京大学学报 (Nanjing University Journal), 4 (1992).

——, "Make Boluo buzhu shuze" 马可· 波罗补注数则 (Some Additional Notes on Marco Polo), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 36–46.

——, *Mengyuanshi yanjiu conggao* 蒙元史研究叢稿 (Collected Research Drafts on the History of the Mongol Yuan Period), Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2005.

Chen Gaohua 陳高華, "Yuandai yanzheng ji qi shehui yingxiang" 元代鹽政及其社會影響 (The Salt Administration during the Yuan Period and its Influence on Society), *Lishi luncong* 歷史論叢 (Collected Articles on History), 1 (1964): 195–217. Repr. in *Nanjing daxue lishixi Yuanshi yanjiushi* 南京大学历史系元史研究室 (Yuan History Research Institute, Faculty of History of Nanjing University) (ed.), *Yuanshi luncong* 元史论丛 (Studies of Yuan History), Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1984, pp. 307–339.

—— 陈高华, *Yuanshi yanjiu xinlun* 元史研究新论 (New Essays in Yuan History Research), Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 2005.

Chen Gaohua and Shi Weimin 史卫民, *Zhongguo jingji tongshi: Yuandai jingjishi* 中国经济通史: 元代经济史 (Comprehensive Economic History of China: Economic History of the Yuan Period), Beijing: Jingji ribao chubanshe, 2000.

——, *Zhongguo fengsu tongshi: Yuandai juan* 中国风俗通史: 元代卷 (Comprehensive History of Customs in China: Volume on the Yuan Period), Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 2001.

——, *Yuandai Dadu Shangdu yanjiu* 元代大都上都研究 (An Investigation on Dadu and Shangdu of the Yuan Period), Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe (*Dangdai Zhongguo renwen daxi* 当代中国人文大系), 2010.

Chen Lüfan 陈吕范 et al., *Yunnan yejinshi*, 云南冶金史 (A History of Metallurgy in Yunnan), Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1980.

Ch'en, Paul Hengchao, *Chinese Legal Tradition under the Mongols: The Code of 1291 as Reconstructed*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979.

Chen Ran 陈然, "Woguo xi'nan shichang shang ceng liutong de yizhong teshu huobi: Yanbi" 我国西南市场上曾流通的一种特殊货币—盐币 (Salt Money: A Special Type of Currency which once Circulated on the Markets in the Southwest of our Country), *Zhongguo qianbi* 中国钱币 (China Numismatics), 4 (1997): 63–66.

Chen Shisong 陈世松, "Make Boluo suojian zhi Zhongguo qiao" 马可· 波罗所见之中国侨 (Chinese Bridges in Marco Polo's Eyes), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 148–160.

Chen Xizhong 陈喜忠, *Zhongguo Yuandai jingjishi* 中国元代经济史 (An Economic History of China during the Yuan Period), vol. 62 of Shi Zhongwen 史仲文 and Hu Xiaolin

胡晓林 (chief eds.), *Baijuanben Zhongguo quanshi* 百卷本中國全史 (A Comprehensive History of China in One Hundred Volumes), Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1994.
Chen Yanhang 陈延杭, "'Make Boluo youji' zhong Citong haichuan de tantao"《马可·波罗游记》中刺桐海船的探讨 (On the Citong Junks in *Marco Polo's Travels*), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 111–124.
Ch'ên Yüan 陳垣, *Western and Central Asians in China under the Mongols: Their Transformation into Chinese* 元西域人華化考, translated and annotated by Ch'ien Hsing-hai 錢星海 and L. Carrington Goodrich, Los Angeles: Published by Monumenta Serica at the University of California, 1966.
Chen Yueqing 陈月清, "Make Boluo he 'Make Boluo youji'" 马可·波罗和《马可·波罗游记》(Marco Polo and *Marco Polo's Travels*), in Liu Minghan 刘明翰 (ed.), in *Waiguo shixue mingzhu xuanjie* 外国史学名著选介 (Introduction of Selected Foreign Historiographical Masterpieces), Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1986.
Chen Zhongyi 陳仲益, "Mage Boluo yu Daojiao" 馬哥孛羅與道教 (Marco Polo and Daoism), *Beijing daxue yanjiusuo Guoxuemen zhoukan* 北京大學研究所國學門周刊 (Peking University Research Institute, Departement of Studies of Chinese Culture), 2.21 (1926): 202–204.
Chesnaux, Jean, "Marco Polo détrôné?" *La Quinzaine Littéraire*, 788 (15 juillet 2000): 24–25.
Chiang Tao-chang, "The Salt Industry of Ming China," *Geographical Review*, 65.1 (1975): 93–106.
Chiappori, Maria Grazia, "I tre Polo nella 'Iglesia militans' di Andrea Bonaiuti in S. Maria Novella a Firenze," *Quaderni medievali*, 15 (1985): 27–51.
Chiodo, Elisabetta, "The Horse White-as-Egg (*öndegen čaγan*): A Study of the Custom of Consecrating Animals to Deities," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, n. s. 11 (1992): 125–151.
Chipman, Leigh, "Islamic Pharmacy in the Mamlūk and Mongol Realms: Theory and Practice," *Asian Medicine: Tradition and Modernity*, 3.2 (2007): 265–278.
Chou Shun-hsin, *The Chinese Inflation, 1937–49*, New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1963.
Chü Ch'ing-yüan 鞠清遠, "Government Artisans of the Yüan Dynasty," in John De Francis and E-tu Zen Sun (eds. and transl.), *Chinese Social History: Translations of Selected Studies*, Washington, D.C.: American Council of Learned Societies, 1956, pp. 234–246.
Church, Sally K., "Zheng He: An Investigation into the Plausibility of 450-ft Treasureships," *Monumenta Serica*, 53 (2005): 54–71.
Ciccuto, Marcello, "La criociata immaginaria di Marco Polo," *Italianistica*, 16 (1987): 221–233. Also in his *L'immagine del testo: Episodi di cultura figurativa nella letteratura italiana*, Roma: Bonacci (L'ippogrifo; 50), 1990, pp. 41–62.
——, "L'India del *Milione*: Sistemazione enciclopedica di una scoperta," in his *L'immagine del testo: Episodi di cultura figurativa nella letteratura italiana*, Roma: Bonacci (L'ippogrifo; 50), 1990a, pp. 63–102.
——, "Storia e mito del *Milione*," *Lettere italiane*, 43 (1991): 153–170. Also in his *Icone della parola: Immagine e scrittura nella letteratura delle origini*, Modena: Mucchi, 1995, pp. 147–171.
——, "L'Africa al tempo di Marco Polo: Realtà o finzione?" *Studi d'italianistica nell'Africa australe / Italian Studies in Southern Africa*, 5.2 (1992): 9–18.
——, "Le meraviglie di Marco: Il Milione alla corte di Borgogna," *Rara volumina*, 1 (1997): 5–34.
——, "Codici culturali a confronto nell'enciclopedia di Marco Polo: Il 'caso India'," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 204–218.
Cigni, Fabrizio, "Il romanzo arturiano di Rustichello da Pisa," tesi di laurea, Facoltà di Lettere, Università di Pisa, anno accademico 1986–1987.
——, "'Prima' del *Devisement dou monde*: Osservazioni (e alcuni ipotesi) sulla lingua della Compilazione *Arturiana* di Rustichello da Pisa," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 219–231.
Clark, Hugh R., *Community, Trade and Networks: Southern Fujian Province from the Third to the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Clark, Larry V., "The Turkic and Mongol Words in William of Rubruck (1253–1255)," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 93: 181–189.
Cleaves, Francis Woodman, "A Chancellery Practice of the Mongols in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 14.3/4 (1951): 493–526.
——, "*Darugha* and *gerege*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 16.1–2 (1953): 237–259.
——, "The Biography of Bayan of the Bārin in the *Yüan Shih*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 19.3/4 (1956): 185–303.
——, "A Chinese Source Bearing on Marco Polo's Departure from China and a Persian Source on his Arrival in Persia," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 36 (1976): 181–203.
——, "The Biography of the Empress Cabi in the Yüan shih," *Harvard Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 3–4 (1979–80): 185–303.
——, "The Second Chapter of an Early Mongolian Version of the Hsiao Ching," in Annemarie von Gabain und Wolfgang Veenker (eds.), *Documenta Barbarorum: Festschrift für Walther Heissig zum 70. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica; 18), 1983, pp. 39–46.
——, "The Memorial for Presenting the *Yüan shih*," *Asia Major*, third series, 1 (1988): 59–69.
Collingridge, George, "The Early Cartography of Japan," *Geographical Journal*, 3.5 (1894): 403–409.
Commeaux, Charles, *La vie quotidienne chez les Mongols de la Conquête (XIII^e siècle)*, Paris: Hachette, 1972.
Concina, Chiara, "Prime indagini su un nuovo frammento franco-veneto del *Milione* di Marco Polo," *Romania*, 125 (2007): 342–369.
Conermann, Stephan, and Jan Kusber (eds.), *Die Mongolen in Asien und Europa*, Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang (Kieler Werkstücke; 4: Beiträge zur osteuropäischen Geschichte), 1997.
Connell, Charles W., "Western Views of the Origins of the 'Tartars': An Example of the Influence of Myth in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 3 (1973): 115–137.
Conte, Silvia (ed.), *I viaggi del* Milione*: Itinerari testuali, vettori di trasmissione e metamorfosi del* Devisement du monde *di Marco Polo e Rustichello da Pisa nella pluralità delle attestazioni; Convegno Internazionale, Venezia, 6–8 ottobre 2005 (Università degli Studi di Roma "Tor Vergata," Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia)*, Roma: Tiellemedia Editore, 2008.
Contini, Gianfranco, "Una nuova edizione del *Milione*," in his *Ultimi esercizî ed elzeviri (1968–1987)*, Torino: Einaudi, 1988, pp. 217–220. Originally published in *La Republica*, April 20, 1976.
Cordier, Henri, *Centenaire de Marco Polo: Conférence faite à la Société d'Études Italiennes le mercredi 18 décembre 1895 à la Sorbonne*, Paris: E. Leroux (Bibliothéque de voyages anciens; 3), 1896.
——, "Marco Polo's Travels," *Geographical Journal*, 26.6 (1905): 686–687.
——, *Bibliotheca Sinica: Dictionnnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs à l'empire chinois*, deuxième édition, Paris: E. Guilmoto (Librairie Orientale & Amércaine), 1906–1907, repr. Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1966.
——, "L'itinéraire de Marco Polo en Perse," *Bulletin de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres: Comptes rendus, mai 1911*, 55.4 (1911): 298–309.
——, "Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie Centrale sous les Mongols," *T'oung Pao*, second series, 18.1/2 (1917): 49–113.
——, *Ser Marco Polo, Notes and Addenda*, London: John Murray, 1920.
Corna Pellegrini, Giacomo, "Il geografo Marco Polo," *Ambiente, società, territorio*, 3 (2005): 3–7.
——, "La geografia di Marco Polo, oggi," in Gino De Vecchis (ed.) (2006), pp. 13–40.
Corradini, Piero, "Italians in China at the Time of Marco Polo," in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 251–260.
Corsi, Elisabetta, "Marco Polo's Observations on the Use of Paper in China and the State of Paper-making Technology at the Time," in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 177–184.

Critchley, John, *Marco Polo's Book*, Aldershot, Hampshire, and Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, 1992.
D'Ancona, Jacob; David Selbourne (transl. and ed.), *The City of Light: The Hidden Journal of the Man who Entered China Four Years before Marco Polo*, New York: Citadel Press, Kensington Publishing Corp., 2000.
D'Avezac, M., "Un mot sur la langue en laquelle a été écrite la relation originale de Marc Polo," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 2.16 (1841): 117–121.
Dabringhaus, Sabine, and Roderich Ptak, with the Assistance of Richard Teschke (eds.), *China and Her Neighbours: Borders, Visions of the Other, Foreign Policy, 10th to 19th Century*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag (South China and Maritime Asia; 6), 1997.
Dainelli, Giotto, *Marco Polo*, Torino: Unione tipografico-editrice torinese (I Grandi Italiani; 12), 1941.
——, *Missionari e mercadanti rivelatori dell'Asia nel Medioevo*, Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1960.
Daire, Marie-Yvane (2003), *Le Sel des Gaulois*, Paris: Editions Errance (Collection des Hesperides), 2003.
Dalla Pozza Peruffo, Giovanna, "From East to West: Cultural Transformations on the European Painting between 14th and 16th Century after Marco Polo's Journey," in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 260–273.
Dang Baohai 党宝海, *Meng Yuan yizhan jiaotong yanjiu* 蒙元驿站交通研究 (An Investigation of the Postal Service of the Mongol Yuan), Beijing: Kunlun chubanshe (Dongfang wenhua jicheng), 2006.
——, *Make Boluo yanzhong de Zhongguo* 马可波罗眼中的中国 (China in the Eyes of Marco Polo), Beijing, Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju and Shanghai guji chubanshe (Wenshi Zhongguo; Shijie de Zhongguo), 2010. This is a popular book.
Daniels, Christian, *Agro-Industries: Sugarcane Technology*, part III of vol. 6, *Biology and Biological Technology*, of Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilisation in China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
Dardess, John W., "From Mongol Empire to Yüan Dynasty: Changing Forms of Imperial Rule in Mongolia and Central Asia," *Monumenta Serica*, 30 (1972–1973): 117–165.
——, *Conquerors and Confucians: Aspects of Political Change in Late Yüan China*, New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1973.
Dars, Jacques, "Les jonques chinoises de haute mer sous les Song et les Yuan," *Archipel*, 18 (1979): 41–56.
——, *La marine chinoise du X^e siècle au XIV^e siècle*, Paris: Economica, 1992.
De Ghellinck d'Elseghem, Joseph, *Le franciscains en Chine aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, Louvain: Duculot (Xaveriana; 42, 44), 1927.
De Rachewiltz, Igor, "The *Hsi-yu lu* 西 遊 錄 by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材," *Monumenta Serica*, 21 (1962): 1–128.
——, "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (1189–1243): Buddhist Idealist and Confucian Statesman," in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett (eds.), *Confucian Personalities*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 1962a, pp. 189–216.
——, "Personnel and Personalities in North China in the Early Mongol Period," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 9.1/2 (1966): 88–144.
——, "Some Remarks on the Language Problem in Yüan China," *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 5.1 and 5.2 (1967): 65–80.
——, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*, London: Faber & Faber, 1971.
——, "*Qan*, *Qa'an* and the Seal of Güyüg," in Annemarie von Gabain and Wolfgang Veenker (eds.), *Documenta Barbarorum: Festschrift für Walther Heissig zum 70. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica; 18), 1983, pp. 272–281.
——, "Marco Polo Went to China," *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 27 (1997): 34–92.
——, "Marco Polo Went to China: Additions and Corrections," *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 28 (1998): 177.

——, "Wood's *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* A Critical Appraisal," http://rspas.anu.edu.au/eah/Marcopolo.html (accessed February 26, 2012).
De Rachewiltz, Igor, Chan Hok-lam, Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing and Peter W. Geier, with the assistance of May Wang (eds.), *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200–1300)*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993.
De Rachewiltz, Igor, and Donald Daniel Leslie, "Review Article [on Jacob d'Ancon, *The City of Light: The Hidden Journal of the Man who Entered China Four Years before Marco Polo*, translated and edited by David Selbourne]," *Journal of Asian History*, 32 (1998), pp. 180–185.
De Skattschkoff, Constantin, "Le Vénitien Marco Polo et les services qu'il a rendus en faisant connaître l'Asie," *Journal asiatique*, 7.4 (1874): 122–158.
De Vecchis, Gino, "Insegnare la Cina: Marco Polo e il suo viaggio in Oriente," *Ambiente, società, territorio*, 2 (2005): 3–8.
—— (ed.), *Verso l'altro e l'altrove: La geografia di Marco Polo, oggi*, Roma: Carocci editore (Ambiente, società, territorio; 1), 2006.
——, "Marco Polo, la grande avventura in Oriente: Itinerari didattico-geografici," in De Vecchis (ed.) (2006), pp. 41–76.
De Vierna Trevisan, Marc'Alvise, "Origini ed eredità della nobile famiglia Polo, patrizia veneziana, da cui nacque ser Marco viaggiatore," *Rivista araldica*, 75 (1977): 251–253.
Dearing, J. A., R. T. Jones, J. Shen, X. Yang, J. F. Boyle, G. C. Foster, D. S. Crook, and M. J. D. Elvin, "Using Multiple Archives to Understand Past and Present Climate–Human–Environment Interactions: The Lake Erhai Catchment, Yunnan Province, China," *Journal of Paleolimnology*, 40.1 (2008): 3–31.
Del Guerra, Giorgio, *Rustichello da Pisa*, Pisa: Nistri-Lischi Editori, 1955.
Delgado, James P., *Khubilai Khan's Lost Fleet: In Search of a Legendary Armada*, Vancouver, BC et al.: Douglas & McIntyre, 2008.
——, *Khubilai Khan's Lost Fleet: History's Greatest Naval Disaster*, London: Bodley Head, 2009.
Deluz, Christiane, "Villes et organisation de l'espace: La Chine de Marco Polo," in Monique Bourin (ed.), *Villes, bonnes villes, cités et capitals: Études d'histoire urbaine (XII^e–XVIII^e siècle) offertes à Bernard Chevalier*, Tours: Université de Tours, 1993, pp. 161–168.
——, "La hiérarchie sociale dans l'empire mongol vue par les voyageurs occidentaux (XIII^e–XIV^e s.)," in Huguette Legros, Denis Hüe, Joël Grisward and Didier Lechat (eds.), *Remembrances et reveries: Hommage à Jean Batany*, Orléans: Paradigme (Medievalia; 58), 2006, pp. 85–94.
Demiéville, Paul, "La situation religieuse en Chine au temps de Marco Polo," in *Oriente Poliano*, 1957, pp. 193–234.
Deng, Kent, *Chinese Maritime Activities and Socioeconomic Development*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997.
——, *Maritime Sector, Institutions, and Sea Power of Premodern China*, London: Greenwood Press (Contributions in Economics and Economic History; 212), 1999.
Denlinger, Paul B., "Chinese in hP'ags-pa Script," *Monumenta Serica*, 22.2 (1963): 407–473.
Deyell, John, "The China Connection: Problems of Silver Supply in Medieval Bengal," in John F. Richards (ed.), *Precious Metals in the Later Medieval and Early Modern World*, Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 1983.
Di Lenna, N., "Il lago Geluchalat di Marco Polo e di G. B. Ramusio," Lugo, 1918, 7 pp.
Di Majo, Elena, and Matteo Lafranconi, *Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna: Le collezioni, II, XIX secolo*, Milano: Mondadori Electa, 2009.
Dieu, Léon, "Marco Polo: Quel est le text authentique de sa relation?" *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 42 (1947): 110–119.
——, *Marco Polo chez le Grand Khan*, Namur: Grands Lacs, 1947.
Ding Qian 丁谦, " 'Mage Boluo youji' buzhu gaiding" 《马哥博罗游记》补注改订 (Supplements and Corrections to *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Dixue zazhi* 地学杂志 (Geography Magazine), 86–96 (1917–18). Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 380–446.

Dong Xianqing 董咸庆, "Yanbi: Yunnan shichang liutongguo de huobi" 盐币: 云南市场流通过的货币 (Salt Money: A Currency once Having Circulated in Yunnan Markets), in Peng Zeyi 彭泽益 and Wang Renyuan 王仁远 (eds.), *Zhongguo yanyeshi guoji xueshu taolunhui lunwenji* 中国盐业史国际学术讨论会论文集 (Collected Articles of the International Symposium on the History of the Chinese Salt Industry), Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1991.

Douchet, S., "Les 'Ysles d'Ynde' ou le temps des hommes (Marco Polo—Ibn Battuta)," *Médiévales*, 47 (2004): 97–112.

Drapeyron, Ludovic, "Le retour de Marco Polo en 1295: Cathay e Sypangu," *Revue de Géographie*, 19.1 (1895): 3–8.

Drège, Jean-Pierre, *Marco Polo et la route de la soie*, Paris: Gallimard, 1976.

——, *Marco Polo und die Seidenstrasse*, Ravensburg: Maier (Abenteuer Geschichte; 30), 1992.

——, "Marco Polo n'est jamais allé en Chine!" *L'histoire*, 199 (1996): 6–7.

Drouin, M. E. "Notice sur les monnaies mongoles, faisant partie du recueil des documents de l'époque mongole publié par le Prince Roland Bonaparte," *Journal asiatique*, Mai–Juin 1896: 486–544.

Duan Lisheng 段立生, "Make Boluo de Luohuguo zhi xing" 马可波罗的罗斛国之行 (Marco Polo's Trip to Locac), *Dongnanya yanjiu* 东南亚研究 (Southeast Asian Studies), 3 (1996): 60–62.

Dunn, Ross E., *The Adventures of Ibn Batuta, a Muslim Traveler of the Fourteenth Century*, London: Croom Helm, 1986.

Dutschke, Consuelo Wager, "Francesco Pipino and the Manuscripts of Marco Polo's 'Travels'," PhD diss., University of Los Angeles, 1993, UMI, accessed the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin).

——, "The Truth in the Book: The Marco Polo Texts in Royal 19.D.I. and Bodley 264," *Scriptorum*, 52.2 (1998): 278–300.

Eberstein, Bernd, *Bergbau und Bergarbeiter zur Ming-Zeit (1368–1644)*, Hamburg: Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens e. V., Hamburg, and Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens e. V., Tokyo (Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens; 62), 1974.

Ebisawa Tetsuo 海 老澤哲雄, "Bondservants in the Yüan," *Acta Asiatica*, 45 (1983): 27–48.

Eco, Umberto, "Il 'Milione': Descrivere l'ignoto," in his *"Sugli specchi" e altri saggi*, Milano: Bompiani (Saggi tascabili), 1995, pp. 61–66.

Edkins, Joseph, "Kan Fu," *China Review*, 15.5 (1887): 310–311.

Egami Namio, *The Mongol Empire and Christendom*, transl. by Fukuhara Yusuko, Tokyo: San Paolo, 2000.

Eggebrecht, Arne (ed.), *Die Mongolen und ihr Weltreich*, Mainz am Rhein: Phillip von Zabern, 1989.

Elvin, Mark, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973.

Endicott-West, Elizabeth, "The Yüan," in Gilbert Rozman (ed.), *Soviet Studies of Premodern China*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 1984, pp. 97–110.

——, "Hereditary Privilege in the Yüan Dynasty," *Journal of Turkish Studies* (Festschrift for Francis W. Cleaves), 9 (1985): 15–20.

——, "Imperial Governance in Yuan Times," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 46.2 (1986): 523–549.

——, *Mongolian Rule in China: Local Administration in the Yuan Dynasty*, Cambridge (Mass.) and London: Harvard University Press, 1989.

——, "Merchant Associations in Yüan China: The *Ortogh*," *Asia Major*, 3.2 (1989a): 127–154.

——, "The Yüan Government and Society," in Franke and Twitchett (eds.) (1994), pp. 587–615.

Endō Kamematsu 遠藤亀松, *Genchō senshi no kenkyū: Chūgoku hokuzoku ōchō kaheishi* 元朝錢史の研究—中國北族王朝貨幣史 (An Investigation into the History of Cash

during the Yuan Period: The Monetary History of a Dynasty Established in China by a Northern Nationality), Tōkyō: Endō Kamematsu, 1981.

Engels, Odilo, and Peter Schreiner (eds.), *Die Begegnung des Westens mit dem Osten: Kongreßakten des 4. Symposions des Mediävistenverbandes in Köln 1991 aus Anlaß des 1000. Todesjahres der Kaiserin Theopahnu*, Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1993.

Enoki Kazuo, "Marco Polo and Japan," in *Oriente poliano*, 1957, pp. 23–44.

——, "The Nestorian Christianism in China in Mediaeval Time According to Recent Historical and Archaeological Researches," in *Atti del convegno internazionale sul tema: L'Oriente Cristiano nella storia della civiltà (Roma 31 marzo–3 aprile 1963) (Firenze 4 aprile 1963)*, Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1964, pp. 45–61.

Etiemble, René, "La philosophie, les arts et les religions de la Chine dans l'œuvre de Marco Polo," in Agostino Pertusi (ed.), *Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento*, San Giorgio Maggiore (Venezia), Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Centro di Cultura e Civiltà: Sansoni, 1966, pp. 375–388.

Eufe, Rembert, "Marco Polo veneziano e le lingue," in Cosimo Palagiano et al. (eds.) (2007), pp. 125–148.

Fanfani, A., "Perché fu trascurata la divulgazione di Marco Polo sulle carta moneta dei cinesi?," *Economia e storia*, 3.2 (1956): 196–198.

Fang Guoyu 方國瑜, "Make Boluo 'Yunnan xingji' jianzheng" 馬可波羅〈雲南行紀〉箋證 (Notes and Verifications Regarding Marko Polo's "Yunnan Travel Records"), *Xi'nan bianjiang* 西南邊疆 (Southwestern Frontier Regions), 4 (1939): 54–69. Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 107–126.

—— 方国瑜, "Yunnan yong bei zuo huobi de shidai ji bei de laiyuan—fu: Yunnan yong yankuai dai qian de jizai" 云南用贝作货币的时代及贝的来源 — 附: 云南用盐块代钱的记载 (On the Period during which Yunnan Used Cowry as Money and the Origin of Cowry: With an Appendix Containing Records of the Substitution of Money by Salt Pieces in Yunnan), *Yunnan shehui kexue* 云南社会科学 (Yunnan Social Sciences), 1 (1981): 24–41. Repr. in Yang Shouchuan (ed.) (1997), *Beibi yanjiu*, pp. 28–64, but without the appendix on salt money.

——, *Dianshi luncong* 滇史论丛 (Collected Articles on Yunnan History), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1982.

——, *Fang Guoyu wenji* 方国瑜文集 (Collected Essays of Fang Guoyu), Kunming: Yunnan jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003.

Fang Guoyu and Lin Chaomin 林超民, "Make Boluo 'Yunnan xingji' shidi conglun" 马可·波罗《云南行纪》史地丛论 (Collected Articles on Historical Geography Related to Marco Polo's "Yunnan Travel Records"), *Xi'nan guji yanjiu* 西南古籍研究 (Research on Ancient Books from the Southwest), 1 (1985) and 2 (1986).

——, "*Make Boluo xingji" Yunnan shidi congkao* 《马可波罗行纪》云南史地丛考 (Collected Investigations on the Historical Geography of Yunnan Related to *Marco Polo's Travels*), Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1994. See also Fang Guoyu (chief ed.), Xu Wende 徐文德 and Mu Qin 木芹 (compilers and collators), *Yunnan shiliao congkan* 云南史料丛刊 (Collection of Historical Materials of Yunnan), Kunming: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 1998–2001, vol. 3, pp. 160–254.

Fang Hui 方慧, "Guanyu Yuandai Yunnan de 'zhenba' 'siba' wenti" 关于元代云南的《真朋》《私朋》问题 (On the Question of "Genuine Cowries" and "Illegal Cowries" in Yunnan during the Yuan Period), in Yang Shouchuan (ed.) (1997), *Beibi yanjiu*, pp. 209–215. Originally published in *Yunnan shehui kexue* 云南社会科学 (Yunnan Social Sciences), 3 (1982): 77–79.

——, "Cong jinshi wenqi kan Yuan Ming ji Qingchu Yunnan shiyong beibi de qingkuang" 从金石文契看元明及清初云南使用贝币的情况 (The Use of Cowry Currency in Yunnan during the Yuan, Ming and Early Qing as Seen from Stele Inscriptions and Contracts), in Yang Shouchuan (ed.) (1997), *Beibi yanjiu*, pp. 127–157.

Fang Ji 方辑, "Xishi zhenbao: Yizhang Yuandai 'Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao'" 稀世珍宝—一张元代中统元宝交钞 (A World-wide Rare Treasure: A *Zhongtong yuanbao*

jiaochao of the Yuan Period), *Neimenggu shehui kexue* 内蒙古社会科学 (Inner Mongolia Social Sciences), 4 (1985): 93.
Fang Jun, "A Bibliography of Extant Yuan Gazetteers," in *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, 23 (1993): 123–138.
Farquhar, David M., "The Official Seals and Ciphers of the Yüan Period," *Monumenta Serica*, 25 (1966): 362–393.
——, *The Government of China under Mongolian Rule: A Reference Guide*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner (Münchener Ostasiatische Studien; 53), 1990.
Faucon, Jean-Claude, "La représentation de l'animal par Marco Polo," *Médiévales*, 32 (1997): 97–117.
——, "Marco Polo et les enchanteurs," in *Chant et enchantement au Moyen Âge*, travaux du Groupe de recherches "Lectures médiévales," Université de Toulouse II, Toulouse: Éditions Universitaires du Sud, 1997a, pp. 205–222.
——, "Feux de l'Ailleurs (les rites de crémation dans le *Devisement du monde*), in *Feu et Lumière au Moyen Âge*, travaux du Groupe de recherches "Lectures médiévales," Université de Toulouse II, Toulouse: Éditions Universitaires du Sud, 1998, pp. 103–120.
——, "Examen des données numériques dans le *Devisement du Monde*," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 89–111.
Fedi, Pierfrancesco, "Bukhara: Le notizie di Marco Polo e le testimonianze di alcuni viaggiatori italiani del secondo ottocento," in Cosimo Palagiano et al. (eds.) (2007), pp. 195–214.
Fedorov-Davydov, German A., "The Monetary System of The Golden Horde," translated by L. I. Smirnova, http://www.paleog.com/im/fd/summary.pdf, p. 47 (accessed August 4, 2009).
Feinstein, Stephen, *Marco Polo: Amazing Adventures in China*, Berkeley Heights, N.J.: Enslow Publishers, 2010.
Feng Han-yi and J. K. Shryock, "The Historical Origins of the Lolo," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 3 (1938): 103–127.
Feng Lirong 冯丽蓉, "Wuxishi bowuguan cang 'Zhiyuan tongxing baochao'" 无锡市博物馆藏《至元通行宝钞》(*The Zhiyuan tongxing baochao* Stored in the Wuxi City Museum), *Zhongguo qianbi* 中国钱币 (China Numismatics), 3 (1989): 44–45.
Feng Xianming, "Exports of Chinese Porcelains up to the Yuan Dynasty," *SPAFA Digest: Journal of SEAMO Project in Archaeology and Fine Arts*, 2.1 (1981): 4–7, and 2.2 (1981): 37–41, 43.
—— "Red-glazed and Underglaze-red Porcelain of the Yuan Dynasty," *Orientations*, 16.7 (1985): 44–48.
Ferguson, John C., "Marco Polo's Journey in Manzi," *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 37 (1906): 190–191.
Finnane, Antonia, "Yangzhou: A Central Place in the Qing Empire," in Linda Cooke Johnson (ed.), *Cities of Jiangnan in Late Imperial China*, Albany: State University of New York Press (SUNY Series in Chinese Local Studies), 1993, pp. 117–149.
——, *Speaking of Yangzhou: A Chinese City, 1550–1850*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press (Harvard East Asian Monographs; 236), 2004.
Fletcher, Joseph, "Integrative History: Parallels and Interconnections in the Early Modern Period, 1500–1800," *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 9 (1985): 37–57.
——, "The Mongols: Ecological and Social Perspectives," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 46.1 (1986): 11–50.
Foltz, Richard C., *Religions of the Silk Road: Overland Trade and Cultural Exchange from Antiquity to the Fifteenth Century*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
Forbes, Andrew D. W., "The 'Cin-Ho' (Yunnanese Chinese) Caravan Trade with North Thailand during the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Journal of Asian History*, 21 (1987): 1–47.
——, "The Role of Hui Muslims in the Traditional Caravan Trade between Yunnan and Thailand," in Denys Lombard and Jean Aubin (eds.), *Marchands et hommes d'affaires asiatiques dans l'Océan Indien et la Mer de Chine, 13e–20e siècles*, Paris: Ed. de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1988, pp. 289–295.

Franchi, Stanislao, "L'albero solo od albero secco di Marco Polo," *Atti della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, 74 (1938): 205–220.
——, *L'itinerario di Marco Polo in Persia*, Turin: Collegio Artigianelli, 1941.
Franke, Herbert, "Ahmed: Ein Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Chinas unter Qubilai," *Oriens*, 1.2 (1948): 222–236.
——, *Geld und Wirtschaft unter der Mongolen-Herrschaft: Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Yüan-Zeit*, Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1949.
——, "Some Sinological Remarks on Rašîd ad-Dîn's History of China," *Oriens* 4.1 (1951): 21–26.
——, "Could the Mongol Emperors Read and Write Chinese?" *Asia Major*, N.S. 3 (1953): 28–41. Repr. in his *China under Mongol Rule*.
—— (ed.), *Studia Sino-altaica: Festschrift für Erich Haenisch zum 80. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1961.
——, "Sino-western Contacts under the Mongol Empire," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Hong Kong Branch*, 6 (1966): 49–72. Repr. in his *China under Mongol Rule*.
——, "Eine mittelalterliche chinesische Satire auf die Mohammedaner," in Wilhelm Hoenerbach (ed.), *Der Orient in der Forschung: Festschrift für Otto Spies zum 5. April 1966*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967, pp. 203–208.
——, "Die Gesandtschaft des Johann von Marignola im Spiegel der chinesischen Literatur," in Lydia Brüll and Ulrich Kemper (eds.), *Asian: Tradition und Fortschritt; Festschrift für Horst Hammitzsch zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971, pp. 117–134.
——, "A Note on Wine," *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 8 (1974): 241–245.
——, "Chinese Historiography under Mongol Rule: The Role of History in Acculturation," *Mongolian Studies*, 1 (1974a): 15–26.
——, *From Tribal Chieftain to Universal Emperor and God: The Legitimation of the Yüan Dynasty*, München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978.
——, "A Note on Multilinguality in China under the Mongols: The Compilers of the Revised Buddhist Canon 1285–1287," in Edward H. Kaplan and Donald W. Whisenhunt (eds.), *Opuscola Altaica: Essays Presented in Honor of Henry Schwarz*, Bellingham, Wash.: Western Washington University Press (Studies on East Asia; 19), 1994, pp. 286–298.
——, *China under Mongol Rule*, Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1994.
——, "Tibetans in Yüan China," in his *China under Mongol Rule*, 1994, VII, pp. 296–328.
Franke, Herbert, and Denis Twitchett (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6, *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
Franke, Otto, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches: Eine Darstellung seiner Entstehung, seines Wesens und seiner Entwicklung bis zur neuesten Zeit;* vol. 4: *Der konfuzianische Staat II / Krisen und Fremdvölker*, vol. 5: *Anmerkungen, Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen zu Band 4 / Namens- und Sachverzeichnis*, Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, 2001.
Freeman, Michael, "Sung," in Chang Kwang-chih (ed.), *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977, pp. 143–176.
Freschi, Fausto, "Marco Polo e la provincia indiana di Lar," *Parole del passato*, 75 (1993): 445–453.
Fried, Johannes, "Auf der Suche nach der Wirklichkeit: Die Mongolen und die europäische Erfahrungswissenschaft im 13. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 243 (1986): 287–332.
Friedmann, John Block, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1981.
Fu Weikang 傅维康, "Make Boluo de zhongyi zhongyao jianwen" 马可・波罗的中医中药见闻 (Marco Polo's Knowledge on Chinese Medicine and Pharmacy), *Yishi wenxian* 医史文献 (Documents on Medical History), 16 (1999): 32–33.
Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃, "Maruko Pōro no tsutaeta Mōkyō no jijō" マルコ・ポーロの伝えた蒙彊の事情 (Mongolia as Described by Marco Polo), *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 (Journal of Oriental Research), 4.4–5 (1939): 133–160 (421–441).

——, "Sekiji-kisshi sono hoka: 'Maruko Pōro no tsutaeta Mōkyō no jijō' hosei" 昔児吉思その他—『マルコ・ポーロの伝えた蒙彊の事情』補正 (On Xi'erjisi and other Things: Additions and Corrections to the Article "Mongolia as Described by Marco Polo"), *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 (Journal of Oriental Research), 5.1 (1939a): 67–68.

Fujita Toyohachi 藤田豊八, "Yūre-shi chū 'Maruko Pōro kikō' hosei nisoku" ユール氏注マルコ・ポーロ紀行補正二則 (Two Corrections of Yule's Notes to *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Tōyō gakuhō* 東洋学報 (Oriental Studies), 3 (1913): 443–448. Repr. in his *Tōzai kōshōshi no kenkyū: Nankaihen* 東西交涉史の研究 — 南海編 (An Investigation of the History of East-West Relations: Volume on the South China Sea), Tōkyō: Kōshoin, 1932, pp. 69–77.

Furth, Charlotte, "Yuan-period Medical Cases," in Victor H. Mair, Nancy S. Steinhardt and Paul R. Goldin (eds.), *Hawaii Reader in Traditional Chinese Culture*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005, pp. 440–443.

Gabriel, Alfons, *Marco Polo in Persien*, Wien: Typographische Anstalt, 1963.

——, "Neue Gesichtspunkte zu Marco Polos Route durch Persien," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft*, 1–2 (1963a): 39–52.

Gallina, Annamaria, "Di un'antica traduzione aragonese del *Milione*," *Filologia Romanza*, 3 (1956): 296–314.

Gallo, Rodolfo, "Le ricerche della tomba di Marco Polo nella Chiesa di S. Lorenzo," Venezia: Stab. Grafico U. Bortoli, 1924, and in *Rivista mensile della Città di Venezia*, 3.9 (settembre 1924): 223–258.

——, "Le vicende della tomba di Marco Polo nella Chiesa di S. Lorenzo," *Rivista mensile della Città di Venezia*, 1924a.

——, "Dove era la tomba di Marco Polo," *Rivista mensile della Città di Venezia*, 14.5 (maggio 1935): 201–212.

——, "Marco Polo, la sua famiglia, il suo libro," in Roberto Almagià et al. (eds.), *Nel VII centenario della nascita di Marco Polo*, Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1955, pp. 63–193.

Gambetti, Giacomo, *Sul set di Marco Polo*, Torino: ERI, 1983.

Ganshof, François-Louis, "Le voyage de Marco Polo en Chine," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Lille*, 3 (1938): 104–116.

Gaoqiao Hongchen 高橋弘臣 [Takahashi Hirōmi] (author); Lin Songtao 林松濤 (transl.), *Song Jin Yuan huobishi yanjiu: Yuanchao huobi zhengce zhi xingcheng guocheng* 宋金元貨幣史研究—元朝貨幣政策之形成過程 (Research into the Monetary History of the Song, Jin and Yuan Periods: An Investigation of the Process of the Establisment of Paper Money Policy during the Yuan Dynasty), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe (*Riben Songxue yanjiu liuren ji* 日本宋學研究六人集 (Collection of Works of Six Japanese Song Researchers); 2), 2009.

Gaudio, Attilio, "Sulle tracce di Marco Polo; II. Dall'Anatolia Orientale all'Iran; III. Iran Meridionale e Belucistan; VI. La via del ritorno," *L'universo*, 35 (1955): 250–256, 369–382, 892–904.

Gaunt, Simon, " 'La greigneur merveille du monde': Marco Polo and French as a Marker of Cultural Relativity," *French Studies Bulletin*, 27.100 (2006): 63–66.

Gazagnadou, Didier, "Un cas de diffusion d'une technique administrative de Chine en Occident par l'intermédiaire des empires mongol et mamluk: La poste d'état à relais à chevaux, PhD, Université de Paris 8, 1988.

——, *La poste à relais: La diffusion d'une technique de pouvoir à travers l'Eurasie (Chine, Islam, Europe)*, Paris: Kimé, 1994.

Geng Shimin, Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, and Jens Peter Laut, "Eine neue nestorianische Grabinschrift aus China," *Ural-altaische Jahrbücher*, N.F. 14 (1996): 164–175.

Gernet, Jacques, *La vie quotidienne en Chine à la veille de l'invasion mongole, 1250–1276*, Paris: Hachette, 1959.

Ghisalberti, Carlo, "Sulla 'Historia Mongalorum' di Giovanni da Pian del Carpine," in Cosimo Palagiano et al. (eds.) (2007), pp. 87–97.

Gillman, Ian, and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1550*, Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1999.

Giovanni Battista Ramusio, "editor" del "Milione": Trattamento del testo e manipolazione dei modelli; Atti del seminario di ricerca (Venezia, 9–10 settembre 2010), Roma e Padova: Editrice Antenore (Biblioteca Veneta; Poliana: Documenti per l'edizione integrale del libro di Marco Polo; 3), 2011.

Giraldez, Arturo, "Cacao Beans in Colonial México: Small Change in a Global Economy," manuscript, 2010.

Godelier, Maurice, "La 'monnaie de sel' des Baruya de Nouvelle-Guinée," *L'homme: Revue française d'anthropologie*, 9.2 (1969): 5–37.

Golfin, Jean, *Saint François en Chine: Ou l'épopée solitaire du franciscain Jean de Montecorvino*, Paris: Editions du Cerf, 2012.

Goldstein, Jonathan, *The Jews of China; Vol. One: Historical and Comparative Perspectives; Volume Two: Sourcebook and Research Guide*, Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1998–1999.

Gonçalves, Júlio, "Marco Polo e os Portugueses: Duas fases da geografia do Oriente," *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, (1955): 315–324.

Gong Yingyan 龚缨宴, "Make Boluo dui Hangzhou de jishu" 马可波罗对杭州的记述 (Marco Polo's Description of Hangzhou), *Hangzhou daxue xuebao* 杭州大学学报 (Journal of Hangzhou University), 28.1 (1998): 34–40.

Goodrich, L. Carrington "A Bronze Block for the Printing of Chinese Paper Currency," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, 4 (1950), 127–136.

——, "Westerners and Central Asians in Yuan China," in *Oriente poliano*, 1957, pp. 1–22.

——, *Western Asians in China under the Mongols*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966.

Gosch, Stephen S., and Peter Stearns, *Premodern Travel in World History*, New York and London: Routledge (Themes in World History), 2008.

Gosman, Martin, "Marco Polo's Voyages: The Conflict between Confirmation and Observation," in Zweder von Martels (ed.), *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing*, Leiden, New York and Köln: Brill, 1994, pp. 72–84.

Gossen, Carl Theodor, "Marco Polo und Rustichello da Pisa," in Manfred Bambeck and Hans Helmut Christmann, in collaboration with Erich von Richthofen (eds.), *Philologica Romanica: Festschrift Erhard Lommatzsch*, München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1975, pp. 133–143.

Goussett, Marie-Thérèse, "Un programme iconographique conçu par Jean sans Peur?" in *Marco Polo; Le livre des merveilles, manuscrit français 2810 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris*, Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 1995–1996, pp. 353–364.

Grande, Stefano, "Le relazioni geografiche: P. Bembo, G. Fracastoro, G. B. Ramusio, G. Castaldi," *Memorie della Società Geografica Italiana*, 12 (1905): 93–197.

Gribaudi, Dino, "L'uomo Marco Polo nel 'Libro delle meraviglie del mondo'," in "Due grandi viaggiatori italiani: Marco Polo e Amerigo Vespucci," supplement to *L'Universo*, 3 (March to June 1954): 19–31.

Grossato, Alessandro, *Navigatori e viaggiatori veneti sulla rotta per l'India: Da Marco Polo ad Angelo Legrenzi*, Venezia: Marsilio, 1994.

Grousset, René, *Histoire de l'Extrême-orient*, Paris: Libraire orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1929.

Gu Feng 顾峰, "Make Boluo you Kunming" 马可· 波罗游昆明 (Marco Polo's Travel to Kunming), *Dianchi* 滇池 (Lake Dian), 2 (1980). Revised version in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 132–134.

Gu Weimin 顾卫民, "Zhongguo de Make Boluo jieshao yu yanjiu (1874–1990 nian)" 中国的马可· 波罗介绍与研究 (1874–1990 年) (Introduction and Research of Marco Polo in China (1874–1990)), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 362–375.

——, "Le ricerche su Marco Polo in Cina, dal 1874 al 1995," in Frederico Masini et al. (eds.) (2006), pp. 317–348.

Gudege 古德格, E. W. (E. W. Gudger), "Yuandai Make Boluo suojian Yazhou jiuyou de jindai shiwu" 元代马可波罗所见亚洲旧有的近代事物 (Modern Things as they Have Been Seen by Marco Polo in Asia during his Time), transl. and rev. by Zhu Jieqin 朱杰勤, *Xiandai shixue* 现代史学 (Modern History), 3.2 (1935). Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 236–258.

Guerét-Laferté, Michèle, *Sur les routes de l'empire mongol: Ordre et rhétorique des rélations de voyages au XIII^e^ et XIV^e^ siècles*, Paris: Champion (Nouvelle bibliothèque du Moyen Âge; 28), 1994.

——, "Le vocabulaire exotique du Devisement dou monde," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 287–305.

Guerri, Domenico, "Le meraviglie del mondo di messer Marco Polo detto Milione," *Scuola e cultura*, 9.5 (1933): 491–511, and in his *Scritti danteschi e d'altra letteratura antica*, ed. by Antonio Lanza, Anzio (Roma): De Rubeis, 1990, pp. 273–287.

Guillot, Claude, Denys Lombard, and Roderich Ptak (eds.), with the assistance of Richard Teschke, *From the Mediterranean to the China Sea*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (South China and Maritime Asia; 7), 1998.

Guo Shengming 郭圣铭, "Make Boluo" 马可·波罗 (Marco Polo), *Lüxing tiandi* 旅行天地 (Travel Cosmos), 3 (1980). Revised version in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 25–29.

Guo Zhengzhong 郭正忠, "Songdai dongnan haiyan keli suishou kaochao" 宋代东南海盐课利岁收考察 (An Investigation into the Annual Levy Proceeds from Sea Salt in Southeast [China] during the Song Period), in his *Songyan guankui* 宋盐管窥 (My Humble Opinion on Salt in the Song Period), Taiyuan: Shanxi jingji chubanshe, 1990.

——, *San zhi shisi shiji Zhongguo de quanheng duliang* 三至十四世纪中国的权衡度量 (Weights and Measures in China from the Third to the Fourteenth Centuries), Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1993.

—— (chief ed.), *Zhongguo yanyeshi: Gudai bian* 中国盐业史: 古代编 (Chinese Salt History: Volume on the Ancient Period), Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1997.

Guzman, Gregory G., "Simon of Saint-Quentin and the Dominican Mission to the Mongols, 1245–1248," PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 1968.

——, "Simon of Saint-Quentin and the Dominican Mission to the Mongol Baiju: A Reappraisal," *Speculum*, 46.2 (1971): 232–249.

——, "Simon of Saint-Quentin as Historian of the Mongols and Seljuk Turks," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, new series 3 (1972): 155–178.

——, "The Encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais and his Mongol Extracts from John of Plano Carpini and Simon of Saint-Quentin," *Speculum*, 49.2 (1974): 287–307.

——, "European Clerical Envoys to the Mongols: Reports of Western Merchants in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, 1231–1255," *Journal of Medieval History*, 12 (1996): 53–67.

Haeger, John W., "Marco Polo in China? Problems with Internal Evidence," *Bulletin of Sung and Yüan Studies*, 14 (1978): 22–30.

Haenisch, Erich, "Steuergerechtsame der chinesischen Klöster unter der Mongolenherrschaft: Eine kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung mit Beigabe dreier noch unveröffentlichter Phagspa-Inschriften," *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1940.

Halbertsma, Tjalling H. F., *Early Christian Remains of Inner Mongolia: Discovery, Reconstruction and Appropriation*, Leiden: Brill (Sinica Leidensia), 2008.

Hambis, Louis, "Le voyage de Marco Polo en Haute Asie," in Oriente poliano, 1957, pp. 173–191.

Hamilton, James, and Niu Ruji, "Deux inscriptions funéraires turques nestoriennes de la Chine Orientale," *Journal Asiatique*, 282 (1994): 147–164.

Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph Freiherr von (1842), *Geschichte der Ilchane, das ist der Mongolen in Persien*, Darmstadt: Carl Wilhelm Leske, 1842.

Haneda Tōru 羽田亨, "Gen no kaiseipai ni tsuite 元の海青牌に就ついて (On the Tablets for Postal Stations of the Yuan), *Kōkogaku ronsō* 考古學論叢 (Collected Articles on Archaeology), 2 (1930): 32–46.

——, *Genchō ekiden zakkō* 元朝驛傳雜考 (Various Investigations on the Postal Service of the Yuan Dynasty), Tōkyō: Tōyō bunko, 1930a.
——, "Une tablette du décret sacré de l'empereur Genghis," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, 8 (1936): 85–91.
Harf-Lancner, Laurence, "From Alexander to Marco Polo, from Text to Image: The Marvels of India," in Donalds Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox (eds.), *The Medieval French Alexander*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002, pp. 235–257.
——, "Divergences du texte et de l'image: L'illustration du *Devisement du monde* de Marco Polo," *Ateliers*, 30 (2003): 39–52.
Harrison, Tom, *World Within*, London: The Cresset Press, 1959.
——, "Trade Porcelain and Stoneware in South-East Asia," *Sarawak Museum Journal*, 10 (1961): 222–226.
[Hartlaub, Dr.], "Das Schaf des Marco Polo auf der Hochebene von Pamir," *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesammtgebiete der Geographie von Dr. A. Petermann*, 7 (1866): 286–287.
Haw, Stephen G., *Marco Polo's China: A Venetian in the Realm of Khubilai Khan*, London and New York: Routledge, 2006.
——, *The Mongol Unification of China*, London: Routledge (Routledge Studies in the Early History of Asia), in press.
He Zhenru 何珍如, "Kangxi shiqi de Yunnan yanzheng" 康熙時期的雲南鹽政 (The Salt Administration in Yunnan during the Kangxi Reign-period [1662–1722]), *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan guankan* 中國歷史博物館館刊 (Chinese History Museum Journal), 3 (1983): 70–78.
Hebeisheng bowuguan, Wenwu guanlichu 河北省博物馆, 文物管理处 (Museum of Hebei Province and Cultural Relics Administration Office), "Hebei Pingshanxian faxian de 'Zhiyuan tongbao chao' tongban" 河北平山县发现的《至元通宝钞》铜板 (A Copper Plate for a "*Zhiyuan tongbao* Note" Discovered in Pingshan District in Hebei), *Kaoguo* 考古 (Archaeology), 1 (1973): 42.
Heers, Jacques, *Marco Polo*. Paris: Fayard, 1983.
——, "De Marco Polo à Christophe Colomb: Comment lire le Divisement du monde?" *Journal of Medieval History*, 10 (1984): 125–143.
Henze, Dietmar, *Enzyklopädie der Entdecker und Erforscher der Erde*, Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 2000.
Herb, G. Henrik, "Mongolian Cartography," in J. Brian Harley and David Woodward (eds.), *History of Cartography*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992–1994, vol. 2, pp. 682–685.
Herriott, James Homer, "The 'Lost' Toledo Manuscript of Marco Polo," *Speculum*, 12.4 (1937): 456–463.
——, "The Zelada Manuscript of Marco Polo," *The Geographical Review*, 29.1 (1939): 172–173.
——, "Folklore from Marco Polo: Maabar," *California Folklore Quarterly*, 2.1 (1943): 1–12.
——, "Folklore from Marco Polo: Russia," *California Folklore Quarterly*, 3.4 (1944): 309–317.
——, "Folklore from Marco Polo: Japan," *California Folklore Quarterly*, 4.4 (1945): 398–403.
Herrmann, Albert, "Marco Polos Reisen in China und ihre Bedeutung für die Gegenwart," *Jahrbuch Hochschule für Politik*, 1939: 335–351.
Heyd, Wilhelm, *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter*, vol. 2, Stuttgart: Cotta, 1879.
Hirth, Friedrich, "Ueber den Schiffsverkehr von Kinsay zu Marco Polo's Zeit," *T'oung Pao*, 5.5 (1894): 386–390.
Hirth, Friedrich, and William Woodville Rockhill, *Chau Ru-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chï*, Petersburg 1911, repr. Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1966.
Ho Chuimei, "The Ceramic Boom in Minnan during Song and Yuan Times," in Angela Schottenhammer (ed.) (2001), pp. 237–308.
Ho Yung Chi, "Marco Polo: Was He Ever in China?" *Annual of the China Society*, 3 (1953): 54–58.

Hocquet, Jean-Claude, *Le sel et la fortune de Venise*, vol. 1, *Production et monopole*, Villeneuve d'Ascq: Publications de l'Université de Lille, 1979.
Hoffmann, Agnes, "Untersuchung zu den altdeutschen Marco Polo-Texten," Phil. Diss. Freiburg im Breisgau; Ohlau in Schlesien: Spezialdruckerei für Dissertationen Dr. Hermann Eschenhagen, 1936.
Hogendorn, Jan, and Marion Johnson, *The Shell Money of the Slave Trade*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (African Studies Series; 49), 1986.
Holmgren, Jennifer, "Observations on Marriage and Inheritance Practices in Early Mongol and Yüan Society, with Particular Reference to the Levirate," *Journal of Asian History*, 20 (1986): 127–192.
Holtus, Günter, and Anja Körner, "'Pour savoir la pure verité…' Die Handschrift des Reiseberichts von Marco Polo in der Königlichen Bibliothek Stockholm (ms. cod. Holm. M 305)," in Dominique Boutet, Marie-Madeleine Castellani, Françoise Ferrand and Aimé Petit (eds.), *"Plaist vos oïr bone cançon vallant?" Mélanges de langue et de littérature médiévales offerts à François Suard*, Lille: Éditions du Conseil Scientifique de l'Université Charles-de-Gaulle-Lille III, 1999, vol. 1, pp. 423–434.
Honda Minobu 本田実信, "Maruko Pōro no 'yama no rōjin'" マルコ・ポーロの『山の老人』(Marco Polo's "Old Man of the Mountain"), *Dentō to gendai* 伝統と現代 (Tradition and Modernity), 14 (1972). Repr. in his *Mongoru jidaishi kenkyū* モンゴル時代史研究 (Investigations of the History of the Mongol Period), Tōkyō: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1991.
Horesh, Niv, "The Transition from Coinage to Paper Money in China: Hallmarks of Statehood in Global Perspective, 8th Century BC to 1935 AD," *Journal of the Institute of Asian Studies*, 21.2 (2004): 1–26.
——, "The Great Money Divergence: European and Chinese Coinage before the Age of Steam," *Journal of Chinese Studies*, January 2013 (in press).
Hori Kyotsu, "The Mongol Invasions and the Kamakura Bakufu," PhD diss., Columbia University, 1967.
Hoshi Ayao 星斌夫, *Chūgoku shakai keizaishi goi* 中國社會經濟史語彙 (A Glossary for Chinese Social and Economic History), Tōkyō: Kindai Chūgoku kenkyū sentā, 1966–1975.
——, *Chūgoku shakai keizaishi goi: zokuhen* 中國社會經濟史語彙: 續篇 (A Glossary for Chinese Social and Economic History, Continued), Yamagata: Kōbuntō shoten, 1981.
Hou Ching-Lang 侯錦郎, *Monnaies d'offrande et la notion de trésorerie dans la religion Chinoise*, Paris: Presses Universitaire de France (Mémoires de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises; 1), 1975.
Houtum-Schindler, Albert, "Notes on Marco Polo's Itinerary in Southern Persia (Chapters XVI to XXI, Col. Yule's Translation)," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, new series, 13 (1881): 490–497.
——, "Marco Polo's Camadi," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1898, pp. 43–46.
——, "Marco Polo's Travels; New Editions; his 'Arbre Sol' not 'Sun-tree,' but Cypress of Zoroaster," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, January 1909: 154–162.
Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, *The Military Establishment of the Yuan Dynasty*, Cambridge (Mass.) and London: Harvard University Press, 1978.
Hu Tingfeng 户亭风 and Wang Shaohua 王少华 (1985), "Jiujiang chutu Yuandai shaochao ku yin" 九江出土元代烧钞库印 (A Seal of the Storehouse for Burning [Worn-out] Notes of the Yuan Dynasty Excavated in Jiujiang), *Zhongguo qianbi* 中国钱币 (China Numismatics), 3 (1985): 61, 5.
Huang Hsing-tsung, *Fermentations and Food Science*, part V of vol. 6, *Biology and Biological Technology*, of Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilisation in China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
Huang Peilin 黄培林 and Zhong Changyong 钟长永, *Dianyanshi lun* 滇盐史论 (An Account of the History of Yunnan Salt), Zigong: Sichuan renmin chubanshe and Zigong yanye chuban bianjishi, 1997.

Huang Shijian 黄时鉴, "Guanyu Moke Boluo de sange niandai wenti" 关于马可波罗的三个年代问题 (Three Dating Problems Related to Marco Polo), Zhongwai guanxishi xuehui 中外关系史学会 (Learned Society for the History of Chinese Foreign Relations) (eds.), *Zhongwai guanxishi luncong* 中外关系史论丛 (Collected Articles on the History of Chinese Foreign Relations), vol. 1, Beijing: Shijie zhishi chubanshe, 1981, pp. 59–67. Revised version in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 287–297.

——, "The Persian Language in China during the Yuan Dynasty," *Papers on Far Eastern History*, 34 (1986): 83–95.

——, "Guanyu cha zai Beiya he Xiyu de zaoqi chuanbo" 关于茶在北亚和西域的早期传播 (On the Early Transmission of Tea to Northern Asia and the Western Regions), *Lishi yanjiu* 历史研究 (Historical Research), 1 (1993): 141–145.

——, "The Early Dissemination of Tea in Northern Asia and the Western Region—Why Marco Polo Never Mentioned Tea," transl. by Lu Yunzhong, rev. by Yang Zhi and Bruce Doar, *Social Sciences in China*, 15.4 (1994): 167–175. Originally published in *Lishi yanjiu* (Historical Research), 1 (1993): 141–145.

——, "Guanyu cha zai Beiya he xiyu de zaoqi chuanbo: Jian shuo Make Boluo wei you ji cha" 关于茶在北亚和西域的早期传播—兼说马可· 波罗未有记茶 (About the Early Dissemination of Tea in North Asia and the Western Regions: With a Discussion of Marco Polo not Mentioning Tea), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 83–91.

——, "'Guangming zhi cheng' weishu kao" "光明之城"伪书考 (A Study of the Bogus Book *The City of Light*), *Lishi yanjiu* 历史研究 (Historical Research), 3 (2001): 65–80.

——, "A Study of the Bogus Book: *The City of Light*," transl. by Huang Shijian, rev. by David Kelly, *Social Sciences in China*, 23.4 (2002): 45–57.

Huang Shijian and Gong Yingyan, "Marco Polo and the Great Wall—Also on *Did Marco Polo Go to China?*" transl. by Deng Ying and Liu Xiangnan, *Social Sciences in China*, 20.3 (1999): 117–134. Originally published in *Zhongguo shehui kexue* (Social Sciences in China), 4 (1998).

Hucker, Charles O., *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1985.

Hudson, G. F., "Marco Polo," *Geographical Journal*, 120.3 (1954): 299–311.

——, "The Medieval Trade of China," in Donald S. Richards (ed.) (1970), pp. 159–167.

Huf, Hans-Christian, "Die phantastischen Reisen des Marco Polo," in id. (ed.), *Sphinx: Geheimnisse der Geschichte*, vol. 2: *Von Marco Polo bis Rasputin*, Bergisch-Gladbach: Lübbe, 1996, pp. 146–189.

Hughes, Muriel J., "Marco Polo and Medieval Silk," *Textile History*, 6 (1975): 119–131.

Huo Wei 霍巍, "Song Yuan shiqi de Dunhuang zangsu: 'Make Boluo youji' zhong de yi duan shiliao" 宋元时期的敦煌葬俗: "马克菠萝游记"中的一段史料 (Dunhuang Funeral Rites during the Song and Yuan Dynasties: About a Piece of Historical Material in *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 (Dunhuang Research), 1 (1990): 38–42.

Ichimaru Tomoko 市丸智子, "Gendai kahei no kammon teiryō tan-i no betsu nit suite: Kokujō shutsudo oyobi Kishū keiyaku bunsho o chūshin to shite" 元代貨幣の貫文錠兩單位の別について－黑城出土及び徽州契約文書を中心として (On the Differences between the Denomination System in *Guan* (Strings) and *Wen* (Coins) of Copper Cash and the Denomination System in *Ding* and *Liang* of Silver for Money during the Yuan Period, with a Focus on the Excavations at Heicheng and the Documents of Huizhou), *Shakai keizai shigaku* 社會經濟史學 (Social and Economic History Research), 68.3, (2002): 249–270.

——, "Gendai ni okeru gin, shō, dōsen no sōgai kankei ni tsuite: Shiyō tan-i no bunseki o chūshin ni" 元代の銀· 鈔· 銅錢の相互關係について—使用單位の分析お中心に—(On the Mutual Relationship between Silver, Paper Notes and Copper Cash during the Yuan Period, with a Focus on the Analysis of the Units in Use), *Tōyōshi ronshū* 東洋史論集 (Collected Articles on Oriental History), 36 (2008): 88–122.

Imperatori, Giorgio, "Una pagina poco nota su Marco Polo scrittore," in his *Goethe e gli scrittori d'Italia*, Udine: Istituto delle Edizioni Accademiche, 1937, pp. 21–23.

Ineichen, Gustav, "La mescolanza delle forme linguistiche nel *Milione* di Marco Polo," in Günter Holtus, Henning Krauss and Peter Wunderli (eds.), *Testi, cotesti e contesti del franco-italiano: Atti del I° simposio franco-italiano (Bad Homburg, 13–16 aprile 1987); In memoriam Alberto Limentani*, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1989, pp. 65–74.

Israeli, Raphael, *Muslims in China: A Study in Cultural Confrontation*, London: Curzon Press, 1978.

——, *Islam in China: Religion, Ethnicity, Culture, and Politics*, Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2002.

Iwamura Shinobu 岩村忍, *Maruko Pōro no kenkyū* マルコ· ポーロの研究 (Investigations on Marco Polo), Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1948.

——, "Gen jidai ni okeru shihei infureishon: keizaishiteki kenkyū 元時代における紙幣イノフレーショん ー 經濟史的研究 (The Paper Money Inflation of the Yuan Period: A Study in Economic History), *Tōhō gakuho* 東方學報 (Journal of Oriental Studies), 34 (1964): 61–133. For a translation into Chinese see under Yancun Ren (1999).

——, "Shiheisei to sono hōkai" 紙幣制とその崩壞 (The Paper Money System and its Collapse), in his *Mongoru shakai keizaishi no kenkyū* モンゴル社會經濟史の研究 (An Investigation into Mongol Social and Economic History), Kyōto: Tohosha, 1968.

——, "Nippon hakken wa Maruko Pōro de wa nai" 日本発見はマルコ・ポーロではない (Japan was not Discovered by Marco Polo), *Chūō kōron* 中央公論 (The Central View), 83.2 (1984): 150–157.

Izumori Kō 泉森皎, "Dai 3 shō Maruko Pōro 'Tōhō kembunroku' kara mita orimono sangyō" 第3章 マルコ・ポーロ『東方見聞録』から見た織物産業 (Textile Production as Seen in Chapter 3 of *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Shiruku rōdo-gaku kenkyū* シルクロード学研究 (Research in Silk Road Studies), 13 (2002): 25–31.

Jack-Hinton, Colin, "Marco Polo in South-East Asia: A Preliminary Essay in Reconstruction," *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, 5.2 (1964): 43–103.

Jackson, A. V. Williams, "The Magi in Marco Polo and the Cities in Persia from which they Came to Worship the Infant Christ," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 26 (1905): 79–83; 26 (1905): 423.

Jackson, Peter, "William of Rubruck in the Mongol Empire: Perception and Prejudices," in Zweder von Martels (ed.), *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery, and Observation in Travel Writing*, Leiden, New York: Brill, 1994, pp. 54–71.

——, "Paper Currency Issued in Mongol Iran in 693/1294," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online ed., www.iranicaonline.org (accessed June 15, 2010).

——, "Marco Polo and his 'Travels'," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 61.1 (1998): 82–101.

——, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410*, Harlow, England, and New York: Pearson/Longman: 2005.

Jacobini, Elisabetta, "La relazione tra testo ed immagine e la rappresentazione dell'Oriente nel *Marco Polo* di Oxford (Bodleian Library, ms. Bodley 264, ff. 218–270)," in Sonia Maura Barilari and Margherita Lecco (eds.), *Testi e immagine: Espressione linguistica e communicazione iconografica dall'antichità all'età contemporanea*, in *L'immagine riflessa*, n.s. 11.2 (2002): 217–244.

Jacoby, David, "Marco Polo, his Close Relatives, and his Travel Account: Some New Insights," *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 21.2 (2007): 193–218.

Jagchid Sechin, "Chung-tu, the Central Capital of Yüan Dynasty," in Giovanni Stary (ed.), *Proceedings of the XXVIII Permanent International Altaistic Conference: Venice, 8–14 July 1985*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989, pp. 177–193.

Jagchid Sechin, and Charles R. Bawden, "Some Notes on the Horse-policy of the Yüan Dynasty," *Central Asiatic Journal*, 10 (1965): 246–268.

Jahn, Karl, "Das irānische Papiergeld: Ein Beitrag zur Kultur- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Irān's in der Mongolenzeit," *Archiv Orientální*, 10 (1938): 308–340.

——, "Wissenschaftliche Kontakte zwischen Iran und China in der Mongolenzeit," *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften—Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 106.13 (1969): 199–211.

——, "Paper Currency in Iran: A Contribution to the Cultural and Economic History of Iran in the Mongol Period," *Journal of Asian History*, 4 (1970): 101–135.

——, "Rashīd al-Dīn and Chinese Culture," *Central Asiatic Journal*, 14 (1970a): 134–147.

Jandesek, Reinhold, *Das fremde China: Berichte europäischer Reisender des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus (Weltbild und Kulturbegegnung; 3), 1992.

——, "Der Umgang mit dem 'Fremden' in den Berichten mittelalterlicher Chinareisender," in Odio Engels and Peter Schreiner (eds.), *Die Begegnung des Westens mit dem Osten: Kongressakten des 4. Symposions des Mediävistenverbandes in Köln 1991 aus Anlass des 1000. Todesjahres der Kaiserin Theophanu*, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1993, pp. 89–98.

——, "Conceptions and Perceptions of China: European Travellers in the Middle Ages," in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 280–296.

Jensen, Joergen, "The World's Most Diligent Observer," *Asiatische Studien*, 51.3 (1997): 719–729.

Ji Zi 季子, "Yuandai shehui zhuangkuang de yanjiu: Jieshao 'Make Boluo youji' dui Yuandai shehuishi de gongxian" 元代社会状况的研究—介绍《马哥博罗游记》对元代社会史的贡献 (Research about Social Conditions during the Yuan Period: An Introduction to the Contribution of *Marco Polo's Travels* to the Social History of the Yuan Period), *Zhongshan wenhua jiaoyuguan jikan* 中山文化教育馆季刊 (Quarterly Review of the Sun Yat-sen Institute for Cultural Advancement), 2.2 (1935). Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 208–235.

Jia Erqiang 贾二强, "'Make Boluo youji' zhong de Shaanxi diming ji Shaan qing jizai" «马可波罗游记»中的陕西地名及陕情记载 (Records about Place Names and Conditions in Shaanxi in *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Shaanxi shifan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 陕西师范大学学报(哲学社会科学版) (Journal of Shaanxi Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)), 3 (1986): 89–92.

Jiannei Gen 箭内亙 [i.e. Yanai Wataru]; Chen Jie 陳捷 and Chen Qingquan 陳清泉 (transl.), *Menggushi yanjiu* 蒙古史研究 (Studies on Mongol History), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1942.

Jiang Hua 蒋华, "'Make Boluo youji' yu yinshi wenhua"《马可· 波罗游记》与饮食文化 (*Marco Polo's Travels* and the Eating and Drinking Culture), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 124–135.

Jiang Xinmei 江辛眉, "Bo Xihe 'Make Boluo youji quanshi' jianjie" 伯希和《马可波罗游记诠释》简介 (Short Introduction to Paul Pelliot's *Notes on Marco Polo*), *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中国史研究 (Research on Chinese History), 2 (1959). Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 349–350.

Jin Tao 金涛, "Make Boluo shi pianzi ma?" 马可· 波罗是骗子吗? (Was Marco Polo a Swindler?), in Zhang Huanzong 张焕宗 and Yang Xun 杨珣 (eds.), *Zhongwai lishi zhi mi* 中外历史之谜 (Riddles in Chinese-Foreign History), Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1986.

Jing Anning, "The Portraits of Khubilai Khan and Chabi by Anige (1245–1306), a Nepali Artist at the Yuan Court," *Artibus Asiae*, 54 (1994): 40–85.

Johnson, Marion, "The Cowrie Currencies of West Africa," in Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez (eds.), *Metals and Monies in an Emerging Global Economy*, Aldershot, Hampshire, and Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum (An Expanding World: The European Impact on World History 1450–1800; 14), 1997, pp. 193–248.

Jones, A. H. M., "Asian Trade in Antiquity," in Donald S. Richards (ed.) (1970), pp. 1–10.

Joris, André, "Autour du 'Devisement du monde': Rusticien de Pise et l'empereur Henry VII de Luxembourg (1310–1313)," *Le Moyen Age*, 100 (1994): 353–368.

Kadoi Yuka, *Islamic Chinoiserie: The Art of Mongol Iran*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009.

Kahle, Paul, "Chinese Porcelain in the Lands of Islam," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 18 (1940–1941): 27–46.
Kaiser, Elgrid, "Der Wortschatz des Marco Polo," PhD diss., University of Vienna, 1967.
Kaogu 考古, "Make Boluo daoguo Neimeng" 马可· 波罗到过内蒙 (Marco Polo Did Reach Inner Mongolia), *Minzu luntan* 民族论坛 (Nationalities Forum), 6 (1999): 41–43.
Kaszuba, Sophia C., "Wounds in Medieval Mongol Warfare: Their Nature and Treatment in the *Secret History*, with Some Notes on Mongolian Military Medicine and Hygiene," *Mongolian Studies*, 19 (1996): 59–67.
Katayama Miyoki 片山幹生, "Maruko Pōro 'Sekai no kijutsu' ni okeru 'Jipangu' " マルコ・ポーロ『世界の記述』における「ジパング」 ("Jipangu" as it is Described in *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Azur*, 6 (2005): 19–33.
Kawakami Kōichi (1992) 河上光一, *Sōdai engyōshi no kiso kenkyū* 宋代鹽業史の基礎研究 (Basic Investigations into the Salt Industry History of the Song Period), Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kō bunkan, 1992.
Kawane Yoshiyasu 河音能平, "Dai 17 kai Madorīdo kokusai rekishigaku kaigi; 3 entaku kaigi: Maruko Pōro jidai no shukō shiryō 1250–1330 nen (tokushū)" 第 17 回マドリード国際歴史学会議-3-円卓会議 — マルコ・ポーロ時代の手稿史料 1250–1330 年<特集> (17th International Congress of Historical Sciences in Madrid; Roundtable Discussion 3: Historical Documents and Manuscripts from the Time of Marco Polo 1250–1330 (Special Collection)), *Rekishigaku kenkyū* 歴史学研究 (Historical Research), 623 (1991): 29–35, 49.
Kedar, Benjamin Ze'ev, *Merchants in Crisis: Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the 14th-century Depression*, Roma: Jouvence: 1981.
Kingsmill, T. W., "Notes on the Topography of some of the Localities in Manji, or Southern China Mentioned by Marco Polo," in Nicholas-Belfield Dennys (ed.), *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, Hongkong: A. Saint, 1869, vol. 1, pp. 52–54.
——, "Notes on Marco Polo's Route from Khoten to China," *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, 7.5 (1876): 338–343.
Klein, Wassilios, *Das nestorianische Christentum an den Handelswegen durch Kyrgyzstan bis zum 14. Jahrhundert*, Turnhout: Brepols (Silk Road Studies; 3), 2000.
Klein, Wassilios, and J. Tubach, "Ein syrisch-christliches Fragment aus Dunhuang/China," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 144 (1994): 1–58.
Kleitz, Dorsey, "Ezra Pound, Marco Polo, and Cathay," *Essays and Studies in British and American Literature*, 50 (2004): 29–43.
Klopprogge, Axel, *Ursprung und Ausprägung des abendländischen Mongolenbildes im 13. Jahrhundert: Ein Versuch zur Ideengeschichte des Mittelalters*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993.
Köprülü, Mehmed Fuad, "La proibizione di versare il sangue nell'esecuzione d'un membro della dinastia presso i Turchi et i Mongoli," *Annali del Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, Nuova serie, 1 (1940): 15–23.
Kolbas, Judith G., "Mongol Money: The Role of Tabriz from Chingiz Khan to Uljaytu, 616 to 709 AH/1220 to 1309 AD," PhD diss., New York University, 1992, UMI, accessed the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin).
Koltzoff-Massalsky, nee Ghika, Helene [pseud. Dora d'Istria], "Marco Polo, il Cristoforo Colombo dell'Asia.—Discorso della Principessa Elena Ghika (Dora d'Istria) gentilmente dedicato alla Società dell Gabinetto di Minerva in Trieste e letto nella Società stessa, da uno die Direttori, nella sera del 14 maggio 1869," Trieste: Tipografia del Lloyd Austriaco, 1869, 39 pp.
Komaroff, Linda (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, Leiden: Brill (Islamic History and Civilization), 2006.
Komaroff, Linda, and Stefano Carboni (eds.), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002.
Kosta-Théfaine, Jean-François, "Du récit de voyage et de sa mise en image: L'exemple du manuscrit de New York (Pierpont Morgan Library, M.723) du *Devisement du Monde* de

Marco Polo," in Jean-Loup Korzilius (ed.), *Art et literature: Le voyage entre le texte et l'image*, Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2005, pp. 31–60.
Kotwicz, W., "Formules initiales des documents mongols aux XIII et XIV siècles," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 10 (1934): 131–157.
Kozlow, Pyotr K., *Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Chara-Choto: Die Expedition der Russischen Geographischen Gesellschaft, 1907–1909*, transl. by L. Breitfuß and Paul Gerhard Zeidler, Berlin: Verlag Neufeld & Henius, 1925.
Krahl, Regina, "Some Notes on Song and Yuan Silver," *Oriental Art*, 44.2 (1998): 39–43.
Kramp, F. G., "Japan or Java? An Answer to Mr. George Collingridge's Article on 'The Early Cartography of Japan'," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, second series, 11 (1894), 499–510.
Krünitz, Johann Georg, *Oekonomische Encyklopädie oder allgemeines System der Staats- Stadt- Haus- und Landwirthschaft*, Berlin: Pauli, 1773–1858 (digitalized version of the University Library of Trier).
Kube, Horst, *Das Weltreich der Mongolen: Dschingis Khans Triumph und Vermächtnis*, Bergisch Gladbach: Lübbe, 1988. Translation of Peter Brent's *The Mongol Empire*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd., 1976.
Kunicke, Hugo, "Das sogenannte Männerkindbett," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1911, pp. 546–563.
——, *Die Couvade oder das sogenannte Männerkindbett*, Halle a. S.: H. John, 1912.
Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (ed.); *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben: Das Weltreich der Mongolen*, München: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Hirmer Verlag GmbH, 2005.
Kuroda Akinobu, "Concurrent Currencies in History: Comparison of Traditional Monetary Systems between China and India," *Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Economic History Congress, Session 15, Global Monies and Price Histories, 16th–18th Centuries, Buenos Aires 22–26 July, 2002*. See http://u-tokyo.academia.edu/KurodaAkinobu/Papers/240974/Concurrent_Currencies_In_History_Comparison_of_Traditional_Monetary_Systems_Between_India_and_China (accessed March 19, 2012).
——, "The Maria Theresa Dollar in the Early Twentieth-century Red Sea Region: A Complementary Interface between Multiple Markets," *Financial History Review*, 14 (2007): 89–110.
——, "The Eurasian Silver Century, 1276–1359: Commensurability and Multiplicity," *Journal of Global History*, 4 (2009): 245–269.
Kuwabara Jitsuzō 桑原隲藏, "Korujie-shi no shincho 'Maruko Pōro' o yomu" コルヂェ氏の新著『マルコ・ポーロ』を読む (Some Notes on Cordier's *Ser Marco Polo, Notes and Addenda*), *Shinagaku* 支那学 (China Studies), 1.9 (1920): 709–719.
——, "On P'u Shou-keng 蒲壽庚: A Man of the Western Regions who was the Superintendent of the Trading Ships' Office in Ch'üan-chou 泉州 towards the End of the Sung Dynasty, together with a General Sketch of Trade of the Arabs in China during the T'ang and Sung Eras," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko*, 2 (1928): 1–79, and 7 (1935): 1–104.
Lach, Donald F., *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, *The Century of Discovery*, Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1965.
Lago, Luciano, "Congetture ed esperienze nell"imago mundi': Il contributo di derivazione poliana," in Frederico Masini et al. (eds.) (2006), pp. 221–265.
Lala Comneno, Maria Adelaide, "Cristianesimo nestoriano in Asia Centrale nel primo millennio: Testimonianze archeologiche," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 61 (1995): 495–535.
Lam, Peter Y. K., "Jingdezhen Wares of the Yuan Dynasty," *Orientations*, 15 (1983): 14–26.
Lan Yong 蓝勇, *Xi'nan lishi wenhua dili* 西南历史文化地理 (Historical Cultural Geography of Southwest China), Chongqing: Xi'nan shifan daxue chubanshe, 1997.
Lanciotti, Lionello, "Marco Polo e la sinologia occidentale," in Frederico Masini et al. (eds.) (2006), pp. 269–274.
Landry, Isabelle, "La Chine fantôme de Marco Polo," *Le Monde*, 5 avril 1996, p. II.

Lane, Frederic C., and Reinhold C. Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*; vol. 1, *Coins and Moneys of Account*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.
Lane, George, *Daily Life in the Mongol Empire*, Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 2006.
Langlois, Charles-Victor, "Marco Polo," in Barthélémy Hauréau (ed.), *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Paris, 1921; Kraus Reprint 1971, vol. 35, pp. 232–259.
Langlois Jr., John D. (ed.), *China under Mongol Rule*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981.
—— (ed.), " 'Living Law' in Sung and Yüan Jurisprudence," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 41.1 (1981a): 165–217.
Larioux, Bruno, Odile Redon and B. Rosenberger (eds.), "Contre Marco Polo: Une histoire comparée des pâtes alimentaires," *Médievales*, 16–17 (1989): 25–100.
Larner, John, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999.
——, "Plucking Hairs from the Great Cham's Beard: Marco Polo, Jan de Langhe, and Sir John Mandeville," in Akbari and Iannucci (eds.) (2008), pp. 133–155.
Latham, Ronald, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, New York: Abaris Books, 1982.
Lathuillère, Roger, "La compilation de Rusticien de Pise," *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, 4.1 (1978), 623–625.
Laufer, Berthold, "Asbestos and Salamander: An Essay in Chinese and Hellenistic Folklore," *T'oung Pao*, 16 (1915): 299–273.
——, "Karajang," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, October 1915a: 781–784.
——, *Sino-Iranica: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran, with Special Reference to the History of Cultivated Plants and Products*, Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History (Field Museum of Natural History Publications 201; Anthropological Series Vol. XV. No. 3), 1919.
Laurent, Marie-Hyacinthe, "Grégoire X et Marco Polo (1269–1271)," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome*, 58 (1941): 132–144.
Le Coz, Raymond, *Histoire de l'Eglise d'Orient: Chrétiens d'Irak, d'Iran et de Turqie*, Paris: Cerf, 1995.
Le Strange, Guy, "The Cities of Kirmān in the Time of Hamd-Allah Mustawfi and Marco Polo," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, April 1901: 281–290.
Lê Thi Liên, Nguyên Thi Mai Hu'o'ng, Charlotte Pam, Mark Staniforth, Jim Delgado, Kimura Jun, and Randall J. Sasaki, "Understanding the Bach Dang Battlefield from Recent Research Results," Museum of Underwater Archaeology, http:/www.uri.edu/mua/ (accessed November 18, 2011).
Lech, Klaus, *Das mongolische Weltreich: Al-'Umarī's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz (Asiatische Forschungen; 22), 1968.
Lecouteux, Claude, *Les monstres dans la pensée médiévale européenne*, Paris: PUPS, 1993, pp. 149–152.
Lee, Thomas H. C., "A Report on the Recently Excavated Song Ship at Quanzhou and a Consideration of its True Capacity," *Sung Studies Newsletter*, 11–12 (1975–1976): 4–9.
Lefèvre, Vincent, *Lumières de soie, soieries tissées d'or de la collection Riboud*, Paris: Musée Guimet, 2004.
Lei Runze 雷润泽, Yu Cunhai 于存海 and He Jiying 何继英, "Ningxia Baisikou shuangta faxian de Tachao tongbao he Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao" 宁夏拜寺口双塔发现的大朝通宝和中统元宝交钞 (The *Tachao tongbao* Coin and the *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* Notes Discovered in the Baisikou Double Pagoda in Ningxia), *Zhongguo qianbi* 中国钱币 (China Numismatics), 4 (1989): 28–31.
Lembke, Katja, Eugenio Martera and Patrizia Pietrogrande (eds.), *Marco Polo: Von Venedig nach China; Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hannover 23. September 2011–26. Februar 2012*, Hannover: Landesmuseum Hannover, 2011.

Lentz, Wolfgang, "War Marco Polo auf dem Pamir?" *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 96 (1933): 1–32.
Leslie, Donald Daniel, *The Survival of the Chinese Jews: The Jewish Community of Kai-feng*, Leiden: Brill, 1972.
——, "The Identification of Chinese Cities in Arabic and Persian Sources," *Papers on Far Eastern History*, 26 (1982): 1–38.
——, "The Mongol Attitude to Jews in China," *Central Asiatic Journal*, 39.2 (1995): 234–245.
Leslie, Donald Daniel, Yang Daye, and Ahmed Youssef, *Islam in Traditional China: A Bibliographical Guide*, Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute (Monumenta Serica monograph series; 54), 2006.
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim, "Marco Polo, aus einer Handschrift ergänzt, und aus einer andern sehr zu verbessern," in *Gotthold Ephraim Lessings vermischte Schriften*, vol. 13, Berlin: In der Voßischen Buchhandlung, 1773, pp. 359–384.
Levi, Cesare Augusto, "Il vero segreto di Dante e Marco Polo: Communicazione al Comitato di Treviso della 'Dante Alighieri' letta la sera del 17 Novembre, 1905," Treviso: Zopelli, 1905, 37 pp.
Lévy, Brian J., "Un bestiaire oriental: Le monde animal dans *Le Devisament dou monde*," in Matsubara Hideichi, Suzuki Satoru, Fukumoto Naoyuki and Harano Noboru (eds.), *Les animaux dans la littérature*, Tokyo: Keio University Press, 1997, pp. 159–178.
Li Changlin 李长林, "Guoren yanjiu yu jieshao 'Make Boluo youji' shi yu heshi" 国人研究与介绍《马可·波罗游记》始于何时? (When Did Chinese Start to Investigate and Introduce *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Shijieshi yanjiu dongtai* 世界史研究动态 (Trends in World History Research), 10 (1990).
——, "Zhongguo Make Boluo xue yanjiu zhong de jige wenti" 中国马可波罗学研究中的几个问题 (Some Research Questions Regarding Marko Polo Research in China), *Shijie lishi* 世界历史 (World History), 5 (1996): 78–82.
Li Gan 李干, "Yuandai faxing de zhibi jiqi lishi yiyi" 元代发行的纸币及其历史意义 (The Issue of Paper Money in the Yuan Period and its Historical Significance), *Neimenggu shehui kexue (Hanwenban)* 内蒙古社会科学（汉文版）(Inner Mongolia Social Sciences (Chinese Edition)), 4 (1985): 49–52.
Li Jiarui 李家瑞, "Gudai Yunnan yong beibi de daigai qingkuang" 古代云南用贝币的大概情况 (A General Account of the Use of Cowry Currency in Ancient Yunnan), *Lishi yanjiu* 历史研究 (Historical Research), 9 (1956): 85–100. Repr. in Yang Shouchuan (ed.) (1997), *Beibi yanjiu*, pp. 94–118.
Li Lincan (Li Lin-ts'an) 李霖燦, *Nanzhao Daliguo xin ziliao de zonghe yanjiu* 南詔大理國新資料的綜合研究 (A Study of the Nan-chao [Nanzhao] and Ta-li [Dali] Kingdoms in the Light of Art Materials Found in Various Museums), Nankang, Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica (Monographs; 9), 1967.
Li Yiyou 李逸友, "Yuandai caoyuan sichou zhi lu shang de zhibi: Neimenggu Ejinaqi Heicheng chutu de Yuanchao ji piaojuan" 元代草原丝绸之路上的纸币—内蒙古额济纳旗黑城出土的元钞及票券 (Paper Money on the Grassland Silkroad during the Yuan Period: Yuan Paper Notes, Vouchers and Certificates Excavated in Heicheng of Ejinaqi, Inner Mongolia), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu* 内蒙古金融研究 (Finance Research of Inner Mongolia), 2 (2003): 6–15.
Li Zhangfu 李长傅, "'Mage Boluo youji' Hainan zhuguo xinzhu"《马哥波罗游记》海南诸国新注 (New Comments on the Countries of the Southern Sea in *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Zhenzhi xuebao* 真知学报 (Journal of True Knowledge), 2.4 (1942). Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 363–379.
Li Zhengxin 李正鑫, "Hunan Huarong chutu Yuanchao" 湖南华容出土元钞 (Yuan Paper Notes Excavated in Huarong, Hunan), *Zhongguo qianbi* 中国钱币 (China Numismatics), 4 (1994): 33–35, 23.
Li Zhi'an, "Une nouvelle réflexion sur le séjour de Marco Polo en Chine," in Li Shenwen (ed.), *Chine—Europe—Amérique: Rencontres et échanges de Marco Polo à nos jours*, Québec: Les Presses de l'Université de Laval, 2009, pp. 13–24.

Li Zhi'an 李治安 and Xue Lei 薛磊, *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi: Yuandai juan* 中国行政区划通史: 元代卷 (Comprehensive History of Administrative Divisions in China: Volume on the Yuan Period), Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2009.

Lieu, Samuel M. C., "Nestorians and Manicheans on the South China Coast," *Vigiliae Christianae*, 34.1 (1980): 71–86.

——, *Medieval Christian and Manichaean Remains from Quanzhou (Zayton)*, Turnhout: Brepohls Publishers (Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum: Series Archaeologica et Iconographica; 2), 2012.

Ligeti, Louis, *Mongolian Studies*, Amsterdam: Verlag B. R. Grüner (Bibl. Orientalis hungarica; 14), 1970.

——, *Monuments en écriture 'Phagspa: Pièces de chancellerie en transcription chinoise*, Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1972.

Lighte, Peter Rupert, "The Mongols and Mu Ying in Yunnan: At the Empire's Edge," PhD diss., Princeton University, 1981, UMI, access by the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin).

Limentani, Alberto, " 'Entrée d'Espagne' e 'Milione'," in Paola Benincà et al. (eds.), *Scritti in onore di Giovan Battista Pellegrini*, vol. 1, Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1983, pp. 395–417.

Lin Shujian 林树建, "Yuandai de Zheyan" 元代的浙盐 (Zhejiang Salt during the Yuan Period), in Peng Zeyi 彭澤益 and Wang Renyuan 王仁遠 (eds.), *Zhongguo yanyeshi guoji xueshu taolunhui lunwenji* 中國鹽業史國際學術討論會論文集 (Collected Articles of the International Symposium on the History of the Chinese Salt Industry), Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1991, pp. 307–322. See also in *Zhejiang xuekan* 浙江学刊 (Zhejiang Academic Periodical), 3 (1991): 35–40, 71.

Lin Wenxun 林文勋, "Shi 'sichou zhi lu' haishi 'beibi zhi lu'?" 是 "丝绸之路"还是 "贝币之路"? ("Silk Road" or "Cowry Currency Road"?), *Sixiang zhanxian* 思想战线 (Ideological Front), 27.5 (2001): 134–135.

Lin Yuanxiong 林元雄, Song Liangxi 宋良曦, et al., *Zhongguo jingyan kejishi* 中国井盐科技史 (The History of Science and Technology of Chinese Well Salt), Chengdu: Sichuan kexue jishu chubanshe, 1987.

Lincoln, Bruce, "An Early Moment in the Discourse of 'Terrorism': Reflections on a Tale from Marco Polo," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 46.2 (2006): 242–259.

Liu, Cary Y., "The Yüan Dynasty Capital, Ta-tu: Imperial Building Program and Bureaucracy," *T'oung Pao*, 78.4–5 (1992): 264–301.

Liu Sen 刘森, *Song Jin zhibishi* 宋金货币史 (A History of Song and Jin Paper Money), Beijing: Zhongguo jinrong chubanshe, 1993.

Liu Yih-Min, "A Comparative and Critical Study of Ali Akbar's Khitāy-Nāma with Reference to Chinese Sources (English Summary)," *Central Asiatic Journal*, 27 (1983): 58–78.

Lo Jung-pang, "The Controversy over Grain Conveyance during the Reign of Qubilai Qagan, 1260–94," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, 13.3 (1954): 263–285.

——, "The Emergence of China as a Sea Power during the Late Sung and Early Yüan Periods," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, 14 (1954–55): 489–503.

Lombard, Denys, and Roderich Ptak (eds.), *Asia Maritima: Images et réalité, Bilder und Wirklichkeit, 1200–1800*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (South China and Maritime Asia; 1), 1994.

Long Darui 龙达瑞, " 'Make Boluo youji' zhong suo sheji de zongjiao wenti yanjiu"《马可波罗游记》中所涉及的宗教问题研究 (Research on Religious Problems Touched in *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* 宗教学研究 (Religious Studies), 1 (1990): 54–61.

——, " 'Make Boluo youji' yu 13 shiji Yindu zongjiao"《马可· 波罗游记》与13世纪印度宗教 (*Marco Polo's Travels* and the Religions in India during the Thirteenth Century), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 202–215.

Lopez, Robert Sabatino, "Nuove luci sugli italiani in Estremo Oriente prima di Colombo," in *Studi colombiani (Convegno internazionale di studi colombiani, Genova 1951)*, vol. 3, Genova, 1951, pp. 337–398.

——, "China Silk in Europe in the Yuan Period," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 72.2 (1952): 72–76.
——, "L'extrême frontière du commerce de l'Europe médiévale," *Le Moyen Age*, 69 (1963): 449–490.
——, "Nouveaux documents sur les marchands italiens en Chine à l'époque mongole," in *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres: Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1977, Janvier–Mars*, Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1977, pp. 445–458.
Lopez, Robert Sabatino, and Gabriella Airaldi, "Il più antico manuale italiano di pratica della mercatura," in G. Pistarino (ed.), *Miscellanea di studi storici II*, Genova: Bozzi (Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi; 38), 1983, pp. 99–134.
Lopez, Robert Sabatino, and Irving W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents, Translated with Introductions and Notes*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1955.
Lu Guojun 陆国俊, Chi Mingwei 赤名玮 and Sun Chengmu 孙成木 (chief eds.), *Zhongxi wenhua jiaoliu xianqu—Make Boluo: Jinian Make Boluo li Hua hui guo 700 zhounian (1291–1991)* 中西文化交流先驱—马可·波罗：纪念马可·波罗离华回国 700 周年 (1291–1991) (Marco Polo, a Pioneer in the Cultural Exchange between East and West: Commemorating the 700th Year of Marco Polo's Departure from China and Return to his Country (1291–1991)), Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1995.
Lü Changsheng 吕長生, "Qingdai Yunnan jingyan shengchan de lishi huajuan: 'Diannan yanfa tu' " 清代雲南井鹽生産的歷史畫卷—《滇南鹽法圖》 (A Historical Scroll on the Production of Well Salt in Yunnan during the Qing Period: The "Illustrations on the Salt [Production] Methods of Yunnan"), *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan guankan* 中國歷史博物館館刊 (China Historical Museum Periodical), 5 (1983): 110–112, 136.
Lü Tongliu 吕同六, " 'Make Boluo youji' de biluzhe: Lusidiqiannuo" 《马可·波罗游记》的笔录者—鲁思蒂谦诺 (The One who wrote *Marco Polo's Travels*: Rustichello), *Renmin ribao* 人民日报 (People's Daily), September 22, 1980. Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 196–200.
Luo Qin 罗勤, " 'Guangming zhi cheng' bi 'Make Boluo youji' geng quanmian zhanshi Zhongguo de shu" "光明之城"比"马可·波罗游记"更全面展示中国的书 (*The City of Light*: A More Comprehensive Book about China than *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Guizhou jiaoyu xueyuan xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 贵州教育学院学报 （社会科学版） (Journal of Guizhou Educational Institute (Social Sciences Edition)), 16.5 (2000), pp. 71–75.
Luo Renzhong 罗仁忠, "Yuandai hunchao daohuan ji shaochao zhidu" 元代昏钞倒换及烧钞制度 (The System of Exchanging Worn-out Paper Notes and Burning of Paper Notes during the Yuan Period), *Zhongguo qianbi* 中国钱币 (China Numismatics), 1 (1993): 29–30.
Lupprian, Karl–Ernst, "Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels," *Studi e Testi*, 291 (1981): 216–241.
Lutz, Albert (ed.), *Der Goldschatz der Drei Pagoden: Buddhistische Kunst des Nanzhao- und Dali-Königreichs in Yunnan, China*, Zürich: Museum Rietberg Zürich, 1991.
Luzzana Caraci, Ilaria, "Marco Polo e le grandi scoperte geografiche dei secoli XV e XVI," in Cosimo Palagiano et al. (eds.) (2007), pp. 215–225.
Luzzatto, Gino, "Il mercante veneziano del tempo di Marco Polo," in Roberto Almagià et al. (eds.), *Nel VII centenario della nascita di Marco Polo*, Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1955, pp. 241–254.
——, *An Economic History of Italy: From the Fall of the Roman Empire to the Beginning of the 16th Century*, transl. by Philip Jones, London: Routledge, 2005.
Ma Wenkuan 马文宽 and Li Lanqin 李兰琴, " 'Make Boluo youji' suolu Zhongguo jidujiao chukao" 《马可·波罗游记》所录中国基督教初考 (A Preliminary Examination of Early Christianity in China as Recorded in *Marco Polo's Travels*), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 185–202.

Macconi, Massimiliano, "Realtà e immaginazione nella Cina di Marco Polo: L'incontro nel sogno tra Oriente e Occidente," in Gabriella Airaldi, Paola Mortari Vergara Caffarelli and Laura Emilia Parodi (eds.), *I Mongoli dal Pacifico al Mediterraneo; Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Genova, 7–8 maggio 2002)*, Genova: ECIG, 2004, pp. 281–285. Also published in Franco Martignone (ed.), *Il Mediterraneo attraverso i secoli*, Genova: Name, 2002, vol. 1, pp. 69–75.

Màdaro, Adriano, "*The Million*: How an Extraordinary Case of Human Friendliness and Solidarity Brought forth a Case of Ordinary Greed," in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 232–251.

Maeda Naonori 前田直典, *Genchōshi no kenkyū* 元朝史の研究 (Investigations on the History of the Yuan Dynasty), Tōkyō: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1973.

——, "Gen no shihei no yōshiki ni tsuite" 元の紙幣の様式に就て (The Forms of Yuan Paper Notes), in his *Genchōshi no kenkyū*, 1973, pp. 3–17.

——, "Gendai no kahei tan-i" 元代の貨幣単位 (Monetary Denominations of the Yuan Period), in his *Genchōshi no kenkyū*, 1973, pp. 19–39.

——, "Gendai ni okeru shō no hakkō seido to sono ryūtsū jōtai" 元代における鈔の発行制度とその流通状態 (The System of Issuing Paper Notes and the Conditions of their Circulation during the Yuan Period), in his *Genchōshi no kenkyū*, 1973, pp. 41–106.

——, "Gendai ni okeru shihei no bukka hendō" 元代における紙幣の物価変動 (Fluctuations in the Value of Paper Notes during the Yuan Period), in his *Genchōshi no kenkyū*, 1973, pp. 107–143.

Maejima Shinji 前嶋信次, "Maruko Pōro to Arekusandoros densetu (1)" マルコ·ポーロとアレクサンドロス伝説 (1) (Marco Polo and the Alexander Legend (1)), *Shigaku* 史學 (History), 41.4 (1969): 1–30.

——, "The Muslims in Ch'üan-chou 泉州 at the End of the Yüan Dynasty," *Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko*, 31 (1973): 28–51; 32 (1974): 47–71.

Maltzan, Heinrich Freiherr von, "Marco Polos Angaben über Südarabien und Habesch," *Ausland*, 44 (1871): 649–652.

Mangold, Gunther, *Das Militärwesen in China unter der Mongolen-Herrschaft*, PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Bamberg, aku Fotodruck, 1971.

Manly, John Matthews, "Marco Polo and the Squire's Tale," *Publication of the Modern Language Association of America*, 11.3 (1896): 349–362.

Mao Wen 毛汶, "'Du Make Boluo youji' zhengwu"《读马可孛罗游记》证误 (Correcting Errors in "Reading *Marco Polo's Travels*"), *Xuefeng* 学风 (Academic Atmosphere), 9 (1935). Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 351–356.

Marco Polo: Ausstellung in der SKA-Galerie "Le Point" Zürich, Zürich: Schweizerische Kreditanstalt [Ausstellung in der SKA-Galerie "Le Point," Paradeplatz 8, Zürich, 1995–1996], 1995.

Marroni, Sergio, "La meraviglia di Marco Polo: L'espressione della meraviglia nel lessico e nella sintassi del *Milione*," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 233–262.

Marsh-Edwards, J. C., "The Friars in the Mongol Empire," *Dublin Review*, 204 (1939): 386–397.

Martin, Lawrence, "The Newly-Discovered Marco Polo Map," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 24.1 (1934): 60–61.

Martinez, A. P., "Regional Mint Outputs and the Dynamics of Bullion Flows through the Īl-Xānate," *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 7 (1984): 121–173.

Mascherpa, Guiseppe, "Nuove indagini sulla tradizione latina Z del Milione di Marco Polo," PhD diss., Università degli Studi, Siena, 2007–2008.

——, "San Tommaso in India: L'apporto della tradizione indiretta alla costituzione dello stemma del *Milione*," in Alberto Cadioli and Paolo Chiesa (eds.), *Prassi ecdotiche: Esperienze editoriali su testi manoscritti et testi a stampa; Milano, 7 giugno e 31 ottobre 2007*, Milano: Cisalpino (Quaderni di Acme; Università degli studi di Milano, Facoltà di lettere e filosofia; 103), 2008, pp. 171–184.

Masini, Frederico, Franco Salvatori, and Sandro Schipani (eds.), *Marco Polo 750 Anni: Il viaggio. Il libro. Il diritto; Congresso Internationale, Roma, 23 novembre 2004, Venezia, 25 november 2004 (Università degli Studi di Roma "Tor Vergata," Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienzia," Università Ca'Foscari di Venezia)*, Roma: Tiellemedia Editore, 2006.

Massano, Riccardo, "Marco Polo," in Vittore Branca et al. (ed.), *Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana*, vol. 3, Torino: Unione tipografico editrice torinese, 1986, pp. 489–494.

Matsuda, Kōichi, "On the Ho-nan Mongol Army," *Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko*, 50 (1992): 29–55.

May, Timothy, *The Mongol Conquests in World History*, London Reaktion Books, 2011.

Mayers, W. F., "Marco Polo's Legend Concerning Bayan," *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, 11, (1868): 162.

McKinnon, E. Edwards, "Research at Kota Cina, a Sung-Yüan Period Trading Site in East Sumatra," *Archipel*, 14 (1977): 19–32.

Ménard, Philippe, "L'illustration du *Devisement du Monde* de Marco Polo," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1985, pp. 85–91.

——, "L'illustration du 'Devisement du Monde' de Marco Polo: Étude d'iconographie comparée," in François Moureau (ed.), *Métamorphoses du récit de voyage; Actes du Colloque de la Sorbonne et du Sénat (2 mars 1985)*, Paris and Genève: Champion/Slatkine, 1986, pp. 17–31.

——, "L'illustration du *Devisement du Monde* de Marco Polo," *Bulletin de l'Université de Tokyo-Meisei, Faculté de Civilisation Japonaise et Comparée*, 2 (1994): 152–178.

——, "Réflexions sur l'illustration du texte de Marco Polo dans le manuscrit fr. 2810 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris," in Fukumoto Naoyuki, Matsumura Takeshi, Otaka Yorio, and Gilles Eckard (eds.), *Mélanges in memoriam Takeshi Shimmura offerts par ses amis, ses collègues et ses élèves*, Tokyo: Kenkyūsha, 1998, pp. 81–92, ill. 1–13.

——, "Le prétendu 'remaniement' du *Devisement du Monde* de Marco Polo attribué à Grégoire," *Medioevo Romanzo*, 22 (1998a): 332–351.

——, "Le manuscrit de Vevey du *Devisement du Monde*," in Alain Labbé, Daniel W. Lacroix and Danielle Quéruel (eds.), *Guerres, voyages et quêtes au moyen âge: Mélanges offerts à Jean-Claude Faucon*, Paris: Champion (Colloques, congrès et conférences sur le Moyen Age; 2), 2000, pp. 271–280.

——, "Marco Polo en Angleterre," *Medioevo Romanzo*, 24.2 (2000a): 189–208.

——, "Introduction," in Marie-Luce Chênerie, Michèle Guéret-Laferté and Philippe Ménard, *Départ des voyageurs et traversée de la Perse*, in Philippe Ménard (ed.), *Marco Polo: Le devisement du monde*, Genève: Librairie Droz S.A., 2001, pp. 9–115.

——, "L'itinéraire de Marco Polo dans sa traversée de la China," *Medioevo Romanzo*, 26 (2002): 321–360.

——, "Le problème de la version originale du 'Devisement du Monde' de Marco Polo," in François Livi (ed.), *De Marco Polo à Savinio: Écrivains italiens en langue française*, Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003, pp. 17–19.

——, "L'édition du *Devisement du Monde* de Marco Polo," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 149.1 (2005): 407–435.

——, "Intérêt et importance de la version française du *Devisement du monde* de Marco Polo," in Frederico Masini et al. (eds.) (2006), pp. 183–197.

——, "Aperçu sur le vocabulaire nautique du texte de Marco Polo," in Chantal Connochie-Bourgne (ed.), *Mondes marins du Moyen Age*, Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence (Senefiance; 52), 2006a, pp. 317–327.

——, "Marco Polo en images: Les représentations du voyageur au Moyen Âge," in Pietro G. Beltrami, Maria Grazia Capusso, Fabrizio Cigni, and Sergio Vatteroni (eds.), *Studi di filologia romanza offerti a Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso*, vol. 2, Pisa: Pacini, 2006c, pp. 993–1022.

——, "Marco Polo et le Japon," in Shigemi Sasaki (ed.), *Le quarantième anniversaire de la fondation de l'Université Meisei; Symposium et conférence internationaux*, Tokyo: Université Meisei, 2006d, pp. 39–64.

——, "Les représentations de Khoubilai Khan dans la peinture chinoise," in Catherine Bel, Pascale Dumont and Frank Willaert (eds.), *"Contez me tout": Mélanges de langue et de littérature médiévales offertes à Herman Braet*, Louvain: Peeters, 2006e, pp. 577–600.
——, "La représentation de l'empereur de Chine Khoubilai Khan dans le *Devisement du Monde* de Marco Polo," in Venceslas Bubenicek and Rocher Marchal (eds.), *Gouvernement des hommes, gouvernement des âmes; Mélanges Charles Brucker*, Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 2007, pp. 229–244.
——, "L'Arsenal de Venise," in Michel Vergé-Franceschi (ed.), *La Corse, la Méditerranée et les grands arsenaux européens*, Ajaccio: A. Piazzola, 2007a, pp. 61–94.
——, "Marco Polo et la mer: Le retour de Marco Polo en Occident d'après les diverses versions du texte," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 173–204.
——, "Les représentations de l'empereur Khoubilai Khan dans les manuscrits français du *Devisement du Monde*," in Paola Moreno and Giovanni Palumbo (eds.), *Autour du XV^e^ siècle: Journée d'étude en l'honneur d'Alberto Varvaro*, Liège: Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philolosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 2008a, pp. 118–139.
——, "Langues en contact chez Marco Polo: Les italianismes du vocabulaire de la mer dans la version française," in Yvan G. Lepage and Christian Milat (eds.), *"Pour s'onor croistre": Mélanges de langue et de littérature médiévales offerts à Pierre Kunstmann*, Ottawa: Editions David, 2008b, pp. 245–255.
——, *Marco Polo: Die Geschichte einer legendären Reise*, transl. from the French by Birgit Lamerz-Beckschäfer, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009.
——, *Marco Polo: À la découverte de l'Asie*, Grenoble: Éditions Glénat, 2009a.
——, "Les mots orientaux dans le texte de Marco Polo," *Romance Philology*, 63 (2009b): 87–135.
——, "Réflexions sur le prologue des différentes versions du *Devisement du Monde* de Marco Polo," in Monique Léonard, Xavier Leroux and François Roudaut (eds.), *Le lent brassement des livres, des rites et de la vie: Mélanges offerts à James Dauphiné*, Paris: Champion, 2009c, pp. 97–113.
——, "L'apport de Marco Polo à la culture française," *Travaux de littérature*, 22 (2009d): 93–125.
——, "Le mélange des langues dans les diverses versions du *Devisement du Monde* de Marco Polo," in Claire Kappler and Suzanne Méjean-Thiolier (eds.), *Le Plurilinguisme au Moyen Age, Orient-Occident: De Babel à la langue Une*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009e, pp. 233–249.
——, "Marco Polo et la mer: Les navires vus en Orient," in Reynal Abad, Jean-Pierre Bardet, Jean-François Dunyach and François-Joseph Ruggiu (eds.), *Les passions d'un historien: Mélanges en l'honneur de Jean-Pierre Poussou*, Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne (Collection Roland Mousnier; 44), 2010, pp. 415–424.
——, "Problèmes philologiques dans le *Devisement du Monde* de Marco Polo: Les graphies des noms chinois en *zhou* dans les versions romanes," in Anja Overbeck, Wolfgang Schweickard and Harald Völker (eds.), *Lexikon, Varietät, Philologie: Romanistische Studien Günter Holtus zum 65. Geburstag*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011, pp. 713–721.
——, "Pelliot et les études sur Marco Polo," to be published in the proceedings of the international colloquium *Paul Pelliot, de l'histoire à la légende, 2–3 octobre 2008*, Paris: Collège de France, 2012.
——, "Problèmes de plurilinguisme: Le voyageur et les langues de l'Orient," to be published in *Mélanges en l'honneur de François Moureau*, Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2012.
——, "Deux nouveaux folios inédits d'un fragment franco-italien du *Devisement du Monde* de Marco Polo," to be published in *Medioevo Romanzo*, 2012.
——, "Réflexions sur l'adaptation des noms chinois et ouigours dans les versions du *Devisement du Monde* de Marco Polo," to be published in *Mélanges offerts à Danielle Quéruel*, 2012.

——, "L'écriture du récit de voyage: Les références du narrateur au voyageur dans le *Devisement du Monde* de Marco Polo," communication prepared for the colloquium *Le voyage dans tous ses états*, Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 16–17 mars 2012.

Meneghetti, Maria Luisa, "Scrivere in carcere nel Medioevo," in Pietro Frassica (ed.), *Studi di filologia e letteratura italiana in onore di Maria Picchio Simonelli*, Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1992, pp. 185–189.

——, "Quando l'immagine dice di più: Riflessioni sull'apparato decorativo del *Livre des Merveilles du Monde*," in Pietro G. Beltrami, Maria Grazia Capusso, Fabrizio Cigni and Sergio Vatteroni (eds.), *Studi di filologia romanza offerti a Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso*, vol. 2, Pisa: Pacini, 2006, pp. 1023–1050.

——, "Marco Polo ad Avignone," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 77–88.

Meng Xie 孟樨, "Ping Li Ji yi 'Make Boluo youji'" 评李季译《马可波罗游记》(A Critique of Li Ji's Translation of *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Tianjin yishibao* 天津益世报 (Tianjin Newspaper for Benefitting the World), November 19, 1936. Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 322–326.

Metzger, Thomas A., "The Organizational Capabilities of the Ch'ing State in the Field of Commerce: The Liang-huai Salt Monopoly, 1740–1840," in William E. Willmott (ed.), *Economic Organization in Chinese Society*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1972, pp. 9–45.

Micheli, Silvio, *Mongolia: Sulle orme di Marco Polo*, Milano: Bompiani, 1964.

Michieli, Adriano Augusto, "L'opera e la figura di Marco Polo," *Archivio Veneto-Tridentino*, 8 (1924): 225–265.

——, "Chi fu e che cosa fece Rusticiano da Pisa," *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 84.2 (1924/25): 321–337.

——, "Marco Polo e le missioni d'Oriente," *Rivista illustrata della Esposizione Missionaria Vaticana*, 2.6 (1925).

——, "L'iconografia di Marco Polo," *Emporium: Rivista mensile illustrate d'arte e di cultura*, 61 (February 1925a): 114–123.

——, "Il carattere morale di Marco Polo," *L'Universo*, 8 (March 1925b): 341–346.

——, "Gli studiosi veneti del Polo," in Roberto Almagià et al. (eds.), *Nel VII centenario della nascita di Marco Polo*, Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1955, pp. 269–295.

Milanesi, Marica, "L'itinerario Occidente-Cina attraverso l'Oceano Indiano nel XIII e XIV secolo," in Cesare Segre et al. (eds.) (1983), pp. 51–74.

——, "Giovanni Battista Ramusio e le *Navigazioni e viaggi* (1550–1559)," in Renzo Zorzi (ed.), *L'epopea delle scoperte*, Firenze: Olschki (Collana Civiltà veneziana: Saggi; 40), 1994, pp. 75–101.

Ming Yishi 明义士 (James M. Menzies), "Mage Boluo shidai zai Zhongguo de jidujiao" 马哥孛罗时代在中国的基督教 (Christianity in China in the Period of Marco Polo), *Qida jikan* 齐大季刊 (Cheeloo University Quarterly), 12.315 (1934). Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 298–319.

Mitsofuji Toshio 光藤俊夫, "Genkō no tatakai wa Maruko Pōro ga Kubirai Hān ni shingen shite okotta saisho no Nihon e no ikoku kara no shinkō datta to iu setsu ga aru: Maruko Pōro to kamikaze" 元寇の戦いはマルコ・ポーロがフビライ・ハーンに進言して起こった最初の日本への異国からの侵攻だったと言う説がある—マルコ・ポーロと神風 (About the Saying that the "War with the Yuan Bandits Had its Origin with a Proposal of Marco Polo Made to Khubilai Khan which thus Led to the First Time that Japan Was Attacked by a Foreign Country": Marco Polo and the Providential Winds), *Gakuen* 学苑 (Study Garden), 785 (2006): 126–129.

Mittag, Achim, "Vom 'Reiseaufenthaltsort' zum 'Goldschmelztiegel': Hang-chou und die Akkomodation der *shi-da-fu*-Schicht in der Südlichen Song," in Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer (ed.), *Lebenswelt und Weltanschauung im frühneuzeitlichen China*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990, pp. 97–132.

Miyazawa Tomoyuki 宮澤知之, "Gendai kōhanki no heisei to sono hōkai" 元代後半期の幣制とその崩壊 (The Monetary System in the Second Half of the Yuan Period and its Collapse), *Yōrei shigaku* 鷹陵史学 (Yōrei Historical Studies), 27 (2001): 53–92.

Miyoshi Tomokazu 三吉朋十, "Maruko Pōro no mita Indo" マルコ・ポーロの見た印度 (India as it Had Been Seen by Marco Polo), *Indo* 印度 (India), 5.2 (1956): 26–36; 5.3 (1957): 32–36; 6.3 (1958): 45–51.

Molinari, Italo M., [and Li Zefen], *Un articolo d'autore Cinese su Marco Polo e la Cina*, Napoli: Istituto Orientale di Napoli (Supplemento n. 30 agli Annali, vol. 42, fasc. 1), 1982. Translation of an article of Li Zefen 李則芬 published in *Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌 (Eastern Miscellany) in October/November 1977.

Mollat, Michel, *Les explorateurs du XIII^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle: Premiers regards sur les mondes*, Paris: Lattès, 1984.

Monaco, Lucio, "I volgarizzamenti italiani della relazione di Odorico da Pordenone," *Studi mediolatini e volgari*, 26 (1978–1979): 179–220.

Monfrin, Jacques, "La tradition du texte," in *Marco Polo; Le livre des merveilles, manuscrit français 2810 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris*, Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 1995–1996, pp. 337–351.

——, "La tradition du texte de Marco Polo," in his *Études de philologie romane*, Genève: Droz (Publications romanes et françaises; 230), 2001, pp. 515–533.

Monteverdi, Angelo, "Lingua e letteratura a Venezia nel secolo di Marco Polo," *Lettere italiane*, 6 (1954): 141–151. See also in Vittore Branca (ed.), *Storia della civiltà veneziana*; Vol. 1, *Dalle origini al secolo di Marco Polo*, Firenze: Sansoni, 1979, pp. 255–362.

Morandini, Mino, "Marco Polo, l'ordine domenicano e la prima fortuna del Milione," *Humanitas*, 38 (1983): 264–275.

Morgan, David O., "Marco Polo in China—or not," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, third series, 6.2 (1996): 221–225.

——, "Prester John and the Mongols," in Charles F. Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton (eds.), *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, Aldershot: Variorum, 1996a, pp. 159–170.

——, *The Mongols; Second Edition*, Malden (Mass.): Blackwell Publishing, 2007.

Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫, "Shiruku rōdo tōbu ni okeru tsūka: Kinu, saihō ginsen, kampu kara gintei e" シルクロード東部における通貨—絹· 西方銀錢· 官布から銀錠へ (Currencies on the Eastern Part of the Silk Road: From Silk, Western Silver Coins and Government Cloth to Silver Ingots," in id. (ed.), *Chūo Ajia shutsudo bumbutsu ronsō* 中央アジア出土文物論叢 (Papers on the Pre-Islamic Documents and Other Materials Unearthed from Central Asia), Kyōto: Hōyū shoten, 2004, pp. 1–40.

Mostaert, Antoine, "A propos de quelques portraits d'empereurs mongols," *Asia Major*, 4 (1927): 147–156.

——, "Le mot Natigay/Nacigay chez Maro Polo," in *Oriente poliano*, 1957, pp. 95–101.

Mote, Frederick W., "Confucian Eremitism in the Yüan Period," in Arthur F. Wright (ed.), *The Confucian Persuasion*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1960, pp. 202–240.

——, "Chinese Society under Mongol Rule, 1215–1368," in Franke and Twitchett (eds.) (1994), pp. 616–664.

——, "A Note on Traditional Sources for Yüan History," in Franke and Twitchett (eds.) (1994a), pp. 689–726.

——, *Imperial China, 900–1800*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1999.

Moule, Arthur Christopher, "Marco Polo's Sinjumatu," *T'oung Pao*, second series, 13.3 (1912): 431–433.

——, "Documents Relating to the Mission of the Minor Friars to China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, July 1914: 533–599.

——, "Hang-chou to Shang-tu, A.D. 1276," *T'oung Pao*, 16.3 (1915), 393–419.

——, "The Minor Friars in China," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, January 1917: 1–36.

——, "A Note on the Chinese Atlas in the Magliabecchian Library, with Reference to Kinsay in Marco Polo," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, July 1919: 393–395.
——, "The Life of Odoric of Pordenone," *T'oung Pao*, second series, 20.3–4 (1920/21): 275–290.
——, "The Minor Friars in China," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1 (1921): 83–115.
——, "A Bibliographical Notes on Odoric," *T'oung Pao*, second series, 21.5 (1922): 387–393.
——, "Carriages in Marco Polo's Quinsai," *T'oung Pao*, second series, 24.1 (1925–1926): 66–69.
——, "The Siege of Saianfu and the Murder of Achmach Bailo (Two Chapters of Marco Polo)," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 58 (1927): 1–35.
——, *Christians in China before 1500*, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930.
——, "The Use of the Cross among the Nestorians in China", *T'oung Pao*, second series, 28.1–2 (1931): 78–86.
——, "The Nestorians in China," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1 (1933): 116–120.
——, "Marco Polo's Description of Quinsai," *T'oung Pao*, 33.1 (1937): 105–128.
——, *Quinsai with Other Notes on Marco Polo*, Cambridge: At the University Press, 1957.
Moule, Arthur Christopher, and Lionel Giles, "Christians at Chêng-chiang fu," *T'oung Pao*, 16 (1915): 627–686.
Moule, G. E., "Notes on Col. Yule's Edition of Marco Polo's 'Quinsay'," *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 9 (1875): 1–24.
Münkler, Marina, *Marco Polo: Leben und Legende*, München: Beck (Beck'sche Reihe; 2097: C. H. Beck Wissen), 1998.
——, *Erfahrung des Fremden: Die Beschreibung Ostasiens in den Augenzeugenberichten des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2000.
——, *Marco Polo: Vita e leggenda*, transl. by Giuliana Cavallo-Guzzo, Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2001.
Münküyev, N. Ts., "A New Mongolian P'ai-tzŭ from Simferopol," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarium Hungaricae*, 31.2 (1977): 185–215.
Mullie, Jos., "Une planche à assignats," *T'oung Pao*, second series, 33.2 (1937): 150–157.
Muret, Ernest, "Un fragment de Marco Polo," *Romania*, 30 (1901): 409–414.
Myers, Henry A., "The Image of the Far East in the West from the Accounts of Western Travelers in the Thirteenth Century," *Asian Profile*, 1.1 (1973): 63–73.
Na Rongli 那荣利, "'Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao er guan wensheng' chaoban kao" 《中统元宝交钞贰贯文省》钞版考 (An Investigation of the Paper Money Printing Plate for a *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* of 2 *guan* Short-string), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu* 内蒙古金融研究 (Finance Research of Inner Mongolia), 1 (2002): 63–65.
Nagel-Angermann, Monique, *Das alte China*, Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 2007.
Nashengdeliger, Pu 普· 那生德力格尔, "Neimenggu Ejinaqi chutu Yuandai zhibi" 内蒙古额济纳旗出土元代纸币 (Paper Notes of the Yuan Period Excavated in Ejin Qi, Inner Mongolia), *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology), 8 (1990): 765–766 & plates.
——, "Neimenggu Ejinaqi chutu Yuandai zhibi" 内蒙古额济纳旗出土元代纸币 (Paper Notes of the Yuan Period Excavated in Ejin Qi, Inner Mongolia), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu* 内蒙古金融研究 (Finance Research of Inner Mongolia), S1 (2002): 39–40.
Needham, Joseph, with the collaboration of Wang Ling and Lu Gwei-Djen, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 4, *Physics and Physical Technology*, part 3, *Civil Engineering and Nautics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.
——, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 6, *Biology and Biological Technology*, part 1, *Botany*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, repr. 1989.
Needham, Joseph, and Dorothy Needham, "The Coming of Ardent Water," *Ambix*, 19 (1972): 69–112.

Neimenggu qianbi xuehui 内蒙古钱币学会 (Numismatic Society of Inner Mongolia) (ed.), *Yuandai huobi lunwen xuanji* 元代货币论文选集 (Selected Articles on Yuan Monetary History), Huhehaote: Neimenggu chubanshe, 1993.

Nicolle, David, *The Mongol Warriors: Genghis Khan, Kublai Khan, Hülegü, Tamerlane*, London: Brockhampton Press, 1990.

Nilakanta Sastri, Kallidaikurichi A., "Marco Polo on India," in *Oriente poliano*, 1957, pp. 111–120.

Ning Chao 宁超, "Yuan Ming shiqi Yunnan kuangye fazhan gaikuang" 元明时期云南矿业发展概况 (The General Situation of the Development of Mining in Yunnan during the Yuan and Ming Periods), *Xueshu yanjiu* 学术研究 (Academic Research), 1 (1962): 13–26.

Nordenskjöld, Adolf Erik, "The Influence of the 'Travels of Marco Polo' on Jacobo Gastaldi's Maps of Asia," *Geographical Journal*, 13.4 (1899): 396–406.

Nordenskjöld, Adolf Erik; Giuseppe de Vita (transl.), "Intorno alla influenza dei 'Viaggi di Marco Polo' sulle Carte dell' Asia di Giacomo Gastaldo," *Rivista geografica italiana*, 8 (1901): 496–511.

Nowell, Charles E., "The Old Man of the Mountain," *Speculum*, 22.4 (1947): 497–519.

——, "The Historical Prester John," *Speculum*, 28.3 (1953): 435–445.

Olbricht, Peter, *Das Postwesen in China unter der Mongolenherrschaft im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen; 1), 1954.

Oldham, H. Yule, "The Early Cartography of Japan," *Geographical Journal*, 4.3 (1894): 276–279.

Olivieri, Dante, "Di una famiglia di codici italiani dei viaggi di Marco Polo," *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 64.2 (1904/05): 1639–1665.

——, "Ancora sulle redazioni venete dei 'Viaggi' di Marco Polo: Comunicazione al VI Congresso geografico italiano, Venezia, 26–31 maggio 1907," Venezia, Tip. Ferrari, 1908.

——, "La lingua di varî testi veneti del 'Milione'," in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Vincenzo Crescini*, Cividale: Fratelli Stagni, 1927, pp. 501–522.

Olmo García, Ysabel, "Il ms. CM 211 della Bibliotheca Civica di Padova e la versione veneta del 'Milione'," in Ramón Lorenzo (ed.), *Actas do XIX Congreso Internacional de Lingüística e Filoloxía Románicas, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1989*, VII, *Sección IX. Filoloxía medieval e renacentista; A. Crítica textual e edición de textos; B. Historia e crítica literarias*, Coruña: Fundación "Pedro Barrié de la Maza, Conde de Fenosa", pp. 137–142.

Olschki, Leonardo, *Marco Polo's Precursors*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1943.

——, "Medical Matters in Marco Polo's Description of the World," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 15 (1944): 237–259.

——, "Asiatic Exotism in Italian Art of the Early Renaissance," *Art Bulletin*, 26.2 (1944a), 95–106.

——, *Guillaume Boucher: A French Artist at the Court of the Khans*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1946.

——, *The Myth of Felt*, Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949.

——, "Poh-lo: Une question d'onomatologie chinoise," *Oriens*, 3 (1950): 183–189.

——, "Manichaeism, Buddhism and Christianity in Marco Polo's China," *Asiatische Studien*, 5 (1951): 1–21.

——, *L'Asia di Marco Polo: Introduzione alla lettura e allo studio del Milione*, Firenze: Sansoni (Biblioteca storica Sansoni, Nueva serie; 30), 1957.

——, "Marco Polo, Dante Alighieri e la cosmografia medievale," in *Oriente Poliano*, 1957a, pp. 45–66.

——, *Marco Polo's Asia: An Introduction to his "Description of the World," Called "Il milione,"* transl. from the Italian by John A. Scott and rev. by the author, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960.

Oriente Poliano: Studi e conferenze tenute all'Is. M. E. O. in occasione del VII centenario della nascita di Marco Polo (1254–1954), Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1957.

Orlandini, Giovanni, *Origine del Teatro Malibran: La Casa dei Polo e la Corte del Milion*, Venezia: G. Scarabellin, 1913.

Ostrowski, Donald, *Muscovy and the Mongols: Cross-Cultural Influences on the Steppe Frontier, 1304–1589*, New York and Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Otagi Matsuo 愛宕松男, "Maruko Pōro Genchō taizai nenji kō" マルコ・ポーロ元朝滞在年次考 (A Chronological Study of Marco Polo's Stay in China), *Bunka* 文化 (Culture), 15.2 (1951): 31–44.

——, "Maruko Pōro ryokōki ni arawasareta Chūgoku" マルコ・ポーロ旅行記に現わされた中国 (The China as it Appears in *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Rekishi* 歴史 (History), 7 (1954): 1–12.

——, "Maruko Pōro shoden no kakanfu (Salamander) ni tsuite" マルコ・ポーロ所伝の火浣布 (Salamander) について (On the "Fire-washed Cloth" (Salamander) as Reported by Marco Polo), *Tōhōgaku* 東方學 (Oriental Studies), 28 (1964). Repr. in Otagi Matsuo (1989).

——, "Maruko Pōro ryokōki chimei kōtei (1): Fukken no nichi Vuguen to Tyunju" マルコ・ポーロ旅行記地名考訂(1)—福建の二地 Vuguenと Tyunju (Investigation and Elucidation of Place Names in *Marco Polo's Travels* (1): The Two Places Vuguen and Tyunju in Fujian), *Shūkan Tōhōgaku* 集刊東洋学 (Collected Articles of Oriental Studies), 13 (1965). Repr. in Otagi Matsuo (1989).

——, "Maruko Pōro ryokōki chimei kōtei (2): Fukuri no sanchi Ydifu, Cachar Modun, Singiu Matu" マルコ・ポーロ旅行記地名考訂(2)—腹裏の三地 Ydifu, Cachar Modun, Singiu Matu (Investigation and Elucidation of Place Names in *Marco Polo's Travels* (2): The Three Places Ydifu, Cachar Modun, and Singiu Matu in the Metropolitan Area), *Shūkan Tōhōgaku*, 14 (1965a). Repr. in Otagi Matsuo (1989).

——, "Maruko Pōro ryokōki chimei kōtei (3): Lingin, Shukusendō naka (Ciugiu, Caiju) to Tanpigiu, Fūyōdō naka (Vugiu, Cingiu)" マルコ・ポーロ旅行記地名考訂(3)—Lingin・宿遷道中 (Ciugiu, Caiju) と Tanpigiu・富陽道中 (Vugiu, Cingiu) (Investigation and Elucidation of Place Names in *Marco Polo's Travels* (3): Lingu; Ciugiu and Caiju in Suqiandao and Tanpigiu; Vugiu and Cingiu in Fuyangdao), *Shūkan Tōhōgaku*, 18 (1967). Repr. in Otagi Matsuo (1989).

——, *Maruko Pōro "Tōhō kembunroku" kaidai* マルコ·ポーロ『東方見聞録』解題 (A Synopsis of *Marco Polo's Travels*), Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1970.

——, "Maruko Pōro 'Tōhō kembunroku' ni noberaretaru chimei Gingin Tarāsu ni tsuite" マルコ・ポーロ『東方見聞録』に述べられたる地名ギンギン・タラースについて (On the Place Name Gingin Tarāsu as Told by *Marco Polo's Travels*), in Egami Namio kyōju koki kinen jigyōkai 江上波夫教授古稀記念事業會 (Organisation Committee for Professor Egami Namio's Seventieth Birthday) (ed.), *Egami Namio kyōju koki kinen ronshū (Rekishi hen)* 江上波夫教授古稀記念論集 (歴史篇) (Collected Articles in Commemoration of Professor Egami Namio's Seventieth Birthday (History Volume)), Tōkyō: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1977. Repr. in Otagi Matsuo (1989).

——, *Otagi Matsuo Tōyō shigaku ronshū; Daigoken: Tōzai kōbutsushi* 愛宕松男東洋史学論集; 第五巻: 東西交渉史 (Collected Articles on Oriental Studies of Otagi Matsuo; Vol. 5: History of Exchange between East and West), Tōkyō: Sanichi shobō, 1989.

Ōshima Ritsuko 大島律子, "The *chiang-hu* in the Yüan," *Acta Asiatica*, 45 (1983): 69–95.

——, "Mongol Rule over Hu-kuang 湖廣 Province during the Yüan Dynasty: Control over the Hsi-tung 溪洞 People," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, 43 (1985): 19–43.

Pahlke, Ingeborg, "Die Chinareise des Sulaimān At-Tāğir," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften*, 5 (1989): 190–224.

Palagiano, Cosimo, "La percezione dell'Asia ai tempi di Marco Polo," in Cosimo Palagino et al. (eds.) (2007), pp. 19–36.

Palagiano, Cosimo, Cristiano Pesaresi and Miriam Marta (eds.), *L'impresa di Marco Polo: Cartografia, viaggi, percezione; Convegno Internationale, Spoleto, 16 e 17 dicembre 2005 (Dipartimento di Geografia Umana, "Sapienzia" Università di Roma)*, Roma: Tiellemedia Editore, 2007.

Palladius, Archimandrite, "Elucidations of Marco Polo's Travels in North China, Drawn from Chinese Sources," *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 10 (1876): 1–54.

Pan Xianlin 潘先林, "Dupi xijing de Yuandai Yunnan shidi yanjiu lizuo: Du *'Make Boluo xingji' Yunnan shidi congkao*" 独辟蹊径的元代云南史地研究力作—读《〈马可波罗行纪〉云南史地丛考》(Hard Work of Doing Path-breaking Research on the Historical Geography of Yunnan during the Yuan Period: A Review of [Fang Guoyu and Lin Chaomin's] *Collected Investigations on the Historical Geography of Yunnan Related to "Marco Polo's Travels"*), *Zhongguo lishi dili luncong* 中国历史地理论丛 (Journal of Chinese Historical Geography), 19.4 (2004): 143–149.

Pang Wenxiu 庞文秀, "Yuanchao banbie zakao (shang)" 元钞版别杂考 (上) (An Investigation into Printing Differences of Yuan Paper Notes (Part One)), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu* 内蒙古金融研究 (Finance Research of Inner Mongolia), 4 (2003): 8–10.

——, "Yuanchao banbie zakao (xia)" 元钞版别杂考 (下) (An Investigation into Printing Differences of Yuan Paper Notes (Part Two)), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu*, 4 (2003): 10–12.

Pankhurst, Richard, " 'Primitive Money' in Ethiopia," *Journal de la Societé des Africanistes*, 32.2 (1962): 213–247.

Paquier, Jean-Baptiste, "Itinéraire de Marco Polo à travers la région du Pamir au XIII^{e} siècle," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, sixième serie, 12 (1876): 113–128.

Paris, Paulin, "Notice sur la relation originale de Marc-Pol, Vénitien, lue à l'Académie des Inscriptions le 30 novembre, et à la Société de Géographie le 7 décembre suivant, . . .," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 19 (1833): 23–31.

——, "Nouvelles recherches sur les premières rédactions du voyage de Marco Polo, lues à la Séance publique annuelle des cinq académies, le 25 octobre 1850," Paris: Firmin-Didot frères 1851, 13 pp.

Parker, E. H., "The White City," *China Review*, 14.6 (1886): 358–359.

——, "Kaunchis," *China Review*, 14.6 (1886a): 359.

——, "Polo," *China Review*, 15.4 (1887): 249.

——, "Marco Polo's Transliterations," *China Review*, 16.2 (1887a): 125.

——, "Canfu," *China Review*, 16.3 (1887b): 189.

——, "Charchan," *China Review*, 18.4 (1890): 261.

——, "Hunting Lodges," *China Review*, 18.4 (1890a): 261.

——, "Barscol," *China Review*, 18.4 (1890b): 261.

——, "Life Guards," *China Review*, 18.4 (1890c): 262.

——, "Marco Polo's Tangut," *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review and Oriental and Colonial Record*, 9.21–22 (1901): 128–139, 363–378.

——, "Some New Facts about Marco Polo's Book," *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review and Oriental and Colonial Record*, third series, 17.33–34 (1904): 125–149.

Pasquali, Giorgio, "Dal Milione a Fedro," *La Cultura*, November 1930: 881–895.

Pasquinelli d'Allegra, Daniela, "Verso l'altro e l'atrove: Percorsi di formazione geografica interculturale sulle tracce di Marco Polo," in Gino de Vecchis (ed.) (2006), pp. 77–95.

Pauthier, Guillaume, "Le Pays de Tenduc et les descendants du Prêtre Jean," *Revue de l'Orient de l'Algérie et des Colonies* (1862).

——, "Marco Polo," in Ferdinand Hoefer (ed.), *Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'á nos jours*, vol. 40, Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1862a, pp. 635–659.

——, "Le livre de Marco Polo: Citoyen de Venice," *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, 1886.

Paviot, Jacques, "Buscarello de' Ghisolfi, marchand génois intermédiaire entre la Perse mongole et la Chrétienté latine (fin du XIII^{me}–début du XIV^{me} siècles," in *La storia dei Genovesi: Atti del convegno di studi sui ceti dirigenti nelle istituzioni di Genova, Genova, 29 maggio–1 giugno*, vol. 11, Genova 1991, pp. 107–117.

Pearson, Richard, Li Min and Li Guo, "Port, City, and Hinterlands: Archaeological Perspectives on Quanzhou and its Overseas Trade," in Angela Schottenhammer (ed.) (2001), pp. 177–235.

Pedriali, Federica G., "Under the Rule of the Great Khan: On Marco Polo, Italo Calvino and the Description of the World," *Modern Language Notes (Italian Issue)*, 120 (2005): 161–172.

Pelliot, Paul, "Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient," *T'oung Pao*, 15 (1914): 623–644.

——, "Le nom turc du vin dans Odoric de Pordenone," *T'oung Pao*, second series, 15.3 (1914a): 448–453.

——, "Les traditions manichéennes au Fou-kien," *T'oung Pao*, second series, 22 (1923): 193–208.

——, "Les Mongols et la papauté," *Revue de l'Orient chrétian*, third series, 23 (1923a): 3–30; 24 (1924): 225–325; 27 (1931–32): 3–84.

——, "Une ville musulmane dans la Chine du Nord sous les Mongols," *Journal asiatique*, 211 (1927): 261–279.

——, review of *Le livre de Marco Polo, citoyen de Venise, haut fonctionnaire à la Cour de Koubilai-khan, généralissime des armées mongoles, gouverneur de province, ambassadeur du grand khan vers l'Indo-Chine, les Indes, la Perse et les royaumes chrétiens d'Occident* by A. J. H. Charignon, *T'oung Pao*, second series, 25.1/2 (1927a): 156–169.

——, "Le prétendu mot "*iascot*" chez Guillaume de Rubrouck," *T'oung Pao*, second series, 27.2/3 (1930): 190–192.

——, "Sur *yam* ou *ĵam* 'relais postale'," *T'oung Pao*, second series, 27 (1930a): 192–197.

——, "Remarques sur l'itinéraire de Marco Polo," *Actes du XX^e Congrès International des Orientalistes: Bruxelles, 5–10 septembre 1938*, Louvain: Bureaux du muséon, 1940, p. 216.

——, "Marco Polo," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 2 (1940a): 200–201.

——, "Les caractères de transcription 斡 *wo* ou *wa* et *pai*," *T'oung Pao*, second series, 37.3/4 (1944): 125–134.

——, "*Qubčiri-qubčir* et *qubči'ur-qubčur*," *T'oung Pao*, second series, 37.5 (1944a): 153–164.

——, "*Tängrim* > *tärim*," *T'oung Pao*, second series, 37.5 (1944b): 165–185.

——, *Notes on Marco Polo*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, vol. 1, 1959; vol. 2, 1963; vol. 3, 1973.

——, *Recherches sur les chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1973.

Peng Hai 彭海, "Guanyu Make Boluo zai Yangzhou de shijian" 关于马可波罗在扬州的时间 (The Period of Marco Polo's Stay in Yangzhou), in his *Make Boluo lai Hua shishi*, 2010, pp. 291–296. The article was originally published in *Lishi yanjiu* 历史研究 (Historical Research), 2 (1980), and repr. also in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 135–141.

——, *Make Boluo lai Hua shishi* 马可波罗来华史实 (The Historical Truth of Marco Polo's Stay in China), Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2010.

Peng Ke and Zhu Yanshi, "New Research on the Origins of Cowries Used in Ancient China," *Sino-Platonic Papers*, 68 (1995): 1–18.

Peng Xinwei 彭信威, *Zhongguo huobishi* 中国货币史 (A History of Chinese Currency), 2nd ed. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1958.

Peng Xinwei (author); Edward H. Kaplan (transl.), *A Monetary History of China (Zhongguo huobi shi)*, Bellingham, Washington: Western Washington University (East Asian Research Aids and Translations), 1994.

Peretto, Francesca, "Il codice sivigliano del *Milione*," *Quaderni di filologia romanza della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Univerità di Bologna*, 7.13 (1930): 217–247.

Perreti, Aurelio, "Per la storia del testo di Marco Polo," *Archivio storico italiano*, serie VII, 13 (1930): 217–247.

Perrone, Carlachiara, "Su una recente edizione del 'Milione' di Marco Polo," *Filologia e critica*, 14 (1989): 89–104.

Petech, Luciano, "Marco Polo e i dominatori mongoli della Cina," in Lionello Lanciotti (ed.), *Sviluppi scientifici, prospettive religiose, movimenti rivoluzionari in China*, Firenze: Olschki, 1975, pp. 21–27.

——, "Les marchands italiens dans l'empire Mongol," *Journal asiatique*, 250 (1962): 549–574, and in his *Selected Papers on Asian History*, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Serie Orientale Roma; 60), 1988, pp. 161–186.
Peter, Alain, "Marco Polo est-il un faussaire?", *L'histoire*, 237 (1999): 21–22.
Petit, Joseph, "Un capitaine du règne de Philippe le Bel: Thibaut de Chepoy," *Le Moyen Age*, 10 (second series, 1) (1897): 224–239.
Petrella, Daniele, "Gli scavi di archeologia subacquea nell'isola di Takashima," in Giovanni Borriello (ed.), *Orientalia Parthenopea*, vol. 4, Napoli: Orientalia Parthenopea Edizioni, 2006, pp. 79–98.
——, "Gli scavi archeologici dell'isola di Takashima: Dai materiali all prima ricostruzione storico-scientifica," in Rosa Caroli (ed.), *Atti del XXXI Convegno di Studi sul Giappone, Venezia, 20–22 settembre 2007*, [Venezia:] Associazione Italiana per gli Studi Giapponesi & Tipografia Cartotecnica Veneziana, 2008, pp. 301–316.
Phillips, George, "Marco Polo and Ibn Batuta in Fookien," *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, 3 (1870–1871): 12–15, 44–49, 71–73, 87–89, 125–128.
——, "Notices of Southern Mangi," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 18.2 (1873–1874): 168–174.
——, "Zaitun Researches," *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, 5.6 (1874): 327–339; 6 (1875): 31–42; 7 (1876): 330–338, 404–418; 8.2 (1877): 117–124.
——, "Changchow, the Capital of Fuhkien in Mongol Times," *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, new series, 23.1 (1888): 23–30.
——, "The Identity of Marco Polo's Zaitun with Changchau," *T'oung Pao*, 1.3 (1890): 218–238.
——, "Two Mediaeval Fuh-kien Trading Ports, Chüan-chow and Chang-chow," *T'oung Pao*, 6.5 (1895): 449–463 (Chang-chow); 7.3 (1896): 223–240 (Chüan-chow).
Phillips, George, with notes and remarks by Henry Yule, "Notices of Southern Mangi," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 44 (1874a): 97–112.
Piacentini, Valeria Fiorani, "Merchants, Merchandise, and Brigands on the Silk Road (Marco Polo, Hormoz and the Qarawnas)," in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 78–82.
Pickering, John, "The History of Paper Money in China," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1.2 (1844): 136–142.
Pilazuoli, Mi 米· 皮拉左里 (Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens), "Dian wenhua zhong de bei he tongqian" 滇文化中的贝和铜钱 (Cowries and Copper Coins in Dian Culture), transl. into Chinese by Jiang Zhilong 蒋志龙, in Yang Shouchuan (ed.) (1997), *Beibi yanjiu*, pp. 230–236.
Pirazolli-t'Serstevens, Michèle, "Une denrée recherchée: La céramique chinoise importée dans le golfe arabo-persique, IX^{e}–XIV^{e} siècles," in Jorge M. dos Santos Alves, Claude Guillot and Roderich Ptak (eds.), *Mirabilia Asiatica: Produtos raros no comércio marítimo; Produits rares dans le commerce maritime; Seltene Waren im Seehandel*, Wiesbaden and Lisboa: Harrassowitz and Fundação Oriente, 2005, vol. 2, pp. 69–88.
Pirenne, Jacqueline, *La légende du Prêtre Jean*, Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 1992.
Pistarino, Geo, "I Portoghesi verso l'Asia del Prete Gianni," *Studi Medievali*, 3.2 (1961): 75–137.
Pope, Alexander, *Fourteenth-century Blue-and-white: A Group of Chinese Porcelains in the Topkapu Sarayi Müzesi*, Istanbul, Washington D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1952.
——, *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine*, Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1956.
Poppe, Nicholas, *The Mongolian Monuments in hP'ags-pa Script*, transl. and ed. by John R. Krueger, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1957.
Poppe, Nikolaus, "Ein altmongolischer Hochzeitsbrauch," in Herbert Franke (ed.) (1961), pp. 159–164.
Pozza, Marco, "*Marco Polo Milion*: An Unknown Source Concerning Marco Polo," *Mediaeval Studies*, 68 (2006): 285–301.

Pryor, John H., "Marco Polo's Return Voyage from China: Its Implication for 'The Marco Polo Debate'," in Geraldine Barnes and Gabrielle Singleton (eds.), *Travel and Travellers from Bede to Dampier: Papers from the University of Sydney Centre for Medieval Studies Workshop 22–23 August 2001*, London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2005, pp. 125–157.

Ptak, Roderich, "Ebenholz in China: Termini, Verwendung, Einfuhr (ca. 1200–1600)," *Münchner Beiträge zur Völkerkunde*, 3 (1990): 17–40. Repr. in his *China's Seaborne Trade with South and Southeast Asia (1200–1750)*.

——, "Notes on the Word 'Shanhu' and Chinese Coral Imports from Maritime Asia, c. 1250–1600," *Archipel*, 39 (1990a): 65–80. Repr. in his *China's Seaborne Trade with South and Southeast Asia (1200–1750)*.

——, "China and the Trade in Tortoise-Shell (Sung to Ming Periods)," in Roderich Ptak and Dietmar Rothermund (eds.), *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade, c. 1400–1750*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag (Beiträge zur Südasienforschung, Südasien-Institut, Universität Heidelberg; 141), 1991, pp. 195–229. Repr. in his *China's Seaborne Trade with South and Southeast Asia (1200–1750)*.

——, "China and the Trade in Cloves, circa 960–1435," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 113.1 (1993): 1–13. Repr. in his *China's Seaborne Trade with South and Southeast Asia (1200–1750)*.

——, "Ein mustergültiges 'Barbarenland'? Kalikut nach chinesischen Quellen der Yuan- und Ming-Zeit," in Denys Lombard and Roderich Ptak (eds.), *Asia Maritima: Images et réalité, Bilder und Wirklichkeit, 1200–1800*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (South China and Maritime Asia; 1), 1994, pp. 79–116.

——, "Images of Maritime Asia in Two Yuan Texts: *Daoyi zhilue* and *Yiyu zhi*," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, 25 (1995): 47–75.

——, "Südostasiens Meere nach chinesischen Quellen (Song und Yuan)," *Archipel* (*L'horizon nousantarien, Mélanges en hommage à Denys Lombard*; 1), 56 (1998): 5–30. Repr. in his *China, the Portuguese, and the Nanyang: Oceans and Routes, Regions and Trade (c. 1000–1600)*.

——, *China's Seaborne Trade with South and Southeast Asia (1200–1750)*, Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Ltd. (Variorum Collected Studies Series; CS638), 1999.

——, *China, the Portuguese, and the Nanyang: Oceans and Routes, Regions and Trade (c. 1000–1600)*, Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Ltd. (Variorum Collected Studies Series; CS777), 2004.

——, *Die maritime Seidenstraße: Küstenräume, Seefahrt und Handel in vorkolonialer Zeit*, München: C. H. Beck (Historische Bibliothek der Gerda Henkel Stiftung; 2), 2007.

——, *Birds and Beasts in Chinese Texts and Trades: Lectures Related to South China and the Overseas World*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (Maritime Asia; 22), 2010.

——, with technical assistance of Marc Nürnberger (ed.), *Marine Animals in Traditional China: Studies in Cultural History; Meerestiere im traditionellen China: Studien zur Kulturgeschichte*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (Maritime Asia; 21), 2010a.

Pullè, Giorgio, "Eserciti mongoli e milizie europee nel XIII secolo," *L'Universo*, 17.10 (1936): 1–11.

Qiantian Zhidian 前田直典 [Maeda Naonori], "Yuandai zhibi de jiazhi biandong" 元代紙幣的價值變動 (Fluctuations in the Value of Paper Notes during the Yuan Period), in Liu Junwen 劉俊文 (ed.); Suo Jieran 所介然 (transl.), *Riben xuezhe yanjiu Zongguoshi lunzhu xuanyi* 日本學者研究中國史論著選譯 (Translations of Selected Articles of Japanese Scholars Investigating the History of China), vol. 5, *Wudai Song Yuan* 五代宋元 (Five Dynasties, Song and Yuan), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993. See also the translation of Yao Shuomin 姚朔民 in *Zhongguo qianbi* 中国钱币 (China Numismatics), 4 (1985): 46–53, and in Neimenggu qianbi xuehui (ed.), 1993, pp. 377–389.

Qin Dashu, "A Study of the Relationship and Mutual Influences of the Cizhou and Ding Kilns [Song-Yuan Period]," *China Archaeology and Art Digest*, 3.4 (2000): 39–58.

Qiu Guangming 丘光明, *Zhongguo wulixueshi daxi: jiliangshi* 中国物理学史大系:计量史 (A Series of Books on the History of Physics in China: A History of Metrology), Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002.

Qiu Shusen 邱樹森 and Fang Jun 方駿, "Conference Report—New Findings in Marco Polo Studies: A Brief Report on the International Conference on Marco Polo and 13th Century China," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, 31 (2001): 356–362.

Quan Hansheng 全漢昇, "Yuandai de zhibi" 元代的紙幣 (Paper Money of the Yuan Period), *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica), 15 (1948): 1–48. Repr. in his *Zhongguo jingjishi luncong* 中國經濟史論叢 (Collected Articles on Chinese Economic History), vol. 1, Xianggang: Xianggang Zhongwen daxue Xinya shuyuan Xinya yanjiusuo, Chongwen shudian, 1972, pp. 369–416.

Racine, Pierre, "Les Polos et la route de la soie," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 25 (1999): 203–220.

Rafiuddin Makhdumi, M., "Mongol Monetary System," in R. C. Sharma (ed.), *Perspectives on Mongolia: Papers Presented at the First Indo-Mongolian Colloquium Held in September 1986 at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University*. Delhi: Seema Publications, 1988, pp. 49–54.

Raphael, Kate, "Mongol Siege Warfare on the Banks of the Euphrates and the Question of Gunpowder (1260–1312)," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, third series, 19.3 (2009): 355–370.

Ratchnevsky, Paul, "Mongol Law and Chinese Law in the Yuan Dynasty," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, 20.2 (1936): 266–289.

——, *Essai sur la codification et la législation a l'époque des Yuan*, Thèse complementaire, Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1937.

——, "Die mongolische Rechtsinstitution der Busse in der chinesischen Gesetzgebung der Yüan-Zeit," in Herbert Franke (ed.) (1961), pp. 169–179.

——, *Historisch-terminologisches Wörterbuch der Yüan-Zeit*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Orientforschung; 66), 1967.

——, "Über den mongolischen Kult am Hofe der Grosskhane in China," in Louis Ligeti (ed.), *Mongolian Studies*, Amsterdam: Verlag B. R. Gründer (Bibl. Orientalis hungarica; 14), 1970, pp. 417–443.

——, "Jurisdiction, Penal Code, and Cultural Confrontation under Mongol-Yüan Law," *Asia Major*, third series, 6.1 (1993): 161–179.

Recktenwald, Horst Claus, *Wörterbuch der Wirtschaft*, Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1987.

Reichert, Folker, "Eine unbekannte Version der Asienreise Odorichs von Pordenone," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 43.1 (1987): 531–573.

——, "Columbus und Marco Polo—Asien in Amerika: Zur Literaturgeschichte der Entdeckungen," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, 5 (1988): 1–63.

——, "*Pulchritudo mulierum est parvos habere pedes*: Ein Beitrag zur Begegnung Europas mit der chinesischen Welt," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 71 (1989): 297–307.

——, "Chinas Beitrag zum Weltbild der Europäer: Zur Rezeption der Fernostkenntnisse im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, 6 (1989a): 33–57.

——, *Begegnungen mit China: Die Entdeckung Ostasiens im Mittelalter*, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke Verlag, 1992.

——, "Marco Polos Buch: Lesarten des Fremden," in Dietrich Hart (ed.), *Fiktion des Fremden: Erkundung kultureller Grenzen in Literatur und Publizistik*, Frankfurt a. Main: Fischer, 1994, pp. 180–203.

——, "Fremde Frauen: Die Wahrnehmung von Geschlechterrollen in den spätmittelalterlichen Orientberichten," in Odilo Engels and Peter Schreiner (eds.), *Die Begegnung des Westens mit dem Osten: Kongreßakten des 4. Symposions des Mediävistenverbandes in Köln 1991 aus Anlaß des 1000. Todesjahres der Kaiserin Theophanu*, Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1993, pp. 167–184.

——, "Die Städte Chinas in europäischer Sicht," in Wilfried Hartmann (ed.), *Europas Städte zwischen Zwang und Freiheit: Die europäische Stadt um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Regensburg: Universitätsverlag (Schriftenreihe der Europa-Kolloquien im Alten Reichstag), 1995, pp. 329–354.
——, "Fernreisen im Mittelalter," *Das Mittelalter*, 3.2 (1998): 5–17.
——, *Erfahrung der Welt: Reisen und Kulturbegegnung im späten Mittelalter*, Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2001.
Reimer, Thomas, "Marco Polo et les aigles chercheurs de diamants," in *Marco Polo; Le livre des merveilles, manuscrit français 2810 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris*, Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 1995–1996, pp. 491–496.
Ren Rongkang 任荣康, "Make Boluo Zhongya lüxing zhi yanjiu" 马可· 波罗中亚旅行之研究 (An Investigation of the Travels of Marco Polo in Central Asia), M.A. thesis, Fudan University, Shanghai, 1985.
——, " 'Make Boluo xingji' banbenshi jianshu"《马可· 波罗行纪》版本史简述 (A Summary of the Edition History of *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu jikan* 中国文化研究集刊 (Collected Papers on Research about Chinese Culture), June 1987.
Renzi, Lorenzo, "Le versioni venete del 'Milione' di Marco Polo," *Odeo Olimpico: Memorie dell'Academia Olimpica di Vicenza*, 20 (1987–1990): 55–64.
Riasanovky, Valentin A., *Fundamental Principles of Mongol Law*, Bloomington: Indiana University Publications, 1965.
Richard, Jean, "Le début des relations entre la papauté et les Mongols de Perse," *Journal asiatique*, 237 (1949): 287–293.
——, "Les missions chez les Mongols aux 13e et 14e siècles," *Histoire universelle des missions catholiques*, 1 (1957): 173–195.
——, "The Mongols and the Franks," *Journal of Asian History*, 31 (1969): 45–57.
——, "Isol le Pisan: Un aventurier franc gouverneur d'une province Mongole?" *Central Asiatic Journal*, 14 (1970): 186–194.
——, *Orient et Occident au Moyen Age: contacts et relations*, London: Variorum, 1976.
——, *La papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Age (XIIe–XVe siècles)*, Paris: Boccard, 1977.
——, "Une ambassade mongole à Paris en 1262," *Journal des savants*, 4 (1979): 295–303.
——, "Marco Polo: Le voyageur et son livre," in *Marco Polo; Le livre des merveilles, manuscrit français 2810 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris*, Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 1995–1996, pp. 325–336.
——, "The *Relatio de Davide* as a Source for Mongol History and the Legend of Prester John," in Beckingham and Hamilton (eds.) (1996), pp. 139–158.
Richards, Donald S. (ed.), *Islam and the Trade of Asia: A Colloqium*, Oxford and Philadelphia: Bruno Cassirer and University of Pennsylvania Press (Papers on Islamic History; 2), 1970.
Rieger, Dietmar, "Marco Polo und Rustichello da Pisa: Der Reisende und sein Erzähler," in Xenja von Ertzdorff and Dieter Neukirch, with the editorial collaboration of Rudolf Schultz (eds.), *Reisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Amsterdam—Atlanta, GA: Rodopi (Chloe; Beihefte zum Daphnis; 13), 1992, pp. 289–312.
Rintchen, Biambyn, "A propos du papier-monnaie mongol," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 4: 159–164, 1954.
Ritter, Carl, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, 2nd revised and enlarged ed. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1932–1959.
Rockhill, William Woodville, "Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century: Part I," *T'oung Pao*, 15 (1914): 429–442.
Rogers, Michael, "China and Islam: The Archaeological Evidence in the Mashriq," in Donald S. Richards (ed.), 1970, pp. 67–80.
Romanini, Fabio, *"Se fussero più ordinate, e meglio scritte . . .": Giovanni Battista Ramusio correttore ed editore delle Navigationi et viaggi*, Roma: Viella (Frontiere della modernità; Amerigo Vespucci, l'America, l'Europa; 4), 2007.

——, "Nuevi rilievi sulla prassi editoriale ramusiana," in *Giovanni Battista Ramusio, "editor" del "Milione"*, 2011, pp. 3–26.
Ronay, Gabriel, *The Tartar Khan's Englishman*, London: Cassell, 1978.
Ronchi, Gabriella, "Traduzione e compendio nella versione toscana del *Milione*," in Cesare Segre et al. (eds.) (1983), pp. 20–48.
Rosner, Erhard, "Die 'Zehn schimpflichen Delikte' im chinesischen Recht der Yüan-Zeit," PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 1964.
Ross, Edward Denison, "Marco Polo and his Book," *The Proceedings of the British Academy*, 20 (1934): 181–205.
Rossabi, Morris, "The Muslims in the Early Yüan Dynasty," in John D. Langlois, Jr. (ed.), *China under Mongol Rule*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981, pp. 257–295.
—— (ed.), *China among Equals. The Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10th–14th Centuries*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983.
——, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988.
—— *Voyager from Xanadu: Rabban Sauma and the First Journey from China to the West*, New York: Kodansha, 1992.
Rossi, Ettore, "Nel settimo centenario della nascita di Marco Polo," *Bolletino della Società Geografica Italiana*, 8.8 (1955).
Rossi-Osmida, Gabriele, "Marco Polo e i Christiani d'Oriente: Evidenze storiche e archeologiche," in Cosimo Palagiano et al. (eds.) (2007), pp. 109–124.
Rossini, C. Conti, "Marco Polo e l'Etiopia," *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 99.2 (1939–1940): 56–57.
Roth, Helmut R., and Ulambajar Erdenbat (eds.), *Qara Qorum-City (Mongolia) I: Preliminary Report of the Excavations 2000–2001*, Bonn: Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte (Bonn Contributions to Asian Archaeology; 1), 2002.
Rouleau, Francis A., "The Yangchow Latin Tombstone as a Landmark of Medieval Christianity in China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 17.3/4 (1954): 346–365.
Roux, Jean-Paul, "Tängri: Essai sur le Ciel-Dieu des peuples altaïques," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*; 149 (1956): 49–82, 197–230; 150 (1957): 27–54, 173–212.
——, "Notes additionelles à Tämgri, le Ciel-Dieu des peuples altaïques," *Revue de l'histoire des* religions, 154 (1958): 32–66.
——, *La mort chez les peuples altaïques anciens et médiévaux*, Paris: Maisonneuve, 1963.
——, "La danse chamanique de l'Asie centrale," in *Les danses sacrées: Égypte ancienne, Israël, Islam, Asie centrale, Inde, Cambodge, Bali, Java, Chine, Japon*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil (Sources orientales; 6), 1963a, pp. 281–314.
——, *Les explorateurs au Moyen Âge*, Paris: Hachette (Collection Pluriel; 8773), 1967.
——, "Quelques objects numineux des Turcs et des Mongols; I, Le bonnet et la ceinture," *Turcica*, 7 (1975): 50–64.
——, *Les religions des Turcs et des Mongols*, Paris: Payot, 1984.
Roux, M., "Rapport sur la publication des voyages de Marco Polo," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 1.1 (1822): 181–205.
Roux de Rochelle, Jean Baptiste Gaspard, "Notice sur l'arbre du Soleil, ou arbre sec, décrit dans la relation des voyages de Marco Polo," *Bulletin de la Société de Geographie*, 3.3 (1845): 187–194.
Rudolph, Richard C., "Medical Matters in an Early Fourteenth Century Chinese Diary," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 2.3 (1947): 299–306.
——, "A Second Fourteenth-Century Tombstone in Yangchou," *Journal of Oriental Studies*, 13.2 (1975): 133–136.
Ruge, S., "Marco Polo und die Anianstrasse," *Globus*, 69 (1896): 133–137.
Ruggieri, Ruggero M., *Marco Polo e l'Oriente francescano*, Roma: Edizoni Rari Nantes, 1984.
——, "Affinità di tematiche e di personaggi tra il *Milione* e il *Morgante*," in *Symposium in honorem Prof. M. de Riquier*, Barcelona: U. Barcelona, 2006, pp. 349–359.
Ryan, James D., "Christian Wives of Mongol Khans: Tartar Queens and Missionary Expectations in Asia," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 8.3 (1998): 411–421.

Saar, John, "Japanese Divers Discover Wreckage of Mongol Fleet," *Smithsonian Magazine*, December 1981: 118–129.
Saeki Tomi 佐伯富, *Chūgoku enseishi no kenkyū* 中國鹽政史の研究 (Research on the History of the Chinese Salt Administration), Kyōto: Hōritsu bunkasha, 1987.
Saeki Yoshirō 佐伯好郎, "Maruko Pōro no 'Tōhō kembunroku' ni tsuite" マルコ・ポウロの『東方見聞録』について (About *Marco Polo's Travels*), in his *Shina kirisutokyō no kenkyū* 支那基督教の研究 (Investigations on Christianity in China), Tōkyō: Shunjūsha Shohakukan, 1943, vol. 2, pp. 500–548.
——, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, Tokyo: Academy of Oriental Culture, Tokyo Institute, 1951.
Sandler, Christian, "Die Anian-Strasse und Marco Polo," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 29 (1894): 401–408.
Sanz, Carlos, *El libro de Marco Paulo: Notas historicas y bibliograficas*, Madrid: Direccion General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1958.
Sasaki, Randall J., "The Archaeological Investigation of 'Kamikaze': The Mongol Invasion of Japan," Museum of Underwater Archaeology, http:/www.uri.edu/mua/ (accessed November 18, 2011).
Sasaki Shigemi, "Faune et flore dans *Le Devisement du Monde*: 'Mont Vert' du Grand Kaan et 'Vergier' de Deduit," in Alain Labbé, Daniel W. Lacroix and Danielle Quérel (eds.), *Guerres, voyages et quêtes au Moyen Âge: Mélanges offerts à Jean-Claude Faucon*, Paris: Champion (Colloques, congrès et conférences sur le Moyen Age; 2), 2000, pp. 381–388.
Satya, Laxman D., "Debuking the Myth: Did Marco Polo Go to China?" *Education about Asia*, 4.3 (1999): 48–51.
Saunders, John Joseph, "Matthew Paris and the Mongols," in T. A. Sandquist and Michael R. Powicke (eds.), *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969, pp. 116–132.
——, *The History of the Mongol Conquest*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971.
Scanlon, George T., "Egypt and China: Trade and Imitation," in Donald S. Richards (ed.) (1970), pp. 81–93.
Schäfer, Ernst, "Zur Erinnerung an Marco Polo," *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg*, 15 (1899): 45–65.
Schaller, Michael, "Marco Polo und die Texte seiner 'Reisen'," *Programm der Königlichen Studien-Anstalt Burghausen für das Studienjahr 1889–90*, Burghausen: L. Russy, [1890], 57 pp.
Schlegel, Dietlinde, "Hao Ching (1222–1275), ein chinesischer Berater des Kaisers Kublai Khan," PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München; Bamberg: Offsetdruckerei Kurt Urlaub, 1968.
Schmidt-Glintzer, Helwig, *China: Vielvölkerreich und Einheitsstaat—Von den Anfängen bis heute*, München: Beck, 1997.
Schmieder, Felicitas, *Europa und die Fremden: Die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes vom 13. bis in das 15. Jahrhundert*, Siegmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Abendlandes; 16), 1994.
Schottenhammer, Angela (ed.), *The Emporium of the World: Maritime Quanzhou, 1000–1400*, Leiden: E. J. Brill (Sinica Leidensia; 49), 2001.
Schütte, Hans-Wilm, *Wie weit kam Marco Polo?* Gossenberg: Ostasienverlag (Reihe Gelbe Erde; 1), 2008.
Schumann, Karl, "Marco Polo, ein Weltreisender des XIII. Jahrhunderts," *Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge*, 10.460 (1885): 1–32.
Schurmann, Herbert Franz, "Mongolian Tributary Practices of the Thirteenth Century," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 19.3/4 (1956): 304–389.
Schwaderer, Richard, "Marco Polos phantastische Reise und Italo Calvinos Reise in die Phantasie, oder: Was leistet heute noch Erzählen," *Italienische Studien*, 8 (1985): 71–84.
Schwarz, Henry G., "Some Notes on the Mongols of Yunnan," *Central Asiatic Journal*, 28 (1984): 100–118.

Scorza Barcellona, Francesco, "La notizia di Marco Polo sui re magi," *Studi e ricerche sull'Oriente cristiano*, 15 (1992): 87–104.
——, "Ancora su Marco Polo e i magi evangelici," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 307–336.
Sedillot, René, *Muscheln, Münzen und Papier: Die Geschichte des Geldes*, Frankfurt, New York: Campus Verlag, 1992.
Segre, Cesare, "Marco Polo," in Hans Robert Jauss, Erich Köhler et al. (eds.), *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, vol. VI/2, Heidelberg: Carl Winter-Universitätsverlag, 1970, pp. 196–197.
——, "Marco Polo: Filologia e industria culturale," in Cesare Segre et al. (1983), pp. 9–20.
——, "Marco delle Meraviglie," *FMR: Mensile d'arte e di cultura dell'immagine*, 14 (1983a): 91–110.
——, "Chi ha scritto il *Milione*," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 5–16.
Segre, Cesare, Gabriella Ronchi and Marica Milanesi (eds.), *Avventure del "Milione"*, Parma: Edizoni Zara (Menante filologo; 6), 1983.
Seguso, L., *La casa dei Milioni o l'abitazione di Marco Polo*, Venezia: Venezia e il Congresso, 1881.
Serruys, Henry, "Remains of Mongol Customs in China during the Early Ming," *Monumenta Serica*, 16 (1957): 137–190.
——, *Kumiss Ceremonies and Horse Races: Three Mongolian Texts*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1974.
Severtzow, Nicolas, "Etudes de géographie historique sur les anciens itinéraires à travers le Pamir: Ptolémée, Hiouen-Thsang, Song-Yuen, Marco Polo," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 11 (1890): 417–467, 553–610.
Sezgin, Fuat, and Eckhard Neubauer (eds.), *The Book on China, Khitāynāma, by ʿAlī Akbar Khitāʾī (d. after 1516 A.D.)*, Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University (Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, Series C, Facsimile Editions; 56), 1994.
Shao Xunzheng 邵循正, "Yuyan yu lishi: Fulun 'Make Boluo youji' de shiliao jiazhi" 语言与历史—附论《马可波罗游记》的史料价值 (Language and History: Including an Discussion about the Value of *Marco Polo's Travels* as a Historical Source), *Yuanshi luncong* 元史论丛 (Studies of Yuan History), 1 (1982). Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 201–207.
——, "Shi Natigai Nacigai" 释 Natigai Nacigai (Explanation of Natigai Nacigai), *Yuanshi luncong*, 1 (1982). Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 320–321.
Shen Dingping 沈定平, "Cong Make Boluo dao Li Madou" 从马可・波罗到利玛窦 (From Marco Polo to Matteo Ricci), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 314–337.
Shen Fuwei 沈福伟, "Weinisi baiwan fuweng Make Boluo" 威尼斯百万富翁马可· 波罗 (Marco Polo, Millionaire of Venice), in his *Zhongwai wenhua jiaoliu* 中外文化交流 (Chinese-Foreign Cultural Exchange), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1990.
Shen Youliang 申友良, *Make Boluo shidai* 马可・波罗时代 (Marco Polo's Time), Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2001. See also http://book.chaoxing.com/ebook/read_10500714.html (accessed March 3, 2012).
——, "'Make Boluo youji' xintan" "马可波罗游记"新探 (New Explorations of *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Neimenggu shehui kexue (Hanwen ban)* 内蒙古社会科学(汉文版) (Inner Mongolia Social Sciences (Chinese Edition)), 22.1/4 (2001a): 55–58.
——, "Make Boluo yu 'Make Boluo youji' xintan" 马可· 波罗与"马可· 波罗游记"新探 (A New Exploration of Marco Polo and *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Zhanjiang shifan xueyuan xuebao* 湛江师范学院学报 (Journal of Zhanjiang Normal College), 22.1 (2001b): 60–65.
——, "Meng Yuan shiqi de Zhongxi wenhua jiaoliu: 'Make Boluo youji' shishi tanlun" 蒙元时期的中西文化交流—《马可· 波罗游记》史事探论 (Chinese-Western Cultural Exchange in the Period of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty: An Investigation into the Historical Facts of *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Shehui kexue jikan* 社会科学辑刊 (Social Science Journal), 136 (2001c): 99–104.

——, "Make Boluo daodi shuo huang le meiyou?" 马可· 波罗到底说谎了没有? (Did Marco Polo Tell a Lie?), *Zhanjiang shifan xueyuan xuebao*, 28.1 (2007): 113–118.

Shen Youliang and Xiao Yue'e 肖月娥, "Shi shei shenhua le Make Boluo" 是谁神化了马可· 波罗 (Who Has Deified Marco Polo?), *Zhanjiang shifan xueyuan xuebao*, 26.2 (2005): 78–81.

Shi Jianjun 石坚军, "Dui 'Make Boluo youji' Bangala shishi de kaoshi" 对"马克波罗游记" Bangala 史实的考释 (A Textual Research on Historical Facts about Bangala in *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Zhongguo lishi dili luncong* 中国历史地理论丛 (Collected Articles on Chinese Historical Geography), 22.3 (1997): 136–148.

——, "Make Boluo chushi Yunnan shijian kao" 马可波罗出使云南时间考 (An Investigation on the Date of Marco Polo's Mission to Yunnan), *Yunnan shifan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 云南师范大学学报（哲学社会科学版）(Yunnan Normal University Journal (Philosophy and Social Sciences Issue)), 39.1 (2007): 68–71.

——, "Make Boluo shezu Miandian shuo zhiyi" 马可波罗涉足缅甸说质疑 (Doubts about Marco Polo's Entering Burma), *Yunnan minzu daxue xuebao* 云南民族大学学报 (Journal of Yunnan Nationalities University), 24.3 (2007a): 95–99.

Shi Weimin 史卫民, "Yuan suici kaoshi" 元岁赐考实 (An Investigation into the Annual Grants during the Yuan), *Yuanshi luncong* 元史论丛 (Studies of Yuan History), 3 (1986): 144–153.

Shimo Hirotoshi, "Two Important Persian Sources of the Mongol Empire," *Etudes mongoles et siberiennes*, 27 (1996): 221–224.

Shinno Reiko, "Promoting Medicine in the Yuan Dynasty (1206–1368): An Aspect of Mongol Rule in China," PhD diss., Stanford University, 2002, UMI, access by the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin).

Shiratori Kiyoshi 白鳥清, "Maruko Pōro 'Tōhō kembunroku' no Nihonden naka ni mieru fushigina kisai" マルコポーロ東方見聞録の日本伝中に見える不思議な記載 (Marvellous Records in *Marco Polo's Travels* as they Can Be Seen in his Account of Japan), *Shi'en* 史苑 (Garden of History), 17.1 (1956).

Shu Shizheng 束世徵, "Zhongguo shishu shang Mage Boluo kao" 中國史書上馬哥孛羅考 (An Investigation on the Mentioning of Marco Polo in Chinese Historiographical Works), *Shidi xuebao* 史地學報 (Journal of Historical Geography), 2.7 (1923): 87–109.

Sighinolfi, Lino, "La prima edizione integrale del 'Milione' di Marco Polo," *La bibliofilia*, 30 (1928): 329–338.

Silverstein, Adam J., *Postal Systems in the Pre-modern Islamic World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilisations), 2007.

Simion, Samuela, "Note di storia bibliografica sul manoscritto Hamilton 424 della Staatsbibliothek di Berlino," *Quaderni Veneti*, 47–48 (2008): 99–125.

——, "Struttura e fonti di V," in *Giovanni Battista Ramusio, "editor" del "Milione"*, 2011, pp. 27–44.

Simon, Maud, "*Le livre des merveilles*: Le voyage de Marco Polo d'après le ms. fr. 2810 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris," *Revue luxembourgeoise de littérature générale et comparée*, 1 (1996): 96–107.

Simonetti, Antonio. *The History of Million: An Interaction of Marco Polo's Nickname, the Arithmetic Unit and the Book*, Crotia: Editions Sintel Porec, ISBN 953-98576-1-9. I was not able to obtain a copy of this book.

Sinor, Denis, "Un voyageur du treizième siècle: Le Dominicain Julien de Hongrie," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 14. (1952): 589–602.

——, "Les relations entre les Mongols et l'Europe jusqu'à la mort d'Arghoun et de Bela IV," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, 3 (1956): 39–62.

——, "The Mongols and Western Europe," in Kenneth M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975, vol. 3, pp. 513–544.

——, "The Inner Asian Warriors," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 101 (1981): 133–144.

——, "Interpreters in Medieval Inner Asia," in Marcel Erdal (ed.), *Studies in the History and Culture of Central Eurasia*, Jerusalem: University of Haifa, Institute of Middle Eastern Studies (Asian and African Studies; 16), 1982, pp. 293–320.
——, "Diplomatic Practices in Medieval Inner Asia," in Clifford Edmund Bosworth, Charles Issawi, Roger Savory and Abraham L. Udovitch (eds.), *The Islamic World, from Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, Princeton: Darwin Press, 1989, pp. 337–355.
Smith, D. Howard, "Zaitún's Five Centuries of Sino-Foreign Trade," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 90:3–4 (1958): 165–177.
Smith, Jacov Paul, *Taxing Heaven's Storehouse: Horses, Bureaucrats, and the Destruction of the Sichuan Tea Industry, 1074–1224*, Cambridge (Mass.) and London: Harvard University Press, Council on East Asian Studies (Harvard-Yenching Institute monograph series; 32), 1991.
——, "Family, Landsmann, and Status-group Affinity in Refugee Mobility Strategies: The Mongol Invasions and the Diaspora of Sichuanese Elites, 1230–1330," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 52.2 (1992): 665–708.
——, "Fear of Gynarchy in an Age of Chaos: Kong Qi's Reflections on Life in South China under Mongol Rule," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 41.1 (1998): 1–95.
Smith, Jacov Paul, and Richard von Glahn (eds.), *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University (Harvard East Asian Monographs; 221), 2003.
Smith, John Masson, Jr., "The Silver Currency of Mongol Iran," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 12.1 (1969): 16–41.
——, "Mongol and Nomadic Taxation," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 30 (1970): 46–85.
Smith, John Masson, Jr., and Frances Plunkett, "Gold Money in Mongol Iran," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 11.3 (1968): 275–297.
So, Billy K. L. (i.e. So Kee Long 蘇基朗 [Su Jilang]), *Prosperity, Region and Institutions in Maritime China: The South Fukien Pattern, 946–1368*, Cambridge (Mass.) and London: Harvard University Press, 2000.
So Kee Long 蘇基朗 [Su Jilang], "The Trade Ceramics Industry in Southern Fukien during the Sung," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, 24 (1994): 1–19.
Solmi, Sergio, "Il Milione," in his *Della favola, del viaggio e di altre cose: Saggi sul fantastico*, Milano: Ricciardi Editore, 1976, pp. 35–50.
Spence, Jonathan D., "Leaky Boat China," *New York Times*, October 19, 1997.
——, *The Chan's Great Continent: China in Western Minds*, New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998.
Spuler, Bertold, "La situation de l'Iran à l'époque de Marco Polo," in *Oriente poliano*, 1957, pp. 121–132.
——, *Geschichte der Mongolen*, Zürich: Artemis, 1968.
——, *Die Mongolen in Iran: Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220–1350*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985.
Stahl, Alan M., *Zecca: The Mint of Venice in the Middle Ages*, Baltimore, London and New York: The Johns Hopkins University Press and the American Numismatic Society, 2000.
Standaert, Nicolas (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One: 635–1800*, Brill: Leiden (Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section Four, China; 15/1), 2001.
Stange, Hans O. H., "Where was Zayton actually situated?" *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 69 (1949): 121–124.
——, "Ein Kapitel aus Marco Polo," in Herbert Franke (ed.) (1961), pp. 194–197.
Stargardt, Janice, "Behind the Shadows: Archaeological Data on Two-way Sea-trade between Quanzhou and Satingpra, South Thailand, 10th–14th Century," in Angela Schottenhammer (ed.) (2001), pp. 309–393.

Stein, Aurel, "Hsüan-tsang's Notice of P'i-mo and Marco Polo's Pein," *T'oung Pao*, second series, 7.4 (1906): 469–480.
——, "Marco Polo's Account of a Mongol Inroad into Kashmir," *Geographical Journal*, 54.2 (1919): 92–103.
Stein, Christian Gottfried Daniel, "Ueber den Venetianer Marco Polo," Rede des Herrn Professor Dr. Christian Gottfried Daniel Stein (Gesprochen den 29sten September 1819) in *Einladung zur Gedächtnisfeier der Wohlthäter des Berlinisch-Köllnischen Gymnasiums . . . von dem Direktor Johann Joachim Bellermann*, Berlin, 1821, pp. 8–19.
Steinhardt, Nancy S., "Currency Issues of Yuan China," *Bulletin of Song-Yuan Studies*, 16 (1980): 59–81.
——, "Imperial Architecture under Mongolian Patronage: Khubilai's Imperial City of Dadu," PhD diss., Harvard University, 1981.
——, "The Plan of Khubilai Khan's Imperial City," *Artibus Asiae*, 44 (1984), 137–158.
Streicher, Fr., "Der Marko Polo-Mythus," *Bulletin de la Société Fribourgeoise des Sciences Naturelles*, 35 (1941): 42–50.
Stussi, Alfredo, "Il mercante veneziano," in Mario Cortelazzo (ed.), *Arti e mestieri tradizionale: Cultura populare del Veneto*, Milano: Silvana, 1989, pp. 47–66.
Sudō Takahashi 須藤賢, "Seishū matō: 'Maruko Pōro ryokōki' ni taisuru ichi kōsatsu" 済州馬頭—マルコ・ポーロ旅行記に対する一考察 (Sinjumatu ~ Jizhou matou: A Note on *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Ritsumeikan bungaku* 立命館文學 (Journal of Cultural Sciences of Ritsumeikan University), 64 (1948): 20–29.
Suez, Iuming, "Marco Polo," *St. John's Echo*, Shang-hai, November 1899.
Sugiyama Masaaki 杉山正明, "New Developments in Mongol Studies: A Brief and Selective Overview," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, 26 (1996): 217–227.
Sun Guangqi 孙光圻, " 'Make Boluo youji' zhong de Zhongguo gudai zaochuan wenming yu hanghai wenming"《马可・波罗游记》中的中国古代造船文明与航海文明 (Chinese Ancient Shipbuilding and Navigation in *Marco Polo's Travels*), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 135–148.
Surdich, Francesco, "La più recente storiografia poliana," in *Storiografia e storia: Studi in onore di Eugenio Duprè Theseider*, vol. 1, Roma: Bulzoni, 1974, pp. 105–121.
——, "Trent'anni di studi italiani su Marco Polo: Un bilancio," in Cosima Palagiano et al. (eds.) (2007), pp. 161–193.
Susuki Tetsuya 鈴木徹也, "Nazo no kyōdō henshūsha: Maruko Pōro 'Tōhō kembunroku' ibun" 謎の共同編集者—マルコ・ポーロ「東方見聞録」異聞 (An Enigmatic Collaborative Compilation: The Strange Tale of *Marco Polo's Travels*), Teikyō daigaku gaikokugo gaikoku bungaku ronshū 帝京大学外国語外国文学論集 (Collected Articles on Foreign Languages and Literatures at Teikyo University), 9 (2003): 13–34.
Sykes, Major Percy Molesworth, "Marco Polo's Travels ["Did Marco Polo Visit Bagdad?" and "Did Marco Polo Visit the Tabas?]" *Geographical Journal*, 26.4 (1905a): 462–466. Response of Henri Cordier in *Geographical Journal*, 26.6 (1905): 686–687.
Szcześniak, Boleslaw, "The Laurentian Bible of Marco Polo," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 75.3 (1955): 173–179.
——, "Recent Studies on Marco Polo in Japan," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 76.4 (1956): 228–229.
——, "Marco Polo's Surname 'Milione' According to Newly Discovered Documents," *T'oung Pao*, 48.4/5 (1960), pp. 447–449.
Takahashi Hirōmi 高橋弘臣, *Genchō kahei seisaku seiritsu katei no kenkyū* 元朝貨幣政策成立過程の研究 (An Investigation of the Process of the Establisment of Paper Money Policy during the Yuan Dynasty), Tōkyō: Tōyō shoin, 2000.
Takata Hiteki 高田英樹, "Jipangu no keifu: Maruko Pōro kenkyū josetsu" ジパングの系譜—マルコ・ポーロ研究序説 (Genealogy of Jipangu: An Introduction to Marco Polo Research), *Ehime daigaku kyōyōbu kiyō* 愛媛大学教養部紀要 (Memoirs of the Faculty of General Education, Ehime University), 21.1 (1988): 65–91; 23.1 (1990): 19–60.

——, "Rusutikerro da Pīsa: Maruko Pōro ryokōki no hitsurokusha" ルスティケッロ・ダ・ピーサ: マルコ・ポーロ旅行記の筆録者 (Rustichello da Pisa: Writer of *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Ōsaka kokusai joshi daigaku kiyō* 大阪国際女子大学紀要 (The Bulletin of Osaka International University for Women), 24.2 (1998): 1–48.

——, "Maruko Pōro nenji kō (2): Chūsei Venejia nendaiki マルコ・ポーロ年次考 (2)—中世ヴェネツィア年代記 (A Study of Marco Polo's Life and Travels (2): Chronicle of Medieval Venice), *Ōsaka kokusai joshi daigaku kiyō*, 25.2 (1999): 383–411.

——, "Zaiton, Senshū: Maruko Pōro no Tōhō (1) ザイトン泉州—マルコ・ポーロの東方 (1) (Zaiton, Quanzhou: The Orient of Marco Polo (1)), *Kokusai kenkyū ronshū: Ōsaka kokusai daigaku kiyō* 国際研究論叢: 大阪国際大学紀要 (Collected Articles of International Studies: The Bulletin of Osaka International University), 23.2 (2010): 133–152.

——, "Maruko Pōro shahon: Maruko Pōro no Tōhō (2)" マルコ・ポーロ写本—マルコ・ポーロの東方 (2) (Manuscripts of Marco Polo's Travel: The Orient of Marco Polo (2)), *Ōsaka kokusai joshi daigaku kiyō*, 23.3 (2010a): 131–151; 24.1 (2010a): 91–112.

——, "Kanbaruku, Daitō: Maruko Pōro no Tōhō (3) カンバラク 大都—マルコ・ポーロの東方 (3) (Cambaluc, Dadu: The Orient of Marco Polo (3)), *Kokusai kenkyū ronshū: Ōsaka kokusai daigaku kiyō*, 24.2 (2011): 225–250.

——, "Jipangu, Nihonkoku: Maruko Pōro no Tōhō (4)" ジパング 日本国—マルコ・ポーロの東方 (4) (Jipangu, Japan: The Orient of Marco Polo (4)), *Ōsaka kokusai joshi daigaku kiyō*, 24.3 (2011a): 107–130.

Tan Qixiang 谭其骧 (chief ed.), *Zhongguo lishi dituji* 中国历史地图集 (The Historical Atlas of China), 8 vols., Shanghai: Ditu chubanshe, 1982.

Tan, Rita C., "The Roberto T. Villanueva Collection in Manila: Export Wares of the Yuan Dynasty," *Arts of Asia*, 20.4 (1990): 70–86.

Tan Xiaolin 谭晓琳 and Gong Jianzhong 弓建中, "Xin yi lun de zhiyi yu huida: 'Make Boluo daoguo Zhonguo ma?' suo yinfa de lunzhan ji sikao" 新一轮的质疑与回答—《马可波罗到过中国吗？》所引发的论战及思考 (A New Round of Doubts and Answers: Debates and Reflections Aroused by "Did Marco Polo Go to China?"), *Mengguxue xinxi* 蒙古学信息 (Mongol Studies News), 3 (1999): 20–26.

Tang Guoyan 汤国彦 et al., *Yunnan lishi huobi* 云南历史货币 (The Historical Currencies of Yunnan), Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 1989.

Tang Li, *A Study of the History of Nestorian Christianity in China and its Literature in Chinese: Together with a New English Translation of the Dunhuang Nestorian Documents*, Frankfurt/M: Peter Lang, 2002; 2nd ed. 2004.

——, "Mongol Responses to Christianity in China: A Yuan Dynasty Phenomenon," *Asia Research Institute Working Paper Series*, no. 63, Singapore: Asia Research Institute, April 2006.

——, *East Syriac Christianity in Mongol-Yuan China (12th–14th Centuries)*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana; 18), 2011.

Tang Xiren 唐锡仁, "Make Boluo he ta de youji" 马可波罗和他的游记 (Marco Polo and his Travels), *Shijie lishi* 世界历史 (World History), 8 (1979). Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 15–24.

——, "Make Boluo Hangzhou youji" 马可· 波罗杭州游记 (Marco Polo's Travel to Hangzhou), *Dili zhishi* 地理知识 (Geographical Knowledge), 6 (1980). Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 157–161.

——, *Make Boluo he ta de youji* 马可波罗和他的游记 (Marco Polo and his Travels), Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1981.

Tayama Shigeru 田山茂, "Gendai no kenenpō ni tsuite" 元代の権鹽法について (On the Method of *queyan* [Monopolisation of Salt] during the Yuan Period), *Shigaku kenkyū* 史學研究 (Research in History), 9.2 (1937): 76–97.

Tedeschi, Salvatore, "L'Abissinia nel libro di Marco Polo," *Africa*, 25 (1981): 361–383.

Tenenti, Alberto, "Reale e immaginario della montagna in Marco Polo," *Intersezioni*, 16 (1996): 139–150.

Teng Ssu-yu and Knight Biggerstaff, *An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Reference Works*, third ed. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press (Harvard-Yenching Institute Series; 2), 1971.

Terracini, B., "Ricerche ed appunti sulla più antica redazione del 'Milione'," *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei; Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, serie VII, 9 (1933): 369–428.
Teza, Emilio, "I viaggi di Marco Polo nella vecchia versione boema," *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti; Anno accademico 1907–1908*, 66.2 (1908): 745–758.
Thiel, Joseph, "Der Streit der Buddhisten und Taoisten zur Mongolenzeit," *Monumenta Serica*, 20 (1962): 1–81.
Thomas, Georg Martin, "Zu Marco Polo, aus einem Cod. ital. Monacensis," *Sitzungsberichte der königl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1.1 (1862): 261–270.
Thomson, J. T., "Marco Polo's Six Kingdoms or Cities in Java Minor, Identified in Translations from the Ancient Malay Annals," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 20.3 (1875–1876): 215–218 and 220–224.
Tite, M. S., Ian C. Freestone and Mavis Bimson, "A Technological Study of Chinese Porcelain of the Yuan Dynasty," *Archaeometry*, 26.2 (1984): 139–154.
Togan, Isenbike, "The Chapter on Annual Grants in the *Yüan shih*," PhD diss., Harvard University, 1973.
Tomioka Gihachi 富冈仪八, "Jindai Zhongguo sichou zhi lu diqu yan de shengchan yu liutong xingtai" 近代中国丝绸之路地区盐的生产与流通形态 (The Patterns of Salt Production and Circulation in the Regions along the Chinese Silk Road in the Modern Period), *Ōsaka shōgyō daigaku ronshū* 大阪商业大学论集 (Collected Articles of the Osaka University of Commerce), 1988.
Trauzettel, Rolf, "Die chinesischen Quellen," in Michael Weiers (ed.) (1986), pp. 11–13.
——, "Die Yüan-Dynastie," in Michael Weiers (ed.) (1986a), pp. 217–282.
Tsien Tsuen-Hsuin, *Paper and Printing*, part I of vol. 5 of Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilisation in China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
Tsunoda Ryūsaku and Luther Carrington Goodrich, *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories*, South Pasadena: P. D. and Ione Perkins, 1951.
Tu Ji 屠寄, *Mengwuer shiji* 蒙兀兒史記 (Record of Mongolian History), 1934, repr. Taibei: Shijie shuju, 1983.
Tucci, Ugo, "Marco Polo," in *I protagonisti della storia universale*, Milano: Compagnia Edizioni Intemazionali, 1966, vol. 4, pp. 57–84.
——, "I primi viaggiatori e l'opera di Marco Polo," in Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (eds.), *Storia della cultura veneta: Dalle origini al Trecento*, Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, vol. I/1, 1976, pp. 633–670.
——, "Il commercio veneziano e l'Oriente al tempo di Marco Polo," in Alvise Zorzi (ed.), *Marco Polo, Venezia e l'Oriente*, Milano: Electa, 1981, pp. 41–68.
——, "Marco Polo, mercante," in Lionello Lianciotti (ed.), *Venezia e l'Oriente*, Firenze: Olschki, 1987, pp. 323–337.
——, "Mercanti veneziani in Asia lungo l'itinerario poliano," in Lionello Lianciotti (ed.), *Venezia e l'Oriente*, Firenze: Olschki, 1987a, pp. 307–321.
——, "Marco Polo andò veramente in Cina?" *Studi veneziani*, n.s., 33 (1997): 49–59.
——, "Il libro di Marco Polo tra filologia e informatica," *Studi veneziani*, 43 (2002): 77–93.
Tucci, Ugo, and Walter Heissig, *Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolei*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1970.
Tullock, Gordon, "Paper Money—A Cycle in Cathay," *The Economic History Review*, new series, 9.3 (1957): 393–407.
Turnbull, Stephen, *Mongol Warrior, 1200–1350*, Oxford: Osprey, 2003.
——, *The Mongol Invasions of Japan 1274 and 1281*, Oxford: Osprey, 2010.
Tzanaki, Rosemary, *Mandeville's Medieval Audiences: A Study on the Reception of the Book of Sir John Mandeville (1371–1550)*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
Übleis, Franz, "Marco Polo in Südasien (1293/94)," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 60 (1978): 268–305.
Uematsu Tadashi, "The Control of Chiang-nan in the Early Yüan," *Acta Asiatica*, 45 (1983): 49–68.

Umehara Kaoru 梅原郁, "Gendai saekihō shōron" 元代差役法小論 (Short Discussion of the Yuan Labor Service System), *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 (Journal of Oriental Research), 23 (1965): 399–427.

Vacca, Giovanni, "Un manoscritto inedito dei viaggi di Marco Polo," *Revista geografica italiana*, 14 (1907): 107–108.

——, "Un documento cinese sulla data del ritorno di Marco Polo," *Atti dell'Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti della classe di scienze morali*, March to June 1947: 348–350.

Valentinetti Mendi, Angélica, "Tradizione ed innovazione: La prima traduzione spagnola del *Libro delle meraviglie*," in Silvia Conte (ed.) (2008), pp. 113–172.

Valeri, Diego, "Il gran libro di Marco Polo," *L'Approdo*, 3 (1954): 46–54.

Van Mechelen, Johan, "Yuan," in Nicolas Standaert (ed.) (2001), pp. 41–111.

Veyssière, Géraldine, "Les illustrations du *Livre des merveilles* sont-elles exotiques?" in Alain Buisine, Norbert Dodille and Claude Duchet (eds.), *L'exotisme: Actes du colloque de Saint-Denis de la Réunion*, Paris: Didier, 1988, pp. 163–177.

Vicentini, Enrico Abramo, "I generi in Marco Polo: Il testo e sua storia," PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1991, UMI, access by the CrossAsia project of the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek Berlin).

——, "Il *Milione* di Marco Polo come portolano," *Italica*, 71 (1994): 145–152.

Vincenti, Eleonora, "Appunti per una lettura del *Milione*," in Roberto Antonelli (ed.), *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Aurelio Roncaglia a cinquant'anni dalla sua laurea*, Modena: Mucchi, 1989, vol. 4, pp. 1429–1437.

Vitebsky, Piers, "Some Medieval European Views of Mongolian Shamanism," *Journal of the Anglo-Mongolian Society*, 1 (1974): 24–42.

Voegelin, Eric, "The Mongol Orders of Submission to European Powers, 1245–1255," *Byzantium*, 15 (1940–1941): 378–413.

Vogel, Hans Ulrich, "Chinese Central Monetary Policy and the Yunnan Copper Mining Industry in the Early Qing (1644–1800)," PhD diss., University of Zürich, 1983; rev. version of 1989.

——, "Chinese Central Monetary Policy, 1644–1800," *Late Imperial China*, 8.2 (1987): 1–52.

——, *Untersuchungen über die Salzgeschichte von Sichuan (311 v. Chr.-1911): Strukturen des Monopols und der Produktion*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag (Münchener Ostasiatische Studien; 51), 1990.

——, "Bergbau auf Gold, Silber, Kupfer und Zinn in Yunnan bis zum Ende der Mongolenzeit," in Albert Lutz (ed.), *Der Goldschatz der Drei Pagoden: Buddhistische Kunst des Nanzhao- und Dali-Königreichs in Yunnan, China*, Zürich: Museum Rietberg Zürich, 1991, pp. 75–78.

——, with the research assistance of Sabine Hieronymus, "Cowry Trade and its Role in the Economy of Yünnan, the Ninth to the Middle of the Seventeenth Century," in Roderich Ptak and Dietmar Rothermund (eds.), *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade, c. 1400–1750*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag (Beiträge zur Südasienforschung, Südasien-Institut, Universität Heidelberg), 1991a, pp. 231–262.

——, with the research assistance of Sabine Hieronymus, "Cowry Trade and its Role in the Economy of Yünnan: From the Ninth to the Mid-Seventeenth Century," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 36.3 (1993): 211–252; 36.4 (1993): 309–353.

——, "Common Salts (Basically Sodium Chloride) in Traditional Chinese Pharmaceutics, Pharmacology, and Medicine," in Antonio Malpica Cuello and José Antonio Gonzáles Alcantud (eds.), *La sal: Del gusto alimentario al arrendamiento de salinas; Congreso Internacional de la CIHS, Granada, 7–11 septiembre, 1995*, Granada: La Gráfica, [1997], pp. 377–396.

——, "History of Length Measures during the Song Period (960–1279): Some Reflections on the State of the Field and Reasearch Prospects," in Harald Witthöft (ed.), *Acta Metrologiae Historicae V, 7. Internationaler Kongreß des Internationalen Komitees für Historische Metrologie (CIMH), 25.–27. September 1997 in Siegen*, St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercatura Verlag, 1999, pp. 153–172.

——, "Die Darstellung der Salzproduktion in Sichuan: Eine chinesische Bildrolle aus der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Thesis: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Bauhaus-Universität Weimar (Internationale Tagung am Lehrstuhl für Bauaufnahme und Baudenkmalpflege: Investitionen im Salinenwesen und Salzbergbau: Globale Rahmenbedingungen, regionale Auswirkungen, verbliebene Monumente—Gewidmet Rudolf Palme (1942–2002))*, 4/5 (2002): 328–345. For the illustrations and a German translation of the texts on the scroll see the entry below.

——, "Die Darstellung der Salzproduktion in Sichuan—Eine chinesische Bildrolle aus der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts," http://www.uni-tuebingen.de/?id=24313 (accessed September 8, 2012).

——, "Ma Jis 'Yanjing tushuo' (Illustrierte Abhandlung über die Salzbrunnen [Sichuans]) aus der späten Ming-Zeit und seine technikgeschichtliche Bedeutung," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 155.1 (2005): 253–294.

——, "A Short History of Salt Production in Yunnan Province in South-west China: Technical and Economic Aspects," in Nuria Morère Molinero (ed.), *Las salinas y la sal de interior: Economía, medio ambiente y sociedad—Inland Salt Works and Salt History: Economy, Environment and Society*, Madrid: Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2007, vol. 2, pp. 809–834.

——, "Types of Fuel Used in the Salt Works of Sichuan and Yunnan in South-western China: A Historical Overview," in Olivier Weller, Alexa Dufraisse et Pierre Pétrequin (eds.), *Sels, eau et forêt d'hier à aujourd'hui*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2008, pp. 451–477.

——, *The Salt Industry*, part 37 of Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilisation in China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

Voiret, Jean-Pierre, "Die Reisen des Marco Polo und sein Aufenthalt in China," in *Marco Polo: Ausstellung in der SKA-Galerie "Le Point" Zürich*, 1995, pp. 4–20.

——, "China, 'objektiv' gesehen: Marco Polo als Berichterstatter," *Asiatische Studien*, 51.3 (1997): 805–821.

Von Collani, Claudia, "Missionaries," in Nicolas Standaert (ed.) (2001), pp. 286–294.

Von den Brincken, Anna-Dorothée, *Die "Nationes Christianorum Orientalium" im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie*, Köln, Wien: Böhlau, 1973.

Von Ertzdorff, Xenja, "Marco Polos 'Beschreibung der Welt' im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert in Deutschland," in Gerhard August, Otfried Ehrismann and Hans Ramge (eds.), *Festschrift für Heinz Engels zum 65. Geburtstag*, Göppingen: Kümmerle (Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik; 561), 1991, pp. 46–64.

——, "Gedruckte Reiseberichte über China in Deutschland im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," in Xenja von Ertzdorff and Dieter Neukirch, with the collaboration of Rudolf Schulz (eds.), *Reisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit: Vorträge eines interdisziplinären Symposiums vom 3.–8. Juni 1991 an der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen*, Amsterdam: Editions Rodophi B. V., 1992, pp. 417–437.

Von Euw, Anton, "Le Livre des Merveilles du Monde; Das Buch der Wunder der Welt," in *Marco Polo: Ausstellung in der SKA-Galerie "Le Point"*, 1995, pp. 21–39.

Von Glahn, Richard, *Fountain of Fortune: Money and Monetary Policy in China, 1000–1700*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

——, "Towns and Temples: Urban Growth and Decline in the Yangzi Delta, 1100–1400," in Jacov Paul Smith and Richard von Glahn (eds.), *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University (Harvard East Asian Monographs; 221), 2003, pp. 176–211.

——, "Re-examining the Authenticity of Song Paper Money Specimens," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, 36 (2006): 79–106.

——, "Monies of Account and Monetary Transition in China, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries," manuscript, 2009.

Von Klaproth, Julius Heinrich [1822]; John Pickering (transl.) (1844), "The History of Paper Money in China," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1.2 (1844): 136–142.

——, "Reseignemens sur les ports de Gampou et de Zaithoum, décrits par Marco Polo," *Journal asiatique*, 5 (1824): 35–44.
——, "Sur le pays de Tenduc ou Tenduch de Marco Polo," *Journal asiatique*, 1.5 (9) (1826): 299–306.
——, "Remarques géographiques sur les Provinces occidentales de la Chine décrites par Marco Polo," *Journal asiatique*, 1 (1828): 97–120.
Von Richthofen, Ferdinand, "Das Land und die Stadt Caindu von Marco Polo," *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1 (1974): 33–39.
Wagner, Henry R., "Marco Polo's Narrative Becomes Propaganda to Inspire Colón," *Imago Mundi*, 6 (1949): 3–13.
Waldron, Arthur, *The Great Wall of China: From History to Myth*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
Wang Gui 王贵, "'Sajia shi xi shi' he 'Make Boluo youji' de yige zhongyao xiangtongdian" "萨迦世系史"和"马可·波罗游记"的一个重要相同点 (An Important Agreement between the *Biographies of the Sagya Genealogy* and *Marco Polo' Travels*), *Zhongguo Xizang (Zhongwen ban)* 中国西藏 (中文版) (China's Tibet (Chinese Edition)), 6 (1997): 51–52.
Wang Jinshui 王金水 and Tao Dechen 陶德臣, "Cong Make Boluo youwu tidao cha shuoqi" 从马可波罗有无提到茶说起 (A Discussion Departing from the Question whether Marco Polo Mentioned Tea or Not), *Nongye kaogu* 农业考古 (Agricultural Archaeology), 2 (2005): 266–268.
Wang Shuofeng 王硕丰; Andrea Lee (transl.), *Make Poluo de Zhongguo chuanqi* 马可·波罗的中国传奇 (Marco Polo's Marvels of China), Beijing: Wuzhou chuanbo chubanshe (*Zhongwai wenhua jiaoliu gushi congshu*), 2010.
Wang Sida 王四达, "'Guangming zhi cheng' de zhenwei wenti chuyi" «光明之城»的真伪问题刍议 (My Humble Opinion about the Question of Authenticity of *The City of Light*), *Huaqiao daxue xuebao (zheshe ban)* 华侨大学学报 (哲社版) (Journal of Huaqiao University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Issue)) 2 (2000).
Wang Tiefan 王铁藩, "Fuzhou faxian Wudai shiguo shiqi Min qianbi he Yuandai chengquan chaoban" 福州发现五代十国时期闽铅币和元代称权钞版 (Lead Money from Min from the Period of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms and Weights and a Paper-Money Printing Plate from the Yuan Period Discovered in Fujian), *Wenwu* 文物 (Historical Relics), 7 (1975).
Wang Ting 王颋, "'Make Boluo youji' zhong de jige diming" "马克波罗游记"中的几个地名 (On Some Place Names in *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Nanjing daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue)* 南京大学学报 (哲学社会科学) (Nanjing University Journal (Philosophy and Social Sciences Issue)), 3 (1980): 60–62. Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 357–362.
Wang Wencheng 王文成, "Menggu mie Jin qianhou de shichang yanbian yu baiyin shiyong" 蒙古灭金前后的市场演变与白银使用 (The Evolution of the Markets and the Use of Silver around the Period of the Annihilation of the Jin by the Mongols), *Zhongguo jingjishi yanjiu* 中国经济史研究 (Chinese Economic History Research), 1 (2000): 117–125.
Wang Xiaoxin 王晓欣 and Deng Jinglong 邓晶龙, "Make Boluo yu shisan shiji Zhongguo guoji xueshu taolunhui zongshu" 马可波罗与十三世纪中国国际学术讨论会综述 (A Summary of the International Conference on Marco Polo and Thirteenth-century China), *Lishi yanjiu* 历史研究 (Historical Research), 4 (2001): 178–182.
Wang Yumin 王育民, "Guanyu 'Make Boluo youji' de zhenwei wenti" 关于《马可·波罗游记》的真伪问题 (About the Problem of Authenticity of *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Shilin* 史林 (History Forest), 4 (1988).
Wang Zhenghua 王正华, "Hubei Yunxian faxian Yuandai 'Zhiyuan tongxing baochao' shuangmian tongchaoban" 湖北郧县发现元代"至元通行宝钞"双面铜钞版 (A Double Surface Bronze Plate of *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao* of the Yuan Period Discovered

in Yunxian, Hubei), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu* 内蒙古金融研究 (Finance Research of Inner Mongolia), 1 (2003): 74–76.

Wang Zhenghua, Liu Shangjing 刘尚敬 and Liu Chaojin 刘朝金, "Yunxian faxian 'Zhiyuan tongxing baochao' shuangmian tongchaoban" 郧县发现"至元通行宝钞"双面铜钞版 (A Double Surface Bronze Plate of *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao* Discovered in Yunxian), *Jiang Han kaogu* 江汉考古 (Archaeology in the Yangzi and Hanshui River Valleys), 3 (1993): 96, 95.

Wardwell, Anne E., "*Panni Tartarici*: Eastern Islamic Silks Woven with Gold and Silver (13th and 14th Centuries)," *Islamic Art*, 3 (1988–1989): 95–133.

——, "Two Silk and Gold Textiles of the Early Mongol Period," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 79.10 (1992): 354–378.

Wasserstein, Bernard, and David Wasserstein, "Jacopo Spurioso?" *Times Literary Supplement*, November 14, 1997.

Watanabe Hiroshi 渡辺宏, "Nippon ni okeru Maruko Pōro" 日本におけるマルコ・ポーロ (Marco Polo in Japan), *Ajia Afrika bunka kenkyūsho kenkyū nempō* アジア・アフリカ文化研究所研究年譜 (Annual Journal of the Asia-Africa Cultural Research Institute), 1975, pp. 1–18; 1976, pp. 7–28; 1977, pp. 11–24; 1978, pp. 47–68.

——, *Marco Polo Bibliography* マルコ・ポーロ *1477–1983*, Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1986.

Watson, Andrew M., "Back to Gold—and Silver," *Economic History Review*, 20 (1967): 1–34.

Watt, James C. Y., "Textiles of the Mongol Period in China," *Orientations*, 29.3 (1998): 72–83.

Wehr, Barbara, "A propos de la genèse du *Devisament dou monde* et Marco Polo," in Maria Selig (ed.), *Le passage à l'écrit de langues romanes*, Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1993, pp. 299–326.

——, "Zum Reisebericht von Marco Polo in der lateinischen Fassung von Fra Pipino da Bologna," in Rudolf Kettemann and Hubert Petersmann (eds.), *Latin vulgaire—latin tardif: Actes du cinquième colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif, Heidelberg, 5–8 septembre 1997*, Heidelberg: Winter, 1999, pp. 117–132.

——, "Zum altvenezianischen Fragment VA[1] des Reiseberichts von Marco Polo," in Luigina Morini (ed.), *La cultura dell' Italia padana e la presenza francese nei secoli XIII–XV; Pavia 11–14 settembre 1994*, Alessandria: Dell'Orso, 2001, pp. 111–142.

——, "Eine Crux im Text von Marco Polo: *rondes*," in Volker Noll and Sylvia Thiele (eds.), *Sprachkontakte in der Romania: Zum 75. Geburtstag von Gustav Ineichen*, Tübingen: Max Niemeier Verlag, 2004, pp. 147–158.

——, "Venetismi e toscanismi nel MS. B.N. fr. 1116 del testo di Marco Polo," in Renato Oniga and Sergio Vatteroni (eds.), *Plurilinguismo letterario*, Soveria Manelli: Rubbettino, 2007, pp. 205–223.

Wei Peichun 韦培春 and Wu Xianzhong 吴献中, "Cong Yangzhou difangzhi yinzheng Make Boluo zai Yangzhou de zongji" 从扬州地方志印证马可·波罗在扬州的踪迹 (Marco Polo's Traces in Yangzhou According to Yangzhou Local Gazetteers), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 70–78.

Wei Yuewang 卫月望, "Yishi wen Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao kaoshuo" 壹拾文中统元宝交钞考说 (An Investigation of the *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* of 10 *wen*), *Zhongguo qianbi* 中国钱币 (China Numismatics), 4 (1985): 38–40.

——, "Baita Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao kaoshuo" 白塔中统元宝交钞考说 (An Investigation of the *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* of the White Pagoda), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu* 内蒙古金融研究 (Finance Research of Inner Mongolia), 1 (2002): 28–30, 23.

——, "Meng Yuan zhibi shiliao quanshi" 蒙元纸币史料诠释 (Annotations to Historical Material on Paper Money of the Mongolian Yuan Dynasty), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu*, 1 (2002a): 33–48.

Weidner, Marsha Smith, "Painting and Patronage at the Mongol Court of China 1260–1368," PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1982.

Weiers, Michael (ed.), with the collaboration of Veronika Veit and Walter Heissig, *Die Mongolen: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986.

Wen Guang 闻广, "'Make Boluo youji' zhong dizhi kuangchan shiliao" "马可波罗游记"中地质矿产史料 (Records of Geology and Mineral Deposits in *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Hebei dizhi xueyuan xuebao* 河北地质学院学报 (Journal of Hebei College of Geology), 15.2 (1992): 205–213.

Weng Guozhen 翁国珍, "Make Boluo ji Fujian zhi xing" 马可· 波罗及福建之行 (Marco Polo and his Travels in Fujian), *Haijiaoshi yanjiu* 海交史研究 (Research on Maritime Exchange History), 2 (1980): 54–57. Revised version in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 162–168.

Wetzel, Hermann H., "Marco Polo's *Milione* zwischen Beschreiben und Erzählen," in Gabriele Birken-Silvermann and Gerda Rössler (eds.), *Beiträge zur sprachlichen, literarischen und kulturellen Vielfalt in den Philologien: Festschrift für Rupprecht Rohr zum 70. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992, pp. 523–540.

——, "Il *Milione* di Marco Polo fra descrizione e racconto," in Piotr Salwa and Ewa Dorota Zolkiewska (eds.), *Narrations brèves: Mélanges de littérature ancienne offerts à Krystyna Kasprzyk*, Warszawa and Genève: Publications de l'Institut de Philologie Romane, 1993, pp. 99–116.

Wheatley, Paul, "Geographical Notes on Some Commodities Involved in Sung Maritime Trade," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 32.2 (1961): 5–140.

Wink, André, "From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean: Medieval History in Geographic Perspective," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 44.3 (2002): 416–445.

Witte, Johannes, *Das Buch des Marco Polo als Quelle für Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin: Hutten-Verlag, 1916.

Wittkower, Rudolf, "Marco Polo and the Pictorial Tradition of the Marvels of the East," in *Oriente Poliano*, 1957, pp. 155–172.

Wolkenhauer, W., "Marco Polo," *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik*, 20 (1898): 181–185.

Wood, Frances, *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* London: Secker & Warburg, 1995.

——, "Did Marco Polo Go to China?" *Asian Affairs: Journal of the Royal Society for Asian Affairs*, 28.3 (1996): 296–304.

——, "Marco Polo's Readers: The Problem of Manuscript Complexity," *Asian Research Trends: A Humanities and Social Science Review*, 10 (2000): 67–75.

——, *The Lure of China: Writers from Marco Polo to J. G. Ballard*, South San Francisco: Long River Press, 2009.

Worthy, Edmund E., "Regional Control in the Southern Sung Salt Administration," in John Winthrop Haeger (ed.), *Crisis and Prosperity in Sung China*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975.

Wright, David Curtis, "Navies in the Mongol Yuan Conquest of Southern Song China, 1274–1279," *Mongolian Studies*, 29 (2007): 207–216.

Wu Chengyue 吴承越, "Yan yu Dian yanbi" 盐与滇盐币 (Salt and Yunnan Salt Currency), *Yanyeshi yanjiu* 盐业史研究 (Salt Industry History Research), 2 (1997): 43.

Wu Deshi 吴德释, "Guanyu Make Boluo de Zhongwen shiliao" 关于马可波罗的中文史料 (Chinese Historical Material related to Marco Polo), *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中华文史论丛 (Collected Articles on Chinese History and Culture), 15.3 (1980): 204.

Wu Han 吴晗, "'Yuanshi, Shihuo zhi' chaofa bu" 《元史食貨志》鈔法補 (Supplements to the Section on the Methods of Paper Notes in the 'Economic Chapters' of the "History of the Yuan"), *Zhongguo shehui jingjishi jikan* 中國社會經濟史集刊 (China Economic and Social History Journal), 7.2 (1946). Repr. under the title "Yuandai zhi chaofa" 元代之鈔法 (The Methods of Paper Money in the Yuan Period) in *Wu Han shixue lunzhu xuanji* 吴晗史学论著选集 (Selected Articles of Wu Han on History), vol. 2, Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1986, pp. 433–465.

Wu Youxiong 吴幼雄, "Ping 'Guangming zhi cheng': Xianchun jian de Citonggang shi 'ziyou maoyiqu' ma?" 评"光明之城"—咸淳间的刺桐港是 "自由贸易区"吗? (Discussing *The City of Light*: Was Citong Harbour a "Free Trade Zone" during the Xianchun Reign-period?), *Quanzhou shiyuan xuebao* 泉州师院学报 (Journal of Quanzhou Normal College), 5 (2000): 68–87.

——, "Zai ping 'Guangming zhi cheng'" 再评"光明之城" (Again Discussing *The City of Light*), *Quanzhou shifan xueyuan xuebao (shehui kexue)* 泉州师范学院学报(社会科学) (Journal of Quanzhou Normal College (Social Sciences)), 20.1 (2002): 80–88.

Wunderli, Peter, "Marco Polo und der Ferne Osten: Zwischen 'Wahrheit' und 'Dichtung'," in Peter Wunderli (ed.), *Reisen in reale und mythische Ferne: Reiseliteratur in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag (Studia Humaniora; 22), 1993, pp. 124–196.

Wuxishi bowuguan 无锡市博物馆 (Wuxi City Museum), "Jiangsu Wuxishi Yuanmu zhong chutu yipi wenshu" 江苏无锡市元墓中出土一批文书 (Documents Excavated from a Yuan Tomb in Wuxi City of Jiangsu), *Wenwu* 文物 (Historical Relics), 12 (1964): 52–62.

Xizang zizhiqu wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 西藏自治区文物管理委员会 (Committee for the Administration of Cultural Relics of Tibet Autonomous Region), "Xizang Sajiasi faxian de Yuandai zhibi" 西藏萨迦寺发现的元代纸币 (Yuan Paper Notes Discovered in the Sagya Monastery in Tibet), *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics), 9 (1975): 32–34.

Xia Xiangrong 夏湘荣, Li Zhongjun 李仲均 and Wang Genyuan 王根元, *Zhongguo gudai kuangye kaifashi* 中国古代矿业开发史 (The History of the Development of the Ancient Chinese Mining Industry), Beijing: Dizhi chubanshe, 1980.

Xiang Da 向達, "Yuandai Mage Boluo zhu waiguoren suojian zhi Hangzhou" 元代馬哥孛羅諸外國人所見之杭州 (Hangzhou as it Has Been Seen by Marco Polo and other Foreigners during the Yuan Period), *Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌 (Eastern Miscellany), 26.10 (1929): 91–104. Repr. under slightly different title in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 142–156.

——, "Make Boluo yu Make Boluo youji" 马可波罗与马可波罗游记 (Marco Polo and *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Lüxingjia* 旅行家 (Traveller), 4 (1956). Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 3–14.

Xiangjun 湘军 and Shijian 石见, "Yuanling Yuanmu chutu Yuandai zhibi kaoshuo" 沅陵元墓出土元代纸币考说 (Yuan Paper Money Excavated from a Yuan Tomb in Yuanling), *Hunan wenwu* 湖南文物 (Hunan Historical Relics), 1 (1986): 36–38, 52.

Xin Yu 辛渝, "Make Boluo daoguo Xizang ma?" 马可· 波罗到过西藏吗? (Did Marco Polo Reach Tibet?), *Xi'nan minzu daxue xuebao* 西南民族大学学报 (Journal of Southwest University for Nationalities), 5 (1991): 86.

Xiu Xiaobo 修晓波, "Yuandai semu shangren de fenbu" 元代色目商人的分布 (The Distribution of Alien Merchants during the Yuan Period), *Yuanshi luncong* 元史论丛 (Studies of Yuan History) 6 (1996): 174–188.

Xu Hong 徐泓, *Qingdai Lianghuai yanchang de yanjiu* 清代兩淮鹽場的研究 (An Investigation of the Salt Works of Lianghuai during the Qing Period), Taibei: Jiaxin shuini wenhua jijinhui, 1972.

Xu Minglong 许明龙, " 'Make Boluo youji' yu Zhongguo zai Ouzhou de yingxiang" 《马可· 波罗游记》与中国在欧洲的影响 (*Marco Polo's Travels* and the Image of China in Europe), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 223–232.

Xu Rong 许蓉, " 'Make Boluo youji' he 13 shiji mo de Hangzhou" "马可波罗游记"和 13 世纪末的杭州 (*Marco Polo's Travels* and Hangzhou at the End of the Thirteenth Century), *Taizhou shizhuan xuebao* 台州师专学报 (Journal of Taizhou Teachers College), 23.2 (2001): 39–43.

Xu Xinguo 许新国, "Germu chutu Yuandai zhibi kaoshuo" 格尔木出土元代纸币考说 (Investigating and Explaining the Yuan Paper Money Excavated in Germu), *Qinghai jinrong yanjiu* 青海金融研究 (Finance Research of Qinghai), 6 (1987).

Xue Lei 薛磊, *Yuandai gongting shi* 元代宫廷史 (A History of the Court of the Yuan Period), Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 2008.

Yamazaki Mikio 山崎幹夫, "Doku no hakubutsushi (1); Maruko Pōro no 'yama no rōjin': Indo ōasa" 毒の博物誌-1-マルコ・ポーロの「山の老人」— インド大麻 (Natural History Records of Poison (1); Marco Polo's "Old Man of the Mountain": Indian Hemp), *Shizen* 自然 (Nature), 38.8 (1983): 88–92.

Yanai Wataru 箭内亙, "Genchō haifu kō" 元朝牌符考 (A Study of Tablets and Tallies of the Yuan Dynasty), in his *Mōkoshi kenkyū* 蒙古史研究 (Studies on Mongol History), Tōkyō: Tōkō shoin, 1966, pp. 839–898.

Yancun Ren 岩村忍 [Iwamura Shinobu]; Tooq ai 涛海 (transl.), "Yuanchao de zhibi zhidu jiqi bengkui" 元朝的纸币制度及其崩溃 (The Paper Money System of the Yuan Dynasty and its Collapse), *Mengguxue xinxi* 蒙古学信息 (Mongolian Studies Information), 2 (1999): 7–11.

Yang Bin, "Horses, Silver, and Cowries: Yunnan in Global Perspective," *Journal of World History*, 15.3 (2004): 281–322.

——, *Between Wind and Clouds: The Making of Yunnan (Second Century BCE to Twentieth Century CE)*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

Yang Chih-chiu [Yang Zhijiu] 杨志玖 and Ho Yung-chi [He Yongji] 何永佶, "Marco Polo Quits China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 9.1 (1945): 51.

Yang Lien-sheng, *Money and Credit in China: A Short History*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1952.

——, "The Form of the Paper Note *Hui-tzu* of the Southern Sung Dynasty," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 16.3/4 (1953): 365–373.

——, "Marginalia to the *Yüan tien-chang*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 19.1/2 (1956): 42–51.

Yang Shouchuan 杨寿川 (ed.), *Beibi yanjiu* 贝币研究 (Investigation of Cowry Currency), [Kunming]: Yunnan daxue chubanshe, 1997.

——, "Beibi yanjiu: Zhongyuan yu Yunnan yong haibei zuo huobi de lishi kaocha" 贝币研究—中原与云南用海贝作货币的历史考察 (Cowry Currency Research: A Historical Investigation of the Use of Cowry as Money in the Central Plain and in Yunnan), in Yang Shouchuan (ed.) (1997), *Beibi yanjiu*, pp. 1–27.

——, "Hannizu yu beibi" 哈尼族与贝币 (The Hani People and Cowry Currency), in Yang Shouchuan (ed.) (1997), *Beibi yanjiu*, pp. 216–229.

Yang Wenqing 杨文清, " 'Make Boluo youji' zhong de tiyu shiliao" "马可· 波罗游记"中的体育史料 (Historical Material on Sports in *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Gudai tiyu* 古代体育 (Journal of Sport History and Culture), 6 (1985): 35–39.

Yang Zhijiu 杨志玖, "Guanyu Make Boluo li Hua de yiduan Hanwen jizai" 关于马可· 波罗离华的一段汉文记载 (A Passage in Chinese Concerning Marco Polo's Departure from China), *Wenshi zazhi* 文史杂志 (Literature and History Journal), December, 1941. Repr. in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 17–25.

——, "Guanyu Make Boluo li Hua de yiduan Hanwen jizai" 关于马可波罗离华的一段汉文记载 (A Chinese Record about Marco Polo Leaving China), *Nankai daxue xuebao* 南开大学学报 (Nankai University Journal), 3 (1979). Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 169–178.

——, "Guanyu Make Boluo de yanjiu: Du Ke Lifu jiaoshou de 'Guanyu Make Boluo li Hua de Hanwen ziliao jiqi daoda Bosi de Bosiwen ziliao' " 关于马可波罗的研究—读柯立夫教授的《关于马可波罗离华的汉文资料及其到达波斯的波斯文资料》(About Marco Polo Research: Reading Professor F. W. Cleaves' "A Chinese Source Bearing on Marco Polo's Departure from China and a Persian Source on his Arrival in Persia"), *Nankai daxue xuebao* 南开大学学报 (Nankai University Journal), 8 (1979a). Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 179–187.

——, "Guanyu Make Boluo zai Zhongguo de jige wenti" 关于马可波罗在中国的几个问题 (Some Questions Regarding Marko Polo's Stay in China), *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中国史研究 (Research on Chinese History), 2 (1982). Repr. in his *Yuanshi sanlun* 元史三论 (Three Essays on Yuan History), Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1985. Slightly revised version in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 275–286.

——, "Make Boluo yu Zhongguo: Dui 'Make Boluo daoguo Zhongguo meiyou?' yiwen de kanfa" 马可波罗与中国—对《马可· 波罗到过中国没有？》一文的看法 (Marco Polo and China: My View of [Craig Clunas'] Article "Was Marco Polo in China?"), *Huanqiu* 环球 (Earth), 10 (1982). Revised version in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 52–60.

——, "Make Boluo zujibian Zhongguo: Yu Haige'r xiansheng shangque" 马可· 波罗足迹遍中国—与海格尔先生商榷 (Marco Polo Has Been all over China: A Discussion with Mr. [John W.] Haeger), *Nankai xuebao* 南开学报 (Nankai Academic Journal), 6 (1982a). Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 70–84.

——, "Make Boluo likai Zhongguo zai 1291 nian de genju shi shenme?" 马可波罗离开中国在 1291 年的根据是什么? (What is the Basis for the Date of 1291 of Marco Polo's Departure from China?), *Lishi jiaoxue* 历史教学 (History Teaching), 2 (1983): 6.

——, "Zai lun Make Boluo shu de zhenwei wenti" 再论马可波罗书的真伪问题 (Again Discussing the Authenticity of Marco Polo's Book), *Lishi yanjiu* 历史研究 (Historical Research), 2 (1994): 72–78.

——, "Zai lun Make Boluo shu de zhenwei wenti: Pouxi huaiyilunzhe de lunju he xintai" 马可· 波罗书的真伪 — 剖析怀疑论者的论据和心态 (Re-examining the Problem of Authenticity of Marco Polo's Book: An Analysis of the Arguments and Ways of Thinking of the Sceptics), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 25–35.

——, "Bainian lai wo guo dui 'Make Boluo youji' de jieshao yu yanjiu" 百年来我国对《马可· 波罗游记》的介绍与研究 (Introduction and Investigation of *Marco Polo's Travels* in Our Country in the Last Hundred Years), *Tianjin shehui kexue* 天津社会科学 (Tianjin Social Sciences), 1 (1996a): 73–80; 2 (1996b): 52–57.

——, "Make Boluo daoguo Zhongguo—Dui 'Make Boluo daoguo Zhongguo ma?' de huida" 马可波罗到过中国—对《马可波罗到过中国吗?》的回答 (Marco Polo Went to China: An Answer to [Frances Wood's] *Did Marco Polo Go to China?*), *Lishi yanjiu* 历史研究 (Historical Research), 3 (1997): 107–122.

——, "Marco Polo Did Come to China: A Reply to *Did Marco Polo Go to China?*" transl. by Hui Jianfeng and Pan Yufen, rev. by Sue Xuetao, *Social Sciences in China*, 19.3 (1998a): 98–123. Originally published in *Lishi yanjiu* (Historical Research), 3 (1997).

——, "Make Boluo daoguo Zhongguo ma?" 马可波罗到过中国吗? (Did Marco Polo Reach China?), *Wenshi xinxiang* 文史信箱 (Chinese Literature and History Mailbox), 9 (1998b): 112–116.

——, *Make Boluo zai Zhongguo* 马可波罗在中国 (Marco Polo was in China), Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 1999.

——, "Wo yu 'Make Boluo youji' " 我与"马可波罗游记" (I and *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Lishi jiaoxue* 历史教学 (History Teaching), 10 (2000): 5.

Yao Qinglin 姚庆霖, "Guobao Zhiyuan chaoban bei paimai" 国宝至元钞版被拍卖 (A National Treasure—a Zhiyuan Paper Note Printing Block—Sold at an Auction), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu* 内蒙古金融研究 (Finance Research of Inner Mongolia), 2 (2003): 5.

Yao Shuomin 姚朔民, "Xi Cixian Zhiyuan tongxing baochao tongban" 析磁县至元通行宝钞铜版 (An Analysis of the Copper Plate for the *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao* found in Cixian), *Zhongguo qianbi* 中国钱币 (China Numismatics), 1 (1993): 7–8.

Yasin Mazhar Siddiqi, "Mongol Decimal System and Military Organization of the Delhi Sultanate," in R. C. Sharma (ed.), *Perspectives on Mongolia: Papers Presented at the First Indo-Mongolian Colloquium Held in September 1986 at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University*, Delhi: Seema Publications, 1988, pp. 55–67.

Ye Shichang 叶世昌, "Yuandai de zhibi liutong zhidu" 元代的纸币流通制度 (The Paper Money Circulation System of the Yuan Period), *Zhongguo shehui jingjishi yanjiu* 中国社会经济史研究 (China Economic and Social History Research), 4 (1997): 87–94.

Ye Yumei 叶玉梅, "Shixi Qinghai Chaidamu pendi chutu de Yuan'chao' " 试析青海柴达木盆地出土的元"钞" (A Preliminary Analysis of the Yuan "Paper Notes" Excavated in the Quaidam Basin in Qinghai), *Qinghai shehui kexue* 青海社会科学 (Qinghai Social Sciences), 6 (1994a): 113–117.

——, "Yuandai Qing Zang shexiang zhi lu shang de zhibi: Qinghai Chaidamu pendi chutu de Yuanchao" 元代青藏麝香之路上的纸币:青海柴达木盆地出土的元钞 (Paper Money on the Musk Road between Qinghai and Tibet during the Yuan Period: Yuan Paper Notes Excavated in the Quaidam Basin in Qinghai), *Qinghai minzu yanjiu (shehui kexue ban)* 青海民族研究(社会科学版) (Qinghai Anthropological Research (Social Sciences Issue)), 2 (1994b): 51–54.

Yi Ke 伊克, "Make Boluo yu Neimenggu" 马可· 波罗与内蒙古 (Marco Polo and Inner Mongolia), *Zhongwai wenhua jiaoliu* 中外文化交流 (Cultural Exchange between China and the World), 1 (1999): 54–55.

Yingtang jushi 映堂居士 (Retired Scholar from the Bright Hall), "Yuandai xiren ru Zhongguo shu" 元代西人入中國述 (An Account of the Westerners who Came to China during the Yuan Period), *Zhongxi wenjian lu* 中西聞見錄 (Record on Things Heard and Seen in China and the West), 21 (1874). Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 1–2.

Yokkaichi Yasuhiro, "Horses in the East-West Trade between China and Iran under Mongol Rule," in Bert G. Fragner, Ralph Kauz, Roderich Ptak and Angela Schottenhammer (eds.), *Pferde in Asien: Geschichte, Handel und Kultur; Horses in Asia: History, Trade and Culture*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften; 378, und Veröffentlichungen zur Iranistik; 46), 2009, pp. 87–97.

Yu Shixiong 余士雄, "Zhongxifang lishi shang de youhao shizhe: Make Boluo" 中西方历史上的友好使者—马可· 波罗 (Marco Polo: An Ambassador of Friendship in Chinese and Western History), *Lishi jiaoxue* 历史教学 (History Teaching), 8 (1981). Revised version in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 30–38.

——, "Make Boluo zai Zhongguo" 马可波罗在中国 (Marco Polo in China), *China Reconstructs*, 4 (1982), in English, German and Spanish. Revised Chinese version in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 61–69.

——, "Ping xinyi 'Make Boluo youji' " 评新译《马可波罗游记》 (Assessment of a New Translation of *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Dushu* 读书 (Reading Books), 10 (1982a). Revised version in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 327–336.

—— (ed.), *Make Boluo jieshao yu yanjiu* 马可· 波罗介绍与研究 (Introduction and Investigation of Marco Polo), Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1983.

——, " 'Make Boluo youji' zhong de Zhongguo lishi mingcheng kaoshi" "马可· 波罗游记"中的中国历史名城考释 (Research on Famous Chinese Cities in *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Zhongguo keji shiliao* 中国科技史料 (The Chinese Journal for the History of Science and Technology), 6.5 (1985): 24–30.

——, " 'Make Boluo youji' de waiwen banben he Zhongwen yiben" "马可波罗游记"的外文版本和中文译本 (Editions in Foreign Languages and Chinese Translations of *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Jiangxi shifan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 江西师范大学学报(哲学社会科学版) (Journal of Jiangxi Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Issue)), 4 (1989): 109–114.

——, "Make Boluo jishu de Yuan chu liangci panluan kaoshi" 马可· 波罗记述的元初两次叛乱考释 (Examination and Explanation of Two Rebellions at the Beginning of the Yuan Period in Marco Polo's Account), *Xibei shidi* 西北史地 (Historical Geography of Northwest China), 2 (1989a).

——, "Xinjiang taohuayuanren you laili: 'Make Boluo youji' yi da gongxian" 新疆桃花源人有来历—《马可· 波罗游记》一大贡献 (The Origin of the History of the People of the Land of Joy and Plenty in Xinjiang: The Great Contribution of *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Beijing wanbao* 北京晚报 (Beijing Evening News), August 16, 1990.

——, " 'Make Boluo youji' Yidali wenban weihe cheng 'Baiwan' " 《马可· 波罗游记》意大利文版为何称《百万》 (Why are the Italian Editions of *Marco Polo's Travels* called *Milione*), *Wenzhaibao* 文摘报 (Literary Digest), 698 (1990a).

——, " 'Make Boluo youji' zhong jige zhongyao wenti shuping" 《马可· 波罗游记》中几个重要问题述评 (On Several Main Problems in Studying *Marco Polo's Travels*), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 337–362.

Yuan Ji 袁冀, *Yuanshi yanjiu lunji* 元史研究論集 (Collected Articles on Yuan History Research), Tabei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 2006.

——, *Yuanshi tanwei* 元史探微 (Exploring Obscurities in Yuan History), Taibei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 2009.

Yule, Henry, "Marco Polo and his Recent Editors," *Quarterly Review*, 125 (July and October 1868): 133, 166.

——, "A Manuscript of Marco Polo", *Athenaeum*, 2851 (June 17, 1882): 765–766.

——, "Notes on the Oldest Records of the Sea Route to China from Western Asia," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, and Monthly Record of Geography*, Nov. 1882a, 8vo.

——, "Marco Polo", *Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. 19, 1885, pp. 404–409.
——, "Prester John", *Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. 19, 1885a, pp. 714–718.
Yule, Henry, and Arthur Coke Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: The Anglo-Indian Dictionary*, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Ltd., 1996.
Yusufu, Maimaidiyiming 买买堤依明· 玉素甫 (Mamtimin Yusup) and Mu Shunying 穆舜英, "Tuidong dongxi wenhua jiaoliu de shizhe: Make Boluo" 推动东西文化交流的使者—马可· 波罗(Marco Polo: Ambassador of Promoting Cultural Exchanges between East and West), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 91–97.
Zaccagnini, Guido, "Francesco Pipino traduttore del 'Milione' cronista e viaggiatore in oriente nel secolo XIV," *Atti e Memorie della Reale Deputazione di storia patria per l'Emilia e la Romagna*, serie V, vol. 1 (1936): 61–95.
Zaganelli, Gioia, "Viaggiatori europei in Asia nel Medioevo: Note sulla retorica del mirabile," *Studi testuali*, 4 (1996): 157–165.
——, "In margine a due recenti edizioni del *Milione* di Marco Polo," *Critica del testo*, 3 (2000): 1023–1032.
Zanetti, V., "Marco Polo e la sua famiglia," *Archivio Veneto*, 16 (1879): 359–362.
Zeng Guangyi 曾广亿, "Guangdong Lingshui, Shunde, Jiexi chutu de Songdai ciqi, yulie gongju he Yuandai chaoban" 广东陵水, 顺德, 揭西出土的宋代瓷器, 渔猎工具和元代钞版 (Pottery, Fishing and Hunting Tools as well as a Yuan Paper-Money Printing Plate Excavated in Lingshui, Shunde and Jiexi in Guangdong Province), *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology), 1 (1980): 71–76 & plates.
Zhang Guowang 张国旺, "Yuandai haiyan wenti yanjiu" 元代海盐问题研究 (An Investigation of the Problem of Sea Salt during the Yuan Period), MA thesis, Hebei shifan daxue 河北师范大学 (Heibei Normal University), 2003.
——, *Yuandai queyan yu shehui* 元代榷盐与社会 (Salt Monopoly and Society during the Yuan Period), Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2009.
Zhang Jian 张箭, "Make Boluo dui ziran dilixue he dizhi kuangwuxue de gongxian" 马克布洛对自然地理学和地质矿物学的贡献 (Marco Polo's Contributions to Natural Geography and Geological Mineralogy), *Ziran bianzhengfa tongxun* 自然辩证法通讯 (Journal of Dialectics of Nature) 18.104/4 (1996): 55–62. See also in *Dili yanjiu* 地理研究 (Geographical Research), 15.2 (1996a): 100–105.
Zhang Jingming 張景明, "The Layout of the Mongol Capitals in China: Khanbalik and Xanadu 元上都與大都城址的平面布局," *China Archaeology and Art Digest*, 4.2–3 (2001): 21–32.
Zhang Kai, "Marco Polo e 'L'epoca dell'asse Quanzhou-Venezia': Indagine sul rapporto tra il commercio d'oltremare in epoca Song e Yuan e la rivoluzione commerciale del Mediterraneo," in Frederico Masini et al. (eds.) (2006), pp. 275–303.
Zhang Ning 张宁, "'Make Boluo xingji' zhong de Yuan Dadu" 《马可波罗行纪》中的元大都 (The Yuan-period Dadu in *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Renmin ribao* 人民日报 (People's Daily), 4 October 1980. Substantially revised version in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 85–106.
——, "Make Boluo yanjiu zhong de xin jieguo" 马可· 波罗研究中的新结果 (New Results in Marco Polo Research), 中国社会科学 *Zhongguo shehui kexue* (Social Sciences in China), 4 (1990): 194–196.
——, "'Make Boluo youji' zhong de Dadu wenming"《马可· 波罗游记》中的大都文明 (The Civilisation of Dadu as Described in *Marco Polo's Travels*), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 97–110.
Zhang Weihua 张维华, "'Make Boluo youji' zhong zhi Halazhang"《馬可波羅游记》中之哈剌章 (Carajan in *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Jingshi zhanshi tekan* 经世战时特刊 (Special War-period Issue of "Governing the World"), 47/48 (1939). Repr. in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 127–131.
Zhang Weiping 张卫萍, "Ye tan Make Boluo Zhongguo zhi xing de zhenshixing" 也谈马可· 波罗中国之行的真实性 (Again on the Facticity of Marco Polo's Travel to China), *Pingyuan daxue xuebao* 平原大学学报 (Journal of Pingyuan University), 21.3 (2004): 101–102.

Zhang Xilong, "Marco Polo, Chinese Cultural Identity and an Alternative Model of East-West Encounter," in Akbari and Iannucci (eds.) (2008), pp. 280–296.
Zhang Xilu 张锡禄, *Nanzhao yu Baizu wenhua* 南诏与白族文化 (The Nanzhao Kingdom and the Culture of the Bai People), Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 1991.
Zhang Xiping, "Il Milione e le ricerche sulla storia del Christianesimo in Cina," in Frederico Masini et al. (eds.) (2006), pp. 305–316.
Zhang Xinglang 張星烺, "Da Shu Shizheng jun 'Zhongguo shishu shang Mage Boluo zhiyi' " 答束世徵君中國史書上馬哥孛羅質疑 (A Response to Mr. Shu Shizheng's "Doubts on the Mentioning of Marco Polo in Chinese Historiographical Works"), *Shidi xuebao* 史地學報 (Journal of Historical Geography), 3.3 (1923): 59–61.
Zhang Yueming 张跃铭, " 'Make Boluo youji' zai Zhongguo de fanyi yu yanjiu"《马可波罗游记》在中国的翻译与研究 (The Translation and Investigation of *Marco Polo's Travels* in China), *Jianghuai luntan* 江淮论坛 (Jianghuai Forum), 8 (1981). Shortened version in Yu Shixiong (ed.) (1983), pp. 39–51.
Zhang Ziying 张子英, "Cixian faxian 'Zhiyuan tongxing baochao' tongban ji tongyin" 磁县发现《至元通行宝钞》铜版及铜印 (Bronze Seals and Bronze Plates for *Zhiyuan tongxing baochao* Discovered in Cixian), *Zhongguo qianbi* 中国钱币 (China Numismatics), 1 (1993): 36–37.
Zhao, Qingzhi George, *Marriage as Political Strategy and Cultural Expression: Mongolian Royal Marriages from World Empire to Yuan Dynasty*, New York: Peter Lang (Asian Thought and Culture), 2008.
Zhao Xiaoping 赵小平, "Lishi shiqi Yunnan yanbi liutong tanxi" 历史时期云南盐币流通探析 (A Study of the Circulation of Yunnan Salt Currency in Historical Times), *Yanyeshi yanjiu* 盐业史研究 (Salt Industry History Research), 2 (2007): 13–19.
Zheng Yi 郑弋, "*Tiunguy* ji 'Fengzhou': Dui 'Make Boluo xingji' zhong yitiao diming kaozheng" *Tiunguy* 即"丰州"—对《马可·波罗行记》中一条地名的考证 (Tiunguy is "Fengzhou": Textual Research on a Place Name in *Marco Polo's Travels*), *Nanyang shifan xueyuan xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 南阳师范学院学报 (社会科学版) (Journal of Nanyang Normal College (Social Sciences Issue)), 3.4 (2004): 32–36, 64.
Zhou Liangxiao 周良霄, "Yuandai lühua de xifangren: Jian da Make Boluo daoguo Zhongguo ma?" 元代旅华的西方人: 兼答马可波罗到过中国吗? (Westerners Travelling to China during the Yuan Period: In Addition an Answer to the Question whether Marco Polo Reached China), *Lishi yanjiu* 历史研究 (Historical Research), 3 (2001): 91–100.
Zhu Jiang 朱江, "Cong Yuanchao guanzhi tantao Make Boluo zai Yangzhou" 从元朝官制探讨马可·波罗在扬州 (Discussing Marco Polo's Stay in Yangzhou from the Point of View of the Yuan Dynasty's Bureaucratic System), *Yangzhou shizhi* 扬州史志 (Journal of Yangzhou History), 3 (1990).
——, "Cong 'Make Boluo youji' lianxiangdao de jidian" 从《马可·波罗游记》联想到的几点 (Some Points Associated with *Marco Polo's Travels*), in Lu Guojun et al. (eds.) (1995), pp. 47–62.
Zhu Qianzhi 朱谦之, " 'Make Boluo youji' zhi yingxiang"《马可·波罗游记》之影响 (The Influence of *Marco Polo's Travels*), in his *Zhongguo zhexue duiyu Ouzhou de yingxiang* 中国哲学对于欧洲的影响 (The Influence of Chinese Philosophy on Europe), Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1985.
Zhu Yaoting 朱耀廷, " 'Make Boluo xingji' zhong de Yuan Dadu: Nongye wenhua yu caoyuan wenhua jiehe de chanwu" 马可波罗行纪中的元大都—农业文化与草原文化结合的产物 (The Yuan Capital Dadu in *Marco Polo's Travels*: A Product of a Combination of Agricultural and Grassland Culture), *Beijing lianhe daxue xuebao (renwen shehui kexue ban)* 北京联合大学学报 （人文社会科学版） (Journal of Beijing Union University (Humanities and Social Sciences Issue)), 2 (2009): 31–37.
Zhu Xia 朱霞, "Cong 'Diannan yanfa tu' kan gudai Yunnan shaoshu minzu de jingyan shengchan" 从《滇南盐法图》看古代云南少数民族的井盐生产 (Production of Well Salt in the Ancient Period by the Minorities of Yunnan as Seen from the "Illustrations of the Salt [Production] Methods of Yunnan"), *Ziran kexueshi yanjiu* 自然科学史研究

(Studies in the History of Natural Sciences), 23.2 (2004): 132–147 & plates. For an English translation of this article see the entry below.

Zhu Xia (author); Cao Jin, Ailika Schinköthe, Hans Ulrich Vogel et al. (transl.), "The Production of Well Salt by Ethnic Minorities in Pre-modern Yunnan: The 'Illustrations on the Salt Production Methods of Yunnan," *East Asian Science, Technology and Medicine*, 33 (2011): 33–82.

Zoli, Sergio, "L'immagine dell'Oriente nella cultura italiana da Marco Polo al Settecento," in Cesare de Seta (ed.), *Storia d'Italia; Annali 5: Il paesaggio*, Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1982, pp. 45–123.

Zorzi, Alvise, *Vita di Marco Polo veneziano*, Milano: Rusconi, 1982.

——, "L'Asia mongola e Marco Polo," in Gino Benzoni, Marica Milanesi, Daria Perocco et al. (eds.), *L'Oriente: Storie di viaggiatori italiani*, Milano: Electa, 1985, pp. 48–69.

——, *Marco Polo: Eine Biographie*, transl. by Sylvia Höfer, Hildesheim: Claassen, 1992.

Zou Zhenhuan 邹振环, "Qingmo Hanwen wenxian zhong youguan Make Boluo lai Hua de zuizao jishu" 清末汉文文献中有关马可·波罗来华的最早记述 (The Earliest Chinese Notes on Marco Polo's Stay in China in Documents of the Late Qing Period), *Shijie lishi* 世界历史 (World History), 5 (1999): 79–83.

Zou Zhiliang 邹志谅, "Baita Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao yinshi" 白塔中统元宝交钞印释 (An Explanation of the Seals of the *Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao* of the White Pagoda), *Neimenggu jinrong yanjiu* 内蒙古金融研究 (Finance Research of Inner Mongolia), 1 (2002): 77.

Zou Zhonghua 邹重华, "Make Boluo Chengdu zhi xing kaobian" 马可· 波罗成都之行考辨 (An Critical Investigation of Marco Polo's Travel to Chengdu), *Sichuan wenwu* 四川文物 (Sichuan Historical Relics), 3 (1990): 11–14.

Zurla, D. Placido, *Di Marco Polo e degli altri viaggiatori Veneziani più illustri*, Venezia: Gio. Giacomo Fuchs, 1818.

Zweig, Stefan, *Die Welt von Gestern*, Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer, 1944.

INDEX

Abacan, 52n156
Abakha, Ilkhan, 74, 87
Adam, Salimbene de, 21
Admont manuscript version (V 12), 33, 34, 372, 381, 515–17. *See also* German manuscript versions
Africa: cowry money in, 229, 260n79, 268; salt money in, 286–87, 326, 327
Ahmad (finance minister), 51, 55, 63, 165, 166, 167n153
Airaldi, Gabriella, 16n22, 31
Ajul (Agul), 52
alchemy, paper money as, 106, 112, 214, 436
Allsen, Thomas T., 116, 415
Almeida, António de, 24n43
America, pre-Columbian, 287–88
Anin, 231, 232, 241, 259n72, 269, 411
Annam, 232, 257, 268, 420. *See also* Vietnam
annual grants (*suici*), 94–95, 100, 181
Anqing, 203, 416
Antong (Hantum), 70
Aobo tu (Illustrated Boiling of Sea Water; Chen Chun), 334
Apusca (envoy), 81
Arabic language, 41, 63; guidebooks in, 415–16, 425
Arabic sources: on cities, 415–17; on cowry money, 232; on denominations, 159; on monetary institutions, 124; *vs.* MP, 2, 4, 213, 399, 410, 411, 420, 424; and MP's official post, 364; on paper money, 109–13, 119; on salt money, 6, 293; on salt production, 333, 340. *See also particular authors*
Aragon manuscript version (V 14a), 381, 519
Arakan, 229, 232, 268. *See also* Burma
archaeological remains, 287, 419, 425; of cowry money, 228, 235; of metal currencies, 193, 368; of paper money, 4, 9, 97, 103–5, 121–38, 146–57, 158, 213, 529–41
Arghun, Ilkhan, 72, 73, 80, 82, 117
Arigh Böke, 94
Astley's Voyages, 5n5, 43n104
astrology, 45, 61
astronomy, 66
Backus, Charles, 296
Bacon, Roger, 22
Baochao tongkao (Comprehensive Investigation on Paper Money; Wu Qi), 215
Barbaro, Josaphat, 469
Barbieri, Alvaro, 21, 22, 40, 86, 295, 505
Barros, João de, 49
Bayan, 41n97, 52
Beijing. *See* Cambaluc
Bembo, Cardinal Pietro, 291
Bencao tujing (Materia Medica with Illustrations; Su Song), 335, 336n10
Benedetto, Luigi Foscolo, 21, 24, 292, 293
Benedict the Pole, 73n266
Bengal: cowry money in, 229, 232, 239, 242–43, 266, 268; and silver, 171, 242; trade with, 241. *See also* India
Bernholz, Peter, 224n230, 225, 308
Bertolucci Pizzorusso, Valeria, 30, 31–32, 33
beverages, 45–46, 65
bills of exchange, 89, 90
Biruni, al-, 268
Bloch, Marc, 326
Bodley 264 (early French ms.; B^2), 17, 431n3
Bolad Akha, 78, 79, 87, 115–16, 118, 349, 415
Boluo, 78–80, 115–16, 349, 361
Bonaguisi, Amelio, 5n5
Boni, Giovanni Battista Baldelli, xxiii
Boniface VIII, Pope, 117
Borlandi, Franco, 26, 38
Borneo, 82, 257, 287
Bracciolini, Poggio, 15n19, 24n43, 294n55
Bretschneider, Emil, 124
Bridia, C. de, 73n266
bronze, 84, 243
bronze coins: *vs.* paper money, 92, 94, 102, 163, 209; restrictions on, 91, 190; shortages of, 89, 96
Brown, J. Coggin, 282
Brunello, Franco, 66
Buddhism, 52n157, 58, 411
Bugu Khan, 52
Burma, 51, 420; cowries from, 253, 261; cowry money in, 229, 239; MP's missions to, 69, 74, 289; salt money in, 286; and silver, 171, 242

cacao beans, 288
Cai Meibiao, 41, 75, 76
Caichu (Xiezhou), 200, 421
Caindu (Sichuan), 60, 275; Mongol conquest of, 328–29; paper money in, 200; salt money in, 210, 290–91, 295, 296, 299, 322, 323, 324, 328; salt prices in, 318–23
Cambaluc (Dadu; Beijing), 53, 176, 413, 414, 416, 420; mint in, 106, 108, 121–24, 166, 412, 436–38; paper money in, 100, 199
Canal, Martin de, 30
Canpiciou. *See* Ganzhou
Cao Jian, 367
Caomuzi (Book of Master Plants; Ye Ziqi), 401, 403, 405
Carajan (Dali, Yunnan), 52, 60, 410, 411, 416; cowry money in, 232, 233, 237, 239, 252, 253, 257, 264, 269; exchange rates in, 243, 264; gold in, 243, 244; horses from, 241, 242; mining in, 247, 248; paper money in, 201; salt money in, 322; salt production in, 273, 282; silver in, 248–49
Carile, Antonio, 26
Carpini, Giovanni dal Piano del, 21, 29, 50, 73n266, 87, 411
Catalan manuscript (V 14), 381, 518–19
Catholic church, 31–32, 35, 58, 75
Ceylon (Sri Lanka), 71, 82, 167, 170, 268
Champa, 51, 360
Chang'an, 200, 416
Changlu salt region (Hebei), 6, 201, 331, 332–39, 420
Changzhou, 51, 203
Charles de Valois, 19, 30–31
Chen Bingying, 126
Chen Chun, 334
Chen Dezhi, 71, 377n33
Chen Gaohua, 383
Chen Ran, 326
Chengdu (Sichuan), 200, 201, 206, 413, 421
Chepoy, Jean de, 19, 30
Chepoy, Thibaut de, 19, 30, 31
Chinese language: Mongols' knowledge of, 42; MP on, 44–45; MP's knowledge of, 41; MP's name in, 74; on paper money, 105, 116, 117, 134; and seals, 157; written, 43, 44–45
Chinese sources: on commercial taxes, 392, 393; on cowry money, 229, 232, 234–69, 400; on distribution of paper money, 183–212; elitist nature of, 77, 298, 424; on government administration, 359; on mining, 244–50; *vs.* MP, 212–26, 267–69, 419–25; on paper money, 110, 118, 120–212, 399; on Polos, 14, 74–80, 82; on salt money, 295, 297–309, 315–30, 324, 400; on salt production, 333; on salt revenues, 375, 377, 379; on tax revenues, 365–66, 380; on trade, 161; travel accounts, 28
Chinggis Khan, 51, 93
chopsticks, 43, 47
Christianity, 52n157, 72, 294; Nestorian, 58, 353, 357–58, 411. *See also* Catholic church
Chuzhou, 204, 210, 211, 345, 346, 400
Circulation Storehouses (*xingyong ku*), 96, 122, 164, 168, 178, 184–89
cities: military garrisons in, 405–6; MP on, 23, 29, 38, 56n177, 61–62, 399–417, 422. *See also particular cities*
Clemente V, Pope, 31
Clunas, Craig, 5n5
coal, 62, 281, 393
Cogatai, 52n156
coinage: bronze, 89, 91, 92, 94, 96, 102, 163, 190, 209; iron, 89, 90, 91, 101; restrictions on, 91, 101, 190; shortages of, 89, 90, 95, 96. *See also* copper cash
Coja, 11n14, 81
Coloman, 411
Confucianism, 43, 58
Consolat del mar, 267
Conti, Nicolò de, 15n19, 294n55
copper, 243, 244, 247, 303–5, 544
copper cash, 89–90, 170; distribution of, 191–98; exchange rates for, 303; *vs.* paper money, 96, 99, 211, 212, 214; restrictions on, 101; and salt money, 324, 328; shortages of, 95; surviving examples of, 193; in Yunnan, 303–5
cormorant fishing, 43, 47
counterfeiting, 160, 175, 253, 315; of cowry money, 230, 266; MP on, 213, 420; punishments for, 114, 138, 140, 173–74
cowry money, 2, 4, 8, 226, 227–69, 412; distribution of, 254–55, 269; donations in, 258–59; monetary functions of, 260, 269; MP on, 230–34, 267–69, 288, 410, 420; in multiple currency systems, 230; *vs.* paper money, 190, 210, 262, 263, 265, 269; and place names, 399–400; private sector use of, 229, 234, 236, 238, 252, 258–62; public sector use of, 229, 234, 236, 238, 252, 260, 265; in Qing dynasty,

301; regulations on, 250–53, 269; and salt money, 286, 307, 324, 325, 328, 329; surviving examples of, 228, 235, 254–55, 257; taxes paid in, 237, 238, 243, 252, 263, 264–65, 269, 329, 383–84, 542; varieties of, 260–62; in Yunnan, 4, 227–69, 289, 300
cowry shells: characteristics of, 230, 260; illegal, 253, 261, 266, 269; imports of, 234, 239–41, 250–57, 264; size of, 256–57, 261, 262; sources of, 231, 233; types of, 256–57, 261–62
Cremona, Tranquillo, 352
Creußner, Fritz, 34
Critchley, John, 14, 19, 20, 24, 70
Cruz, Gaspar da, 49
Cui Bin, 41–42
culture, Mongol *vs.* Chinese, 13, 43–44; MP on, 43–67
currencies: in complementary currency circuits, 327; equivalences of, 477–90; of Jin dynasty, 90–91; MP on, 57, 419, 420, 422, 425; and multiple currency systems, 230; as theme, 26, 27; Venetian, 471–73; weights of, 475–76; Yuan, xix, 412. *See also* coinage; copper cash; cowry money; gold; paper money; salt money; silver

Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang (State Codex of the Yuan), 367
Da Yuan tongzhi tiaoge (Regulations of the Comprehensive Rules of the Great Yuan), 250–51, 252
Da Yuan yitong zhi (The Great Yuan Comprehensive Geographical Account), 415
d'Abano, Pietro, 50
d'Acqui, Jacopo, xxiii, xxiv, 18, 44, 50
Dadu. *See* Cambaluc
Dali kingdom. *See* Carajan
Daoism, 43, 52n157, 58
Daoyi zhilüe (An Account of Barbarians of the Islands; Wang Dayuan), 28
David, Sir Percival, 291n47
Davies, John F., 344
De consuetudinibus et condicionibus orientalium regionum. *See* Pipino manuscript version
De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione declamatio (A notification of protest . . .; Valla), xvii
de Rachewiltz, Igor, xvii, 45, 74n271, 76, 85, 424n10; on MP's accuracy, 12, 36; on MP's official post, 75, 349n33, 351
Delle navigationi e viaggi. *See* Ramusio printed version
Deluz, Christiane, 411–12, 414
demonetarization, rates of, 215–17
denominations, 157–59; of cowry money, 229, 233, 234, 236, 238–39; in design, 136; MP on, 213, 420; of paper money, 96–98, 100, 102, 103, 107, 109, 110, 114, 121, 129–130, 131, 191; in stele inscriptions, 191–98; of *Zhiyuan chao*, 102, 103, 191; of *Zhongtong chao*, 96–98, 100, 191
devisement du monde, Le (Descriptions of the World; Marco Polo; V 2 (A1)), xxii, xxiii, 205, 493. *See also* French manuscript versions
Deyell, John, 242
Dian culture, 235, 243, 244, 257n67
Diannan yanfa tu (Illustrations of the Salt Production Methods of Yunnan; scroll; Li Bi), 310–14
Dieu, Léon, 293–94
divisament (also *devisement* or *divisement*) *dou monde, Le* (Descriptions of the World; Marco Polo; V 1), xxiv; different titles, 16n21; accuracy of, 36–39, 419–25; additions to and deletions from, 291–95; authorship of, 13, 14–17; exaggerations in, 67–68, 69, 73, 74; historiography on, 8–9; modes of reading, 35–36; nature and style of, 13, 22–36; original text of, 10, 17–18; prologue to, 2–3, 36; readers of, 30–36; versions of, 10–11, 13, 17–22, 30–36, 41, 291–95, 429–38, 491–528. *See also* Franco-Italian manuscript version
Dong Shixuan, 71
Dong Xianqing, 286, 325n130
Du Fu, 47
du Halde, Jean-Baptiste, 124
Duolubudai, 167

Edward I (king of England), 74
Egypt, 31, 45, 171, 268, 462
elephants, 53, 54
Elger, Ralf, 424
Elvin, Mark, 216n222, 243n44
Esen Temür, 52
Ethiopia, salt money in, 286–87, 317–18
Europe, 308; cowries in, 267–68; "Latins" from, 13–14, 67; salt production in,

316n117, 339, 421; silver in, 169, 171. *See also* Venice
Exchange Notes Storehouses (*jiaochao ku*), 143–44, 176, 184
exchange rates: for copper cash, 303; for cowry money, 229, 233, 234, 236–38, 252, 263–64; for gold, 237–38, 243, 249, 252, 264, 290, 295–96, 319, 322, 368, 373–75, 376, 382–84; official *vs.* market, 323, 376, 379, 388; for paper money, 158, 368, 374–75, 382–84; for salt money, 290, 295–96, 317–18, 320–21, 323; and salt revenues, 378–79; for silver, 236–38, 243, 249, 264, 303, 319, 322, 368, 373–75, 384; and tax revenues, 373–76, 387, 388

Falang (Franks), 67
Falco, Nicolaus, 15n19
Fan Chuo, 245, 297, 298, 316, 317; on salt money, 324, 327, 328, 330
Fan Wenhu (Vonsainchin), 52
Fang Guoyu, 10n9, 289, 410; on cowry money, 263–64; on salt money, 288n35, 316, 318, 325, 327, 329, 330
Fang Hui, 250
Faucon, Jean-Claude, 37, 376n31, 423
Faxian, 229
Fernandes, Valentim, 35
Fernandes printed version (V 15), 381, 520–21
Fernández de Santaella, Rodrigo, 34–35, 521. *See also* Santaella versions
Fitch, Ralph, 240–41
Florence, 27, 169
footbinding, 43, 46–47
Forbes, Andrew D. W., 241
Fracastero, Girolamo, 291
Frampton printed version (V 19), 373, 381, 525–26
Franco-Italian manuscript version (V 1), xviii, xxivn7, 7n7, 14, 15, 16n21, 294; on cities, 38, 416; on cowry money, 236n21; on denominations, 157; language of, 38, 41; on languages, 40–41; mercantile themes in, 25–27; on MP's official post, 350, 362; on Nine Kingdoms, 370; *vs.* other versions, 17, 19–20, 21, 22, 33–34, 68n251; on paper money, 98, 106–9, 181, 205, 206, 208, 210, 212, 429–30; on printing, 128; readers of, 30; on salt money, 293; on seals, 145; on tax revenues, 372, 381, 389
Franke, Herbert, 5n5, 39; on inflation, 225; on paper money, 96, 121, 176, 179, 181, 216; on tax revenues, 383; on trade, 161, 166
French manuscript versions, (V 2 (B1), V 3, C3), 17, 19n30, 22, 30-31, 32, 37, 98, 106–9, 125, 128, 145, 157, 181, 205, 206, 208, 236n21, 285n25, 292, 293, 294, 337, 338, 350, 369, 372, 381, 389, 431–33, 493–98
Fujian: archaeological finds in, 123; foreign trade in, 395, 396; MP in, 57, 62, 226; paper money in, 187, 190, 204, 212, 399; porcelain in, 64; sea salt in, 331, 332; sugar in, 65
funerary practices, 60, 411
Fuzhou, 370, 395, 416, 533; Manicheans in, 58n191; paper money in, 204, 211; printing blocks from, 123–24; and trade, 167

gambling, 57
Ganpu, 204, 253, 395, 397, 416
Gansu, 69n253, 77, 79, 411; paper money in, 186, 190, 199, 209
Ganzhou (Canpiciou), 77, 79, 413, 416; paper money in, 199, 210
Gao Yingyan, 48, 49
Garnier, M. Francis, 306
Gastaldi, Giacomo, 291
Gaykhatu, Ilkhan, 85, 113, 114
Genoa, 25, 27, 40, 87, 169; MP in prison in, 16, 18, 19n29, 38, 82, 357; Yilioni family from, 88n317, 351, 353
Genoese versions, 32
German manuscript version (V 12), 33, 34. *See also* Admont manuscript version and *Heydnische Chronik*
German printed version (V 13), 381, 517–18
Ghazan Khan, 11n14, 74, 81, 82, 116, 117, 475
Ghisi codex, 33, 292
Ghisolfi, Buscarello de, 73
Ghisolfi, Corrado de, 73
Ghisolfi, Percivalle de, 73
Glazemaker, Jan Hendrik, 54
Glazemaker printed version (V 20), 381, 526–28
Goez, Bento de, 49
gold: as coins, 169; and cowry money, 233, 237–38, 252, 263, 268–69; as currency, 2, 92, 99, 226, 269, 412; equivalences in, 380–81; exchange of, 4, 107, 108, 252, 290; exchange rates for, 38, 237–38, 243, 249, 252, 264, 290, 295–96, 319, 322, 368, 373–75, 376, 382–84; mining of, 243, 244–45, 246, 247; monetary functions of, 95, 96, 266; MP on, 410, 420; and paper

money, 99, 100, 190, 210; and Persian paper money, 115; and place names, 399; private sector use of, 269; public sector use of, 269; restrictions on, 101, 102, 161–63, 170; and salt money, 295–96, 317–21, 323, 324, 325; *vs.* silver, 169–70; state control of, 160–73, 214, 246; and tax revenues, 376, 377–79, 380–82, 389; taxes paid in, 384, 386, 545; in Yunnan, 2, 38, 243, 244, 264, 269, 289
Gonzalez de Mendoza, Juan, 24n43, 49
Gordon, Withold, 83
government administration, Yuan, 7, 348–64; Chinese sources on, 355, 356, 359; consultative nature of, 390, 425; and cowry money, 262–66; and foreign trade, 395–96, 397, 398; foreigners in, 357–59; geographic divisions of, 399–417; local, 329, 389–91; monopolies of, 271, 318, 319, 392, 395–96, 397, 398, 420, 422, 423; MP as official in, 4, 7, 13n16, 14, 23, 24, 68, 348–364, 350, 362, 389–391, 411, 415, 423–425; MP on, 400, 401–4, 420, 422, 423; officials in, 57, 266; paper money in, 199, 201; and salt money, 295–96, 298, 315, 318, 319, 323, 328–30; and salt tax revenues, 271, 367–68
Grand Canal, 56
Great Wall, 43, 48–50
Greek language, 41
Grynäus, Simon, 34, 524
Grynäus printed version (V 5), 381, 501–3
Guangdong, 298, 405; foreign trade in, 253, 397, 398; paper money in, 124, 189, 190, 534; sea salt in, 331, 332
Guanghai, 331, 332
Guangxi prefecture (Yunnan), 301, 303, 304, 325
Guangxi province, 242, 298; and cowry money, 253, 254; paper money in, 187, 188, 189, 190
guest prostitution, 60
Guizhou, 190; copper mining in, 303–5; and cowry money, 232, 253; salt money in, 324, 325, 327

Haeger, John W., 5n5, 414
Haenisch, Erich, 2n2
Hafiz-i Abru, 467–68
Han dynasty, 244–45, 296
Hangzhou (Kinsay) region, 61, 412, 413, 416; foreign trade in, 395, 397; military in, 405; Mongol raid on, 171; MP in, 61, 69, 361–62; MP on, 406–7, 422, 423; paper money in, 203; revenues from, xxiv, 7, 365–98. *See also* Liangzhe (Hangzhou) salt zone
Hanshu [History] Records of the [Western] Han [Dynasty], 244
Hao Bin, 367
Hao Jing, 406n36
Harrison, Tom, 287
Haw, Stephen G., 289, 421; on MP, 41, 65n237, 77, 87, 351, 419, 420; on salt production, 338
Hayton (Hetum) of Armenia, 15n19, 31, 110, 111, 267, 447
He Zhenru, 314
Hedin, Sven, 306
Hedong salt lake, 279, 332
Heers, Jacques, 24
Hejian salt zone, 331, 332, 400
Helin, 122, 188, 403
Henan, 369, 404; paper money in, 185, 186, 189, 202–3, 209, 393
Herriott, James Homer, 292, 292n47
Heydnische Chronik (Steidl; V 12), 33, 515. *See also* Admont manuscript version *and Heydnische Chronik* German printed version (V 13), 381, 517–18
Ho-boung Village saltworks (Yunnan), 285, 312
Ho Hon-wai, 326n135
Hogendorn, Jan, 230, 257, 267
horses, 170, 241–42, 299; and cowry money, 252, 264, 265
Hosie, Alexander, 296
Hou Hanshu ([History] Records of the Later Han [Dynasty]), 245n48
Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, 405
Hu Diyu, 214
Hu Sihui, 45–46
Huai salt region (Jiangsu), 331, 337, 339–48
Huai'an, 202, 339, 400
Huaidong Circuit, 345, 347, 353, 355–56, 364
Huainan, 91, 370, 371–72, 400, 401
Huang Jin, 48–49
Huang Peilin, 276
Huang Shijian, 45, 48, 49
Huayang guozhi (Record of the Country South of Mount Hua; Chang Qu), 245n48
Hucker, Charles O., 180, 402
Hügächi, 52
Huimin (Chinese Muslims), 241, 251. *See also* Muslims

huizi (account notes), 91, 93, 101, 196, 216, 223
Hülegü, Ilkhan, 72, 113
Hüllmann, Karl Dietrich, 5n5
hunting, 53
Husihui, 65–66

Ibn Battuta, 44, 45, 47, 50, 268, 424, 462–63; on cities, 417; on paper money, 110, 111, 112, 129, 176
Ibn Fadlallah Al-'Umari, 110, 127, 424, 458–59
Ichimaru Tomoko, 191
Idrisi, 268
Ilioni (Yilioni) family, 351, 353
Imperial Belt Treasury (*yudai ku*), 53
"In Return for Dispersing his Wealth, Heaven Bequeaths an Heir in Old Age" (*San jiacai tian ci laosheng er*; play; Wu Hanchen), 127
India, 167, 241, 393; cowries from, 268; and cowry money, 229, 233, 239; missions to, 71–72, 82; MP's missions to, 69, 74; paper money in, 115n45; and silver, 169, 171. *See also* Bengal
indigenous peoples, 282, 305; and salt money, 297–98, 300, 301, 306, 315, 326–27
inflation, 223–25, 388; MP on, 215; and paper money, 91, 100, 101, 104, 179, 215, 376; and Persian paper money, 115; and salt money, 308–9
iron coins, 89, 90, 91, 101
Islam, 52n157, 58, 411, 417. *See also* Muslims
Islamic countries, 169–70
Isolo, 74
Iwamura Shinobu, 121n56

Jackson, Peter, 19n30, 21, 73
Jacoby, David, 19n29, 75
Jahn, Karl, 113
Jami' al-tavarikh (Collected Chronicles; Rashid al-Din), 415
Jandesek, Reinhold, 24n43, 29n58, 294n55
Japan, 51
Java, 66, 260
Jesuits, 75
Jiangling (Chinangli; Ji'nanlu), 407–8
Jiangnan, 55, 65, 369–72, 404, 407; cowry money in, 251, 252, 253, 261, 264; Mongol conquest of, 100, 101; paper money in, 123, 190, 191, 192, 193, 195, 211; silver in, 193, 196, 197
Jiangsu. *See* Huai salt region
Jiangzhe, 369, 404, 406; military in, 55; MP in, 349; paper money in, 185, 186, 189, 195, 203–4, 209; revenues from, 384–88, 393
jiaochao (exchange notes), 93
jiaozi 交子 ("exchangelings"), 90
Jin dynasty (Jurchen): administrative divisions of, 401, 403; and currency, 90–91; paper money in, 89, 91, 93, 95, 128, 129, 131, 134, 138, 145; and silver, 171
Jin Shiyang, 303, 304
Ji'nan, 201, 408, 410, 422
Johnson, Marion, 230, 257, 267
Judaism, 58
Julian, Friar, 73n266
Jurchen people, 41, 46, 90–91

Kaidu, 14n17, 51, 122
Kaiping (Shangdu), 53, 142, 199, 416
Kaplan, Edward H., 215n220
Karakorum, 5n5, 38, 412, 413
keshigten (Khan's bodyguard), 55, 56, 77
Khalkha Dijirom, 56
Khita'i, 'Ali Akbar, 469
Khitan people, 41, 46, 89
Khubilai Khan, xxiv, 46, 84, 115, 166; and Boluo, 78–79; Chinese of, 42; missions of, 74, 80–81; monetary policy of, 92, 94, 95–96; and MP, 52, 69, 70, 71, 118
Khutulun, 14n17, 51
Kinsay. *See* Hangzhou
Kökechin, Princess, 11n14, 72, 80–83, 87, 116
Korea, 171, 403
Kozlov, P. K., 121, 136
Kunming (Yachi, Yunnanfu), 200, 237, 243, 264, 266, 269, 411, 416
Kuroda Akinobu, 159, 168, 169n158, 171, 242

Langjing saltworks (Yunnan), 283
Laos, 232, 239, 241, 268
Larner, John, 17, 18, 23, 29, 44, 67, 88, 183, 414
Latin language, 44, 45
Latin versions, 31–32, 33, 34, 293, 381, 498–505. *See also* Grynäus printed version; Pipino manuscript version; Z manuscript of Toledo
"Latins," 13–14, 67
Lattini, Brunetto, 30
Laufer, Berthold, 124
lead mining, 305
legal system, 56–57; and counterfeiting, 114, 138, 140, 173–74; and paper money, 161–65

Leslie, Donald Daniel, 417
Li Bi, 309–10
Li Jiarui, 243, 259
Li Jing, 299
Li Tan, revolt of, 51, 69, 96, 408
Li Xun, 260
Li Yiyou, 126
Li Yuandao, 237
Li Zefen, 371
Liang Rui, 241
Lianghuai salt zone, 6, 331, 332, 337, 339–48, 370, 378; MP on, 364, 400
Liangzhe (Hangzhou) salt zone, 331, 332, 407; MP on, 400; revenues from, 371–72, 376–78, 384, 385
Liao kingdom, 89
Lijiang Prefecture (Yunnan), 248, 274, 275, 305–6
Lin Chaomin, 289, 329, 410
Lin'an prefecture, 247, 252, 253, 254, 269, 301, 303
Linschoten, Jan Huyghen van, 24n43
liquor, 392, 393, 543
Liu Bingzhong, 94
Liu Su, 94
Liu Zheng, 263
Lopez, Robert Sabatino, 353
Loredan, Giovanni, 87
Lu Shirong, 162, 395, 396
Lucalongo, Pietro de, 73
Lunheng (Discourses Weighed in the Balance; Wang Chong), 244–45
luxury goods: appraisal of, 107, 167–68, 172, 214; exchange of, 4, 107, 108, 166–68, 171–72; MP on, 420; state monopoly of, 160–73, 214; taxes on, 395

Maeda Naonori, 10n9, 121; on inflation, 223, 225; on monetary institutions, 185–89; on paper money, 131, 133, 198–99, 205, 209, 210, 211; on silver, 165
Magalhães, Gabriel de, 106n36
Maldive Islands, 256, 257, 262, 268
Manchus, 46. *See also* Qing dynasty
Mandeville, Jehan de, 23, 24n43, 34, 110, 464–66
Manggala, Prince, 52
Manshu (*Yunnan zhi*; Book of the Southern Barbarians; A Record of Yunnan; Fan Chuo), 245, 273
Mansizabal, 287
Manzi (Southern China), 44, 56; administrative divisions of, 405; Mongol conquest of, 223, 225, 392, 395; Nine Kingdoms of, 369–70, 400, 406–7; paper money in, 170, 200, 212; revenues from, 380, 384, 389; salt in, 371–72
Mar Sarghis (Ma Xueliujisi; Dominus Sergius), 58, 357–58, 359, 362–63, 390
Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World (Larner), 17
Marco Polo Bridge (Pulisanghin), 38
Marco Polo conference (Tianjin, 2000), 9
Marco Polo's Book (Critchley), 19
Marignolli, Giovanni de, 24n43, 50, 73, 75
marriage customs, 59
Martaban, 232, 268
Martini, Martino, 49
marvel stories, 23, 29, 35
Mas'udi, al-, 268
McCartney, George, 50
Meliadus (Rustichello da Pisa), 14
Ménard, Philippe, 20, 21, 32, 33, 40n94, 41, 82; on manuscript versions, 292, 294, 295
merchant guidebooks, 22–28, 36, 415–16, 425
merchants, 31, 55, 73, 87; associations of (*ortogh*), 75–76, 94, 95, 100, 170, 396; and bills of exchange, 90; and cities, 412; and exchange of goods for paper money, 4, 107, 108, 161, 165, 166–68, 171–72, 214–15; foreign, 161, 172–73; MP on, 214–15; and paper money, 94, 95, 100, 107, 108, 111, 112, 114; and taxes, 391, 394; Uighur, 94, 100, 170
Mézières, Philippe de, 466–67
Mieqie Anshan, 167
military, Mongol, 55–56; in cities, 405–6; costs of, 90–91, 94, 100, 109, 112, 122, 181; and missions, 77; MP on, 51, 422; and paper money, 94, 100, 109, 112, 122; and silver, 171, 193
Ming dynasty: cowry money in, 238, 257, 258, 265; and Great Wall, 48, 49; and manuscript versions, 293; paper money in, 109, 125, 128, 129, 132, 134, 145, 157; salt money in, 299–301, 330; salt production in, 278, 279, 280, 341, 344
Mingshi (History of the Ming), 125n69, 127
Minhaj As-Siraj, 268
Mishu jianzhi (Revised Record of Secret Books; Wang Shidian, Shang Zhiweng), 127
miskal, 237, 368, 375, 382, 387; weight of, 475–76
monetary institutions, 9, 141–44; centralisation of, 124, 143; MP on, 213;

and paper money, 120, 121–24; reforms of, 102, 161, 163, 164, 168, 173, 184, 223, 225, 376, 378; regional, 96, 101, 122–23, 124, 130, 137, 141, 183, 209; and seals, 152, 157; spatial distribution of, 184–212, 226
monetary substitutes, 6, 190, 210, 212, 226, 288, 308
Monfrin, Jacques, 14n17, 19n29
Möngke, 94
Mongol Oirat Code, 56
Mongolian language, 40–42, 74
Mongols: and Chinese culture, 13, 42, 43–67; conflicts among, 53; conquest of Southern China by, 51, 91, 100–101, 122, 169, 223, 225, 235, 244, 258, 328–29, 392, 395; distrust of Chinese by, 55; and footbinding, 46; and Islam, 411; MP on, 18, 19, 43–67; in Persia, 113; religion of, 59; and tea, 45–46. *See also* military, Mongol; Yuan dynasty
monsoons, 66, 82
Montecorvino, Giovanni da, 31, 42, 44, 73, 75
Moule, Arthur Christopher, 369
Mukhali (general), 78–79, 361
Münkler, Marina, 16n22
Münküyev, N. Ts., 85
musk trade, 75, 76n276, 86, 170, 242, 290; and salt money, 296, 317
Muslims, 20, 46, 53, 55n173, 69, 166, 167n153, 241, 251, 359, 417

Nangiadai, 52
Nanzhao Kingdom, 243, 244, 245, 258; horses of, 241–42; salt in, 273, 274, 296, 298, 330
Nasr al-Din, 37n85, 52
Natigai, 59
Nayan, 37n85, 51, 85, 360
Nestorianism, 58, 353, 357–58, 411
New Guinea, 288, 316n117, 324
Ningxia, 63, 79, 360; paper money in, 96, 137, 146n120, 199, 209n206, 210, 529
Nokhai, Prince, 19
Nongsang jiyao (Fundamentals of Agriculture and Sericulture), 65
Northern Song dynasty, 89, 90

Öchicher, 70
Odorico da Pordenone, 15n19, 24n43, 44–47, 75, 447–56; on footbinding, 46, 47; and Great Wall, 50; on paper money, 110, 111, 127; on salt, 364, 378–79, 423; on Yangzhou, 353, 364
Ögödei Khan, 172
Oliverio, Jacopo de, 353
Olschki, Leonardo, 25, 411
Öngüt, 51
Orissa, 232, 266, 268
Otagi Matsuo, 79
Ottimo manuscript version (V 8), 29n56, 29n58, 32n70, 507. *See also* Tuscan manuscript versions
Oulatay, 81

Palladius (Pjotr Iwanowitsch Kafarow), 1n2
Pang Wenxiu, 128, 133
Panlongan zhuren sheshi changzhu ji (Record of the People's Charity Contributions for Resident Priests of the Panlong Temple), 259
Pantoja, Diego de, 24n43
paper money, xxi, 2, 8, 89–226; administration of, 120, 121–24; as alchemy, 106, 112, 214, 436; amount in circulation, 215–23; chronology of, 93–104; circulation of, 159–212, 399; colours of, 107, 111, 121, 126, 127–28, 213; convertability of, 163–64, 165; *vs.* cowry money, 190, 210, 262, 263, 265, 269; denominations of, 96–98, 100, 102, 103, 107, 109, 110, 114, 121, 129–30, 131, 191; depreciation of, 163, 164, 171, 215, 225, 226, 319, 322, 323, 377, 384; designs on, 131–34; destruction of used, 176–77; distribution of, 95, 121–22, 182, 183–212, 214; donations in, 266; equivalences of, 99, 100, 158–59; exchange of luxury goods for, 4, 107, 108, 161–62, 165, 166–168, 171–172, 214–215; exchange of used, 160, 168, 174–79, 185, 213, 215, 216, 424; exchange rates for, 158, 368, 374–75, 382–84; falsification of, 173–74; and gold, 99, 100, 190, 210; and inflation, 91, 100, 101, 104, 115, 179, 215, 225, 308, 376; languages on, 103, 105, 116, 117, 134, 135, 150, 151, 152, 156; and legal system, 161–65; legends on, 131–40; military use of, 94, 100, 109, 112, 122; MP on, 106–9, 119, 213, 343, 399, 412, 420, 429–38; and MP's official post, 363, 364; official use of, 94–95, 100, 181, 199, 201, 213, 266, 329; periodisation of, 145–46, 152, 191–98; in Persia, 113–18, 160, 174, 226; printing of, 45, 114, 116, 121, 123–24, 128–29; in private transactions, 181–83, 213; production of, 106, 114, 120–59, 215; raw materials for,

64n237, 107, 110, 114, 116, 121, 124–28, 213; and salt money, 190, 210, 295, 324; *vs.* salt money, 190, 210, 226; and salt revenues, 271, 367–68; seals on, 97, 103, 105, 107, 109, 110, 111, 114, 116, 121, 127, 128–29, 137, 144, 145–57; serial numbers on, 135, 145; in Sichuan, 200, 210, 399; and silver, 92, 99, 100, 115, 158–59, 190, 211, 242; sizes of, 129–31, 213; Song, 89, 101, 122, 126, 128, 190, 209, 220, 223; sources on, 109–13, 118, 119, 120–212, 399, 439–70; in Southern China, 101, 170, 200, 212, 220, 223; surviving examples of, 4, 9, 97, 103–5, 121–38, 146–57, 158, 213, 529–41; and tax revenues, 96, 101, 179–81, 183, 377–82, 384, 386, 387, 393; in Yunnan, 200–201, 210, 266, 289, 399
pasta, 65
Pauthier, Guillaume, 115, 340, 349, 350, 376n31, 469, 496; on tax revenues, 365, 367, 368
Pegolotti, Francesco di Balduccio, 22, 24, 26–27, 28, 171, 459–62; on paper money, 110, 111, 112, 159
Pegu, 229, 232, 268
Pelliot, Paul, 234, 349
Peng Hai, 13n16, 68n251, 69n253, 71, 77–80, 400n4; on MP, 289–90, 424; on MP's official post, 353–54, 357, 360–62
Peng Xinwei, 215–20
People's Republic of China (PRC), 307–8
Persia: MP in, 19, 69, 74; paper money in, 113–18, 160, 174, 226
Persian language, 44; place names in, 13, 39–42
Persian sources: on cities, 415–17; on denominations, 159; on monetary institutions, 124; *vs.* MP, 213, 399, 410, 411, 420, 424; and MP's official post, 364; on paper money, 109–13, 119; on Polos, 82; on salt money, 293; on salt production, 333, 340
Petech, Luciano, xxii
Phags-pa script, 41, 137; on paper money, 103, 105, 134, 135, 150, 151, 152, 156; on seals, 157, 177
Philip IV (king of France), 117
Philippines, 256, 257
Pipino, Francesco, 31–32, 34, 50
Pipino manuscript version (V 4), 17, 18, 20, 21, 31–32, 294, 498–501; Arabic/Persian words in, 41; on counterfeiting, 173, 174; on paper money, 106–9, 181, 205, 206, 433–34; on printing, 128; on salt money, 293; on seals, 145; on tax revenues, 372, 381
place names, 36–37, 38, 399; Persian, 13, 39–42
Pliny the Elder, 286n27
Polo, Maffeo (uncle), xxiv, 12, 50; missions of, 14, 72, 76; and tablets of authority, 84, 85; at Xiangyang siege, 13n16, 67, 68n251
Polo, Marco (MP): biases of, 45, 66; death of, 44, 50; exaggerations by, 67–68, 69, 73, 74; itinerary of, 13, 36–37; language abilities of, 40–41, 70; as merchant, 16n22, 24–28, 36, 423; missions of, 69–75, 84–85; nickname of, xxiii, 7; notes of, 38; official posts of, 4, 7, 13n16, 14, 23, 24, 68, 75, 348–64, 389–91, 411, 415, 423–25; possessions of, 85–86; as prisoner, 16, 17, 18, 19, 38, 82, 357; return of, 14, 80–84, 116; wealth of, xxiv, 76; wife of, 87. See also *divisament dou monde, Le*
Polo, Marco (uncle; *lo grando*: of Soldachia), xxiii
Polo, Nicolò (father), xxiii, xxiv, 12, 38; as first "Latin," 67; missions of, 14, 72, 76; and tablets of authority, 84; at Xiangyang siege, 13n16, 67, 68n251
porcelain, 64, 207; and cowry money, 234, 267
porcellani (little pigs; cowries), 268
Portuguese printed version (V 15), 381, 520–21
postal service, Mongol, 57, 76, 85, 361, 362
Pozza, Marco, xxiii
Pratica della Mercatura (Pegolotti), 22, 459–62. *See also* Pegolotti, Francesco di Balduccio
prices, 96, 184; and paper money, 182, 375–76; of salt, 318–23, 376
printing, 43, 126; with moveable type, 136, 145; MP on, 420; of paper money, 45, 114, 116, 121, 123–24, 128–29

Qiandao huiyao (State Regulations of the Qiandao Period), 345
Qianziwen (One Thousand Character Primer), 135
Qielie (Qielai), 251
Qin Shihuang, 48
Qing dynasty: salt money in, 301–6; salt production in, 276, 278, 341, 344
Qingyuan, 253, 395, 396, 397, 398
Qiu Chuji, 48

Quanzhou (Zayton), 28n54, 73, 207; foreign trade in, 64n236, 167, 253, 394–98; MP on, 7, 62n223, 416; MP's return from, 69, 82, 360, 414; Muslims in, 424n110; paper money in, 204, 211

Rada, Martín de, 46, 49
Ramusio, Giovanni Battista, xxiv, 21, 22, 32, 33, 38, 51, 291; on tax revenues, 371; on tea, 46
Ramusio printed version (V 11), 17, 68n251, 381, 513–15; authenticity of, 294; on counterfeiting, 173, 174; on distribution of paper money, 205, 206, 208; on missions, 81n208; on MP's official post, 350, 363; on Nine Kingdoms, 369; on paper money, 106–9, 129, 144, 181, 434–36; on printing, 128; on salt, 296; on salt money, 291–95, 318, 326, 328; on seals, 145, 152, 157; on tax revenues, 372
Rashid al-Din, 74, 87, 349, 475; on cities, 414n163, 415, 417; on Kökechin mission, 11n14, 81; on paper money, 113, 116, 214n215, 445–46
Reichert, Folker, 15n19, 35, 112
religion: and currencies, 258–59, 266; and geography, 411, 412; and Khubilai Khan, 52; and missions, 72, 76; MP on, 57–59, 422. *See also* Catholic church; Christianity; Islam; Nestorianism
Renzong, Emperor, 102
Republican period (China), 307
rhubarb, 64n237
Riccardus, Friar, 73n266
Ricci, Matteo, 24n43, 49
Richthofen, Ferdinand von, 306
Rome, ancient, 286
Rossabi, Morris, 69
Rubroek, Willem van, 22, 29, 50, 52n157, 73n266, 87, 411; on Chinese script, 44–45; on paper money, 111, 112, 128, 129, 439
Rustichello da Pisa (Rusticiaus de Pise), 14–19, 26, 30, 31, 33n70, 38; exaggerations by, 39, 67, 68, 74, 351, 409
Ryukyu Islands, 256, 257

Sadr al-Din, 113, 115
Saianfu (Xiangyangfu), 203, 409
Saiyid Ajall Shams al-Din 'Umar [al-Bukhari], 251, 262–63, 329
salamander (asbestos), 8n8, 62–63
salt, 271–348; in barter trade, 308; dry-boiled, 311–12; earth, 334, 335–38, 420; forms of, 309–15; government monopoly of, 271, 366–79; hand-moulded, 312–14; lake, 332, 338, 339; MP on, 271–72, 364, 400, 410, 419, 420–22, 425, 491–528; prices of, 318–23, 376; sea, 279, 319, 331, 332, 334, 339, 344, 420, 422; tax revenues from, 280, 366–79, 400, 543; taxes on, 180, 181, 271, 272, 276, 319, 343, 344, 361; trade in, 241, 242, 271, 272
salt administration, 9; in Lianghuai region, 339–48; and local government, 390; and MP, 349, 362, 364, 422–23; in Yunnan, 273
salt money, 2, 5–6, 8, 412; ambiguous nature of, 317, 326, 327; in Caindu, 210, 290–91, 295, 296, 299, 322–24, 328; Chinese sources on, 295, 297–309, 315–30, 400; and cowry money, 260, 286, 307, 324, 325, 328, 329; in Ethiopia, 286–87, 317–18; exchange rates for, 290, 295–96, 317–18, 320–21, 323; government control of, 271, 295–96, 298, 315, 318, 319, 323, 328–30; and indigenous peoples, 297–98, 300, 301, 306, 315, 326–27; monetary functions of, 324–28, 329; MP on, 268, 271, 285–97, 315–30, 410, 420, 491–528; *vs.* paper money, 190, 210, 226, 295, 324; and place names, 399; in PRC, 307–8; in pre-Columbian America, 287–88; private sector use of, 315, 323, 325–26, 330; public sector use of, 329; and salt forms, 314–15; surviving examples of, 287; in *Tebet*, 210, 272, 282, 290–91, 295, 317, 318, 324, 327, 331; weight of, 295, 315–17; in Yunnan, 6, 272, 282, 289, 322, 331
salt production, xix, 5, 8, 57, 296–97; in Changlu region, 6, 201, 331, 332–39, 420; in Europe, 316n117, 339, 421; in Lianghuai region, 339–48; maritime, 319; in Ming dynasty, 278, 279, 280, 341, 344; and place names, 399; in Qing dynasty, 276, 278, 341, 344; quotas for, 320–21; revenues from, 7, 271–72, 280, 386; and salt money, 301, 303, 305–6, 309, 317; in Sichuan, 271, 272, 273, 280–81, 297, 332; from wells, 420–22; in Yunnan, 271, 272–85, 297, 309–15
Saman, 78, 361
Samarqandi, 'Abd ar-Razzaq as-, 468–69
Santa Maria della Misericordia confraternity, xxiii
Santaella versions: (V 16), 293, 372, 381, 521–22; (V 17), 523–24

Sanyang tuzhi (Chaozhou gazetteer), 405
Sarezana, Ventura de, 73
Savignone, Andalo da, 73
Schurmann, Herbert Franz, 180, 383, 396
Schütte, Hans-Wilm, 39, 43, 128, 350–51
Science and Civilization in China (Needham), 281
seals: for counterfeiting, 175; and destruction of notes, 176, 177; languages on, 157, 177; on letters, 117; MP on, 145, 152, 157, 213; on paper money, 97, 103, 105, 107, 109–11, 114, 116, 121, 127–29, 137, 144, 145–57; on used notes, 178
Sédillot, René, 327
Segre, Cesare, 15, 16
Sessa printed version (V 10), 17, 22, 295, 372, 381, 512–13
Sévérac, Jordan Catala de, 457–58
sexuality, 20, 59, 60
Shaanxi: Branch Secretariat of, 185, 189, 190, 200, 209, 403; paper money in, 105, 123, 126, 136, 185, 186, 216, 532
shamans, 60
Shan states, 242
Shandong: military in, 405; paper money in, 93, 164, 175, 534; sea salt in, 271, 331, 332
Shang dynasty, 235
Shang Ting, 94
Shang Zhiweng, 127
Shangdu. *See* Kaiping
Shanghai: currencies in, 483, 484, 531; foreign trade in, 253, 395, 397
Shazhou, 199, 411, 416
Shen Gua, 47
Shi Jianjun, 290
Shi Weimin, 383
Shu Kingdom, 296
Siam, 241; and cowry money, 229, 231, 232, 239, 253, 261, 268
Sichuan, 329, 404; currencies in, 2, 89, 90, 200, 210, 253, 324, 399; and Nine Kingdoms, 369, 370; salt production in, 271, 272, 273, 280–81, 297, 332, 421–22. *See also* Caindu; Chengdu; Tebet
silk: as currency, 95, 96, 258; and paper money, 93, 126; production of, 407; taxes paid in, 180, 383–84, 393, 542; trade in, 170, 241, 242, 351
silver, 2, 4; in Central Asia, 169, 171; and cowry money, 233, 236–38, 268–69; currencies based on, 96, 98, 102, 158, 216, 218–23; as currency, 92, 94, 95, 226, 269, 412; denominations of, 239; distribution of, 191–98; donations in, 266; in Europe, 169, 171; exchange of, 107, 108, 165; exchange rates for, 236–38, 243, 249, 264, 303, 319, 322, 368, 373–75, 384; government monopoly of, 160–73, 214; importance of, 168–71; mining of, 243, 246, 247, 248; MP on, 243, 248, 410, 420; and paper money, 92, 99, 100, 115, 158–59, 190, 211, 242; and place names, 399; private sector use of, 161–63, 170, 242, 269; public sector use of, 266, 269; reserves of, 92, 93, 94, 96, 102; restrictions on, 101, 102, 161–63, 170; and salt money, 287, 304, 305, 306, 317–18, 319, 320–21, 324, 325, 330; surviving examples of, 9; taxes paid in, 280, 383–84, 386, 392, 545; in Yunnan, 244, 249–50, 269, 289
Silvestri, Domenico, 50
Simon of Saint-Quentin, 73n266
slavery, 86
Smith, John Masson, 475
Sögätü, 52
Solagna, Guglielmo di, 15n19
Soltania, Archbishop of, 110, 111, 159, 174, 215, 456–57
Song dynasty: administrative divisions of, 401, 403, 407; and cities, 413–14; demonetarization in, 217, 220; paper money in, 89, 126, 128, 190, 209, 216; salt production in, 334, 341, 422. *See also* Northern Song dynasty; Southern Song dynasty
Song Yingxing, 337
Sorg, Anton, 34
Southeast Asia: cowry money in, 4, 227–69; missions to, 69, 71, 74. *See also particular countries and regions*
Southern China. *See* Manzi
Southern Song dynasty: administrative divisions of, 400, 404, 405; currencies of, 90, 91, 101, 171, 196, 212, 220, 223; Mongol conquest of, 100–101, 122, 169; and Nanzhao horses, 242; Nine Kingdoms of, 369–71; salt administration in, 340
Southwest Silk Road (Cowry Currency Road), 239–40, 250, 253, 256, 257, 326
Spanish versions, 34–35; printed (V 18), 524–25
Sri Lanka (Ceylon), 71, 82, 167, 170, 268
Stabilisation Storehouses (*pingzhun ku*), 184–89, 205, 209–11
Stange, Hans O. H., 5n5
stele inscriptions, 191–98

Streicher, Fr., 5n5
Su Song, 335, 336n10
sugar, 65–66
Sulu Islands, 257
Sumatra, 66, 257
Suwar al-aqalim (Configuration of Climes; Rashid al-Din), 415
Suzhou, 41n97, 64n237, 407, 410, 416, 422; paper money in, 189, 199, 203
Swiss National Bank, 217, 222
Sylhet (Bengal), 242
Szcześniak, Boleslaw, xxiii

Tabakat-i-Nasiri, 268
tablets of authority (*paizi*), 14, 76, 84–88, 361
Tadinfu (Dongpinglu), 201, 407–9, 410
Tagir, Sulaiman al-, 268
Taipingjisi, 358
Taiyuan, 200, 251, 336, 413, 416
Taizhou, 202, 400; and MP's official post, 364; salt production in, 337, 339, 341, 345, 346, 347
Tang dynasty, 242, 244, 257; salt in, 274, 276, 296
Tang Shenwei, 335–36, 339
Tangut language, 45
Tangut Xixia kingdom, 89
tax revenues, 542–46; from Hangzhou region, xxiv, 7, 365–98; MP on, 368–69, 379–81, 384–85, 387–91, 419, 422–23, 425; and paper money, 96, 101, 179–181, 183, 377–382, 384, 386, 387, 393; and place names, 399; from salt, 280, 366–79, 400, 543; total, 379–91
taxes, 6, 7; and bills of exchange, 90; commercial, 391–93, 394, 543–44; in cowry money, 237, 238, 243, 252, 263, 264–65, 269, 329, 383–84, 542; on foreign trade, 394–98; in gold, 384, 386, 545; in kind, 383–85, 386; on mining, 246; and MP's official post, 364; and paper money, 96, 101, 115, 179–81, 183; relief from, 57; on salt, 180, 181, 271, 272, 276, 319, 343, 344, 361; and salt money, 287, 315; in silk, 180, 383–84, 393, 542; in silver, 95, 280, 383–84, 386, 392, 545; on tea, 46, 180, 181, 543; of Yunnan salt, 279–80
tea, 90, 241; drinking of, 43, 45–46; taxes on, 46, 180, 181, 543
Tebet (western Sichuan), 6; MP on, 74, 295, 420; paper money in, 210, 399; salt money in, 272, 282, 290–91, 295, 317, 318, 324, 327, 331; salt prices in, 323
textiles: as currency, 95, 298; MP on, 53, 63–64; and paper money, 107, 168; taxes paid in, 180, 383–84, 543; trade in, 167, 299, 308. *See also* silk
Thailand. *See* Siam
Theodolus, 73–74
Tiangong kaiwu (Heaven, Work and the Inception of Things; Song Yingxing), 337
Tibetan language, 45
Tibetans, 296. See also *Tebet*
tin mining, 247
Toaldo, Giuseppe, 292
Toghril, 51
Toghun Temür (Shundi emperor), 73
Tongking (Jiaozhou), 240, 253, 260
tongxing jiaochao (exchange notes to be circulated), 96
Tongzhou: and MP's official post, 361, 364; paper money in, 202; salt in, 337, 339, 341, 345–47, 400
trade: barter, 302, 308; horses, 252, 264, 265, 299; in local *vs.* foreign goods, 395; musk, 75, 76n276, 86, 170, 242, 290, 296, 317; prohibitions on, 161–63, 170; salt, 241, 242, 271, 272; salt money in, 296, 317, 325–26; silk, 170, 241, 242, 351; and silver, 161–63, 170, 242, 269; tea, 90, 241; in textiles, 167, 299, 308; with water buffaloes, 299
trade, foreign: and currency, 89; government monopoly on, 395–96, 397, 398; with India, 241; MP on, 394, 398; protection of, 172–73; taxes on, 394–98. *See also* luxury goods
Trauzettel, Rolf, 5n5
Trebizond, 249
tribute payments, 180n182, 241, 326; in cowry money, 263, 265, 269
Trigault, Nicolas, 24n43
Tu Ji, 78n283
Tucci, Ugo, 24, 25, 27, 43
Túghlák, Mahomed, 115n45, 226
Turkic languages, 40–42, 44
Tuscan manuscript versions (V 8), 15, 32–34, 41, 293, 295, 372, 381, 507–10

Uematsu Tadashi, 401
Uighur language, 41, 42, 45
Uighur people, 60, 359; as merchants, 94, 100, 170

umbrellas, 55
Uzzano, 27

Valla, Lorenzo, xvii, xix
Velho, Bartholemeu, 49
Velser, Michael, 34
Venetian language, 38n87
Venetian versions: (V 7), 18n27, 20, 21, 32, 33, 34, 41, 293, 295, 372, 381, 505–7; (V 9), 510–11
Venice, 31, 267–68, 272
Vicentini, Enrico Abramo, 35
Vietnam, 69, 74, 232
Vilione, Antonio, 353
Vilione, Domenico, 88, 351, 353
Vilione, Katarina, 351
von Glahn, Richard, 128, 136n99, 163, 164, 260, 329, 410
von Tscharner, Horst, 33

Wang Chong, 244–45
Wang Dayuan, 28
Wang Sheng, 264, 269
Wang Shidian, 127
Wang Wentong, 94
Wang Yun, 48
Wang Zhu, 52
Wassaf, 174, 377–78, 379, 423, 439–45
water buffaloes, 280, 288, 297, 299
Watson, Andrew M., 169
Wehr, Barbara, 17, 19, 21, 294
weights and measures, 9, 27; of currencies, 236–37, 295, 315–17, 475–76; Venetian, 474. See also *miskal*
Western sources: on denominations, 159; on monetary institutions, 124; *vs.* MP, 213, 399, 410, 420, 424; and MP's official post, 364; on paper money, 119; on salt money, 293
women, 46–47, 87
Woni (Hani) barbarians, 259, 269
Wood, Frances, 5, 12, 17, 20–22, 43, 48; on cities, 415; on cowries, 267; on manuscript versions, 291–92, 293, 295n58; on MP's official post, 349; on salt, 271, 273, 280; on tablets, 85
Wu Hanchen, 127
Wu Jie, 216
Wu Qi, 215–17, 220–23

Xiangwei, 78, 361–62
Xiangyang, 416; MP on, 422; siege of, 4, 5n5, 13n16, 14, 67–68, 409
Xiasha saltworks, 334, 335, 336
Xiezhou salt lake, 338, 339, 421
Xin Tangshu (New History of the Tang), 258
Xixia Kingdom, 69n253, 89
Xu Xiake, 304
Xuzhou, 63, 201, 422n5

Yachi. *See* Kunming
Yajima Hikoichi, 171n165
Yan Xinzhai, 175
Yang Lianzhenjia, 166
Yang Lien-sheng, 225
Yang Zhijiu, 10n9, 12n16, 45, 66, 81, 359
Yangzhou, 370, 407, 410, 416, 422; administrative structure of, 348–64; arms industry in, 351, 361; Italian gravestones in, 87, 351, 353; military in, 405; MP as official in, 4, 7, 13n16, 14, 68, 348–64, 389–91; MP on, 400, 422; MP's missions to, 69; and salt, 341, 342, 346–47, 348, 378, 379, 447
Yangzijiang (Yangzi River), 37n85, 341, 343, 403–4
Yanjing (Zhongdu), 121, 142, 184
Yanyuan saltworks (Sichuan), 296–97
Ye Ziqi, 401, 405
Yelü Chucai, 93, 391
Yemen, 250
Yinshan zhengyao (Proper and Essential Things for the Emperor's Food and Drink; Hu Sihui), 45–46, 66
Yizheng, 343–44, 364
Yokkaichi Yasuhiro, 170
Yongchang. *See* Zardandan
Yongle dadian (Great Encyclopedia of the Yongle Reign-period), 80–81
Yu Ji, 71
Yu Xilu, 357–58
Yuan dynasty: administrative structure of, 348–64, 369–71, 399–417; monetary policy of, 91–92, 94, 95–96, 101; multiethnic policy of, 40. *See also* government administration, Yuan; Mongols
Yuan yitong zhi (Comprehensive Account of Administrative Geography of the Yuan; Beilan), 299
Yuanshi (History of the Yuan), 1, 42; on administrative divisions, 402–3, 406, 408, 409, 410; Boluo in, 77–78, 79, 349; on commercial taxes, 392, 393; on demonetarization, 217; on denominations, 192; on gold, 246; on

government administration, 355, 356; on luxury goods, 166, 167; on Mongol missions, 72; and MP, 80, 360, 362, 420, 424; on Nine Kingdoms, 370; on paper money, 215, 216; on salt money, 318; on salt production, 421–22; on taxes, 179, 180, 181
Yue Shi, 164
Yule, Henry, 39n90, 85, 98, 112, 357; on administrative divisions, 343, 401; on cowry money, 234, 236–37; on exchange rates, 368; on MP's official post, 349–50; on Nine Kingdoms, 369; on paper money, 158, 447; on place names, 407–8; on salt, 317–18, 340
Yule translations, 458, 460–62; on Odoric, 455–56; on tax revenues, 365, 372, 376n31, 378; (V 21), 290, 436–38
Yunlongjing saltworks (Yunnan), 284
Yunnan: cowry money in, 4, 227–69, 289, 300; currencies in, 2, 289, 303–5; denominational systems in, 238–39; exchange rates in, 38, 243, 264; gold in, 2, 38, 243, 244, 264, 269, 289; mining in, 243–50; Mongol conquest of, 235, 258; MP on, 74, 268, 289–90, 420; paper money in, 200–201, 210, 266, 289, 399; salt money in, 6, 272, 282, 289, 322, 331; salt production in, 271, 272–85, 297, 309–15; *vs.* Sichuan, 281–82. *See also* Carajan
Yunnan tujing zhishu (Records of Yunnan [Province] with Maps [and Illustrations]), 299–301
Yunnan zhi (Records of Yunnan; Fan Chuo), 298, 328
Yunnan zhilüe (Draft Account of Yunnan), 259, 299

Z manuscript of Toledo (Zelada Codex; V 6), 15, 17, 19, 20–22, 32, 33, 39n91, 44n113; Arabic/Persian words in, 41; authenticity of, 294; on MP's official post, 363; on Nine Kingdoms, 369; on paper money, 106n37, 205, 208, 210, 211, 434; rediscovery of, 291n47; on salt money, 291–92, 503–5; *vs.* Sessa version, 295n58; on tax revenues, 371, 372, 381; on women, 47
Zardandan (Yongchang), 245, 411; cowry money in, 264, 265, 269; paper money in, 201; salt money in, 299, 322; silver mining in, 243, 248–49; war of, 51
Zelada, Francisco Xavier de, 292
Zhang Bi, 127
Zhang Dehui, 48
Zhang Gui, 166
Zhang Guowang, 346
Zhang Xilong, 10n9
Zhang Yi, 52
Zhao Rugua, 28n54
Zhejiang, 271, 332, 371, 372
Zheng Jiefu, 210–11
Zhenghe pharmacopoeia (*Chongxiu Zhenghe jingshi zhenglei beiyong bencao*), 335–36, 339
Zhenjiang, 63, 203, 404, 416; local government in, 390; Nestorians in, 58, 357–59, 362
Zhenzhou, 68n251, 203, 339, 347, 401n9, 403
Zhida yinchao (Zhida Silver Notes), 102; amount in circulation, 216, 218–23
Zhishun Zhenjian zhi (Local Gazetteer of Zhenjiang from the Zhishun Reign-period; Yu Xilu), 357–58
Zhiyuan chao (*Zhiyuan tongxing baochao*; Zhiyuan Treasure Notes to be Circulated in All [Routes]): amount in circulation, 216, 218–23; blocks for printing, 124; convertability of, 164; on counterfeiting, 173; denominations of, 98, 102, 103, 191; depreciation of, 164; exchange rates for, 374; introduction of, 143, 163; legends on, 132–40; and periodisation, 145; sizes of, 129–31; surviving examples of, 121, 126, 129–31, 151–57, 529–41
Zhong Changyong, 276
Zhongtang shiji (Records from the Court), 167–68
Zhongtong chao (*Zhongtong yuanbao jiaochao*; Zhongtong Primordial-treasure Exchange Notes): amount in circulation, 216, 218–23; convertability of, 164; counterfeiting of, 173; denominations of, 96–98, 100, 191; depreciation of, 102, 377, 388–89; equivalences of, 378, 379; exchange rates for, 374–75; introduction of, 182; legends on, 132–40; periodisation of, 145; seals on, 157; and silver, 169; sizes of, 130–31; surviving examples of, 104–5, 121, 126, 130–31, 146–51, 209n206, 529–41; and taxes, 380–82, 383, 387, 392
Zhongtong lichao (Zhongtong Fractional Notes), 98, 100

Zhongtong yinhuo (Zhongtong [Paper] Currency Based on Silver), 96, 98, 158
Zhongxing huiyao (State Regulations of the First Two Reign-periods), 345–46
Zhou dynasty, 235
Zhu Jiang, 353, 354, 359
Zhu Xuan, 127
Zhufan zhi (A Description of Barbarous People; Zhao Rugua), 28n54
zinc mining, 305
Zurficar, 62